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CONTENTS

	PAGE
BEAZLEY (J. D.) The Castle Ashby Apollodoros	69
BUCKLER (W. H.) Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus	105
FARNELL (L. R.) The paradox of the <i>Prometheus Vincitus</i>	40
GOMME (A. W.) A forgotten factor of Greek naval strategy... ..	16
KOUKOULES (P.) The Athens Modern-Greek lexicon	1
LORIMER (H. L.) Pulvis et umbra	161
MILNE (J. G.) Colonel T. M. Crowder's travel journals	9
MYRES (J. L.) The Amathus bowl	25
PAYNE (H. G. G.) Archaeology in Greece, 1932-1933	266
RICHTER (G. M. A.) The Greek kouros in the Metropolitan Museum of Art	51
RODENWALDT (G.) Sarcophagi from Xanthos	181
TARN (W. W.) Two notes on Ptolemaic history—	
I, The lineage of Ptolemy I	57
II, The duration of the Ptolemaic nauarchate	61
TOD (M. N.) An unpublished epigram in Oxford	54
" " The progress of Greek epigraphy, 1931-1932	214
WADE-GERY (H. T.) Classical epigrams and epitaphs	71
Notes: BOX (H.) An Epidaurian <i>stemma</i>	112
DAWKINS (R. M.) Letter-writing in verse	111
" " The massacres of Chios	111
HINKS (R. P.) A portrait of Ptolemy III Euergetes	300
LAWSON (J. C.) The <i>Agamemnon</i> of Aeschylus	112
LOWY (E.) Again the temples of Ephesus	112
MYRES (J. L.) The chronological plan of the <i>Iliad</i> : a correction ...	115
PRYCE (F. N.) The Gauls at Delphi	114
THOMSON (G.) Aeschylus, <i>Prometheus Bound</i> , 370	300
Notices of Books... ..	118, 301
Indexes	339

LIST OF PLATES

- I. British Museum: silver bowl from Amathus.
- II. do. do., detail.
- III. do. do., detail.
- IV. New York: marble statue of kouros.
- V. do. do.
- VI. Fragments of a cup by Apollodoros; Castle Ashby and Villa Giulia.
- VII. Galata, Cyprus: frescoes over the north door.
- VIII. do. frescoes at the east end of the south wall.
- IX. do. frescoes on the west wall.
- X. British Museum: Attic sarcophagus from Xanthos: boys playing games.
- XI. do. do. battle, and gryphons.

- XII. Leningrad: Attic sarcophagus: battle scenes.
 XIII. British Museum: columnar sarcophagus from Xanthos.
 XIV. do. sarcophagus with hunting scenes from Xanthos.
 XV. Rome: lids of sarcophagi.
 XVI. Athens: plastic vase from the Agora.
 XVII. do. terracotta sphinx from the Kerameikos.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

Colonel T. M. Crowder's Travel Journals

	PAGE
Fig. 1. S. Sophia, Andravida	9
„ 2. River Halys; Chok Guz Kiupri	11
„ 3. Mytilene, Northern Harbour	11
„ 4. Surp Garabed	13
„ 5. Hekimkhan	13
„ 6. Chlemutzi	15

The Amathus bowl

Fig. 1. Dardel's drawing	26
„ 2. Part of the outer surface	30
„ 3. Silver bowl from the Regulini-Galassi tomb	32
„ 4. do. do.	33
„ 5. Carved ivory from Samaria: Ra and infant Horus	38
„ 6. do. do. infant Horus	38
„ 7. do. do. sacred tree	38

An unpublished epigram in Oxford

Fig. 1. Tombstone in Oxford	54
„ 2. Facsimile of inscription	55

The Castle Ashby Apollodoros

Fig. 1. From a cup in the Vatican	70
--	----

Classical epigrams and epitaphs

Fig. 1. The Poteidaia epitaph, <i>B.M. Inscr.</i> xxxvii	77
„ 2. Inscribed base from Samos	98
„ 3. do.	98
„ 4. From a Nolan Amphora, <i>B.M. E</i> 299	100
„ 5. The inscription of the Delphic Charioteer	102

Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus

Fig. 1. Exterior of the church	105
„ 2. Inscribed fresco over the north door	107
„ 3. West end of north wall	109

The Gauls at Delphi

Fig. 1. Etruscan urn in the British Museum	114
---	-----

CONTENTS

vii

PAGE

Sarcophagi from Xanthos

Fig. 1.	Plan of the mausoleum	183
„ 2.	Erotes-sarcophagus in Athens	185
„ 3.	Back of the Erotes-sarcophagus	187
„ 4.	Front of the Erotes-sarcophagus	187
„ 5.	Fragment of a battle-sarcophagus. B.M. 2329	189
„ 6.	Lid of the battle-sarcophagus	191
„ 7.	do. do.	191
„ 8.	Battle-sarcophagus from Petalidi in Athens	193
„ 9.	Hunting-sarcophagus in Adalia	196
„ 10.	Detail of the Hunting-Sarcophagus	198
„ 11.	Child's sarcophagus in the Vatican	199
„ 12.	do. do.	199
„ 13.	Sarcophagus and lid from Sardis in Smyrna	201
„ 14.	Fragment from Iznik	205
„ 15.	Fragment from Lydae	205
„ 16.	Bronze plaque in the Louvre	207
„ 17.	From a knife-hilt found at Seleucia	210

Archaeology in Greece, 1932-1933

Fig. 1.	Athens, Roman agora: marble head	267
„ 2.	Athens, Kerameikos: view of the excavations	270
„ 3.	do. do. plan of tombs	270
„ 4.	do. do. vases	271
„ 5.	do. do. grave stele	273
„ 6.	do. do. marble horseman	275
„ 7.	Perachora: the site, looking east	278
„ 8.	do. do. looking west	279
„ 9.	Ithaca: vase signed by Kalikleas	282
„ 10.	Mytilene: apsidal building	285
„ 11.	do. bucchero cup	287
„ 12.	Samos: foundations of early altars	287
„ 13.	do. terracotta head	287
„ 14.	do. do.	289
„ 15.	do. Laconian bronze	289
„ 16.	Knossos: details of two bronze reliefs	291
„ 17.	do. alabastron	293
„ 18.	do. Geometric lid	295
„ 19.	do. bronze ring	295
„ 20.	Cyprus: Neolithic vase	297
„ 21.	Troy VI: stone pillars	297

A portrait of Ptolemy III Euergetes

Fig. 1.	Head in the British Museum	300
---------	----------------------------	-----

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MEETINGS

OF THE SESSION 1932-33

1 The Session began with an extra meeting held on Tuesday, October 18th, 1932, in the Rooms of the British Academy by kind invitation. At this meeting Monsieur Claude F.-A. Schaeffer of Strasbourg, Director of the Archaeological Expedition to Ras Shamra, gave an account of his excavations at this site. M. Schaeffer shewed first the numerous finds from the Necropolis of Minet-el-Beida. He recognised, in the great beehive tombs filled with objects from Cyprus, Rhodes and Mycenaean Greece, the resting-places of important personages probably of Greek, or Cyprio-Greek or Cretan-Greek origin. This colonisation of the Ras-Shamra region by Greeks in the fourteenth century B.C. is confirmed by a legend reported by Malalas according to which a mythical king named Kasos, of Mycenaean origin and having family connexions with Cyprus, had brought Aegean and Cypriot colonists to the Syrian coast. The Necropolis was also a cult-place where curious rites designed to assure the fertility of the earth for beasts and men were performed. There were special constructions for the reception of offerings and for magical practices, the mechanism of which has been revealed by a cuneiform tablet found in the library of Ras Shamra. In the second part of his communication M. Schaeffer shewed the principal discoveries which he has made in the temples and in the library of Ras Shamra, where important monuments dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. have been brought to light. The now famous library has furnished diplomatic documents and real epic poems of particular interest, being written in a hitherto unknown cuneiform script and disclosing the most ancient known alphabet. Several of the texts discovered at Ras Shamra seem to record episodes mentioned later in the Bible. The library contains documents written in at least eight different languages. The city of Ras Shamra seems to have been strongly attacked and partly destroyed in the invasions of the 'People of the Sea' at the beginning of the twelfth century. Its commerce, based entirely

on the importation of copper from Cyprus, was endangered by the use of iron instead of bronze during the twelfth century, and the city with its port fell into oblivion. After observations by Sir Arthur Evans the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to M. Schaeffer moved by the President.

The normal inaugural meeting of the Session² was held on November 22nd, 1932, when Sir Arthur Evans (Ex-President) delivered a communication on 'The continued influence of Minoan Knossos on Mainland Greece and the East Mediterranean basin after the fall of the Palace and the survival of its latest script at Thebes, Tiryns and Mycenae.'

With regard to the general influence that Crete continued to exercise after the fall of the historic Palace, reference was made to a paper communicated by Sir Arthur to the recent International Congress in London. So far as the East Mediterranean coast-lands were concerned, the attention of the Society itself had been called to a remarkable corroboration of this influence due to the epoch-making discoveries of Professor Schaeffer at Ras Shamra. The 'Royal Tombs' indeed, excavated above the neighbouring harbour of Minet-el-Beida, proved to have a special significance even beyond that claimed for them by their explorer. Not only was their structure of the same general character as that of the 'Royal Tomb' at Isopata near Knossos, but the openings in the walls there made in connexion with libation pits gave the actual key to a feature hitherto unexplained in the Knossian structure. It has further been disclosed that in more than one case there is evidence of an upper sanctuary above the sepulchral chamber, like the 'Temple Tomb' at Knossos. The character of the finds leads us to infer that to a date considerably later than 1400 B.C. scions of the House of Minos were actually reigning in this important outpost on the Syrian coast.

But the particular discovery to which Sir Arthur wished to call attention on this occasion related to the still more important Cretan

outposts in Mainland Greece. The recent excavations of Professor A. D. Keramopoulos in the Cadmeia of Thebes had brought to light a cellar of the later Palace containing a series of clay vessels—probably for wine—with painted inscriptions. These dated, as the ceramic style indicated, from an epoch answering to the earlier phase of L.M. III. in Crete, and belonging, therefore, to a date subsequent to the final destruction of the Palace at Knossos as we know it. By the kindness of the Greek authorities special facilities were given Sir Arthur for examining and copying these, and their publication, of which it was now possible to give a forecast, had been reserved for him by the Greek Archaeological Society. As a result of this examination he had been led to the far-reaching conclusion that the character of the script answered in an overwhelming degree to that current during the latest palatial phase of Knossos and there represented by over 1400 inscribed clay tablets.

So great was the conformity that in four inscriptions containing from 10 to 13 characters every single sign was practically identical with types in use in the 'House of Minos' in the immediately preceding period. The arrangement was the same. The usual number of signs in a group varied as at Knossos from two to five, and single characters also appear alone with an ideographic value. The sign groups are divided from one another by lines or dashes in the same manner. Although in this case, moreover, the inscriptions served a special purpose—the labelling of wine vessels—not covered by those of the Knossian tablets, out of about 60 characters forming the later Palace signary and gathered from some 1450 clay documents no less than 40 occurred among the 28 inscriptions represented by the Theban Group. Nine are either new or unidentified; a slight proportion considering the difference in the object of the inscriptions, and the geographical and, to some extent, the chronological gap.

Of capital importance was the fact that in this relatively small series of examples a summary comparison with those on a very limited number of the tablets shewed not only numerous collocations of similar signs but identical groups. A great inscription, found at Knossos in 1902, containing lists of names marked by the 'man' sign carried these comparisons a step further. In two cases the Theban pots bore the same personal names. They had here the proof not only of the identity of the characters used but of the language spoken in the fourteenth century B.C. at Cadmean Thebes, with that of Minoan Crete, which in the Island itself could be carried

back through the earlier related forms of the native script to the third millennium before our era.

Thanks to the courtesy of the German excavators he had been able to compare some shorter and more fragmentary inscriptions on similar vases found at Tiryns together with a few examples from Mycenae and to establish the fact that they belonged to a system of writing identical with that of the Boeotian centre. Here, too, there occurred a Knossian personal name.

It might now, therefore, be regarded as proven that in 'Mycenaean' Greece of the fourteenth century B.C. the urban population spoke the language implanted by conquerors from Minoan Crete—a language which, if personal and local names are to count for anything, fits on to that of the old Carian race on the Anatolian side. This, indeed, does not exclude the presumption that in the outlying districts and among what were then subject elements a language or languages of a more European type may have been spoken.

Dr. Conway took part in the subsequent discussion and moved a vote of thanks to Sir Arthur Evans for his paper.

The second General Meeting was held on 3 Tuesday, February 7th, 1933.

At this meeting Mr. George Macmillan (Hon. Treasurer) spoke of the loss which the Society had sustained by the death of the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, Vice-President, and gave particulars of the share which Professor Sayce had taken in the foundation of the Society.

The provision made for the family of the late Mr. F. W. Wise (Assistant-Librarian) was explained by Mr. Penoyre.

Mr. W. H. Buckler presented a communication on 'Some dated Byzantine Frescoes in Cyprus.' Historians of painting who mention Cyprus might well call it 'Newfoundland,' for Cyprus contained many pictures five hundred to eight hundred years old which, being hitherto unknown, were in a sense completely new. The object of this paper was to call attention to that paradox. Why Cypriot painters had so long remained 'inglorious' was difficult to understand. He would at least try to shew, by a few examples of their work, how good it was in quality and how much of it still survived. They had left on the walls of Cypriot churches many monuments valuable for the study of Byzantine painting from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and the value of this material consisted not only in its variety and good preservation, but in the fact that at least seven specimens were precisely dated. Professor Iorga, the

Roumanian statesman, had said: 'One of the main *lacunae* of our artistic knowledge in the Byzantine field is that the monuments can be dated only with wide approximation.' Hence the welcome given to the recent discoveries of frescoes painted in 1164 at Nerez in Macedonia and of those dated 1259 at Boiana in Bulgaria. A like welcome awaited the frescoes of Cyprus as soon as their fame should have spread. To England the first news of these treasures was brought last year by the Ven. Harold Buxton, Archdeacon of Cyprus—now Bishop of Gibraltar—who in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries drew attention to the frescoes of Asinou. In order to display, so far as possible in one hour, the richness of the collection contained in the Cyprus churches, it seemed best not to describe fully any single building, but to shew a few mural paintings from each of eight different ones. Beginning with the later examples and working backward to the rarer and more ancient, the order of the frescoes shewn on the screen was as follows: sixteenth-century specimens from two churches at Galata, dated 1511 and 1502; fifteenth century: several from that of Pedoulas dated 1476; fourteenth century: two from that of St. Demetrianos at Dali, dated 1316, and two from the monastic church of Antiphonitissa; thirteenth century: several from the church of Moutoullas, dated 1272, and from the ruined portion of the monastery of St. Chrysostom; twelfth century: seventeen from the Panagia Phorbiotissa church at Asinou, the oldest dated 1106, and several later, one being of 1342. None of these could have been thus recorded but for the topographic information kindly given by the Inspector of Antiquities, Captain Rupert Gunnis, and the skilled photography of the brothers Mangoian of Nicosia.

The President tendered the thanks of the Society to Mr. Buckler for his paper. It was understood that at least some of the frescoes shewn will appear in the *Journal* with an article by the author. (See *J.H.S.*, 1933, p. 105.)

- 4 At the third General Meeting, held on May 2nd, Dr. L. R. Farnell, Vice-President, read a paper on 'The Paradox of the Prometheus Vincit.' The thanks of the Society for this communication (which will appear in the *Journal*) were tendered to Dr. Farnell by the President. (See *J.H.S.*, 1933, p. 40.)
- 5 At the Annual General Meeting held June 27th, 1933, at 5 p.m. the President took the chair. The Secretary in presenting the report regretted the absence of Mr. Macmillan and its cause. The Council were sending a letter of sympathy in his illness to Mr. Macmillan in

which no doubt the general body of members would wish to be associated.

The President then formally moved the adoption of the report and accounts (since circulated). This motion was seconded by Dame Emily Penrose, put to the Meeting and carried unanimously. Sir Phillip Macdonnell then moved the following resolutions for the re-election or election of Vice-Presidents, officers and Members of the Council:—(1) That Dr. A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE be elected a Vice-President, and that Miss J. R. BACON, Miss JOAN EVANS, Mr. H. C. OAKLEY and Mr. E. S. G. ROBINSON be elected as members of the Council. (2) That the following be re-elected as members of the Council:—The Vice-Presidents of the Society and the following Members retiring by rotation: Mr. A. A. BLAKEWAY, Lady EVANS, Miss C. M. KNIGHT, Miss E. PRICE, Mr. F. N. PRYCE, Mr. M. S. THOMPSON and Mr. A. J. B. WACE. The motion was seconded by Mr. R. W. Hutchinson and carried unanimously.

Prof. Ure moved a vote of thanks to the Society's auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan. This was seconded by Mr. Purdon and carried unanimously. The President then delivered his annual Presidential address.

He chose for his subject the present condition of the Study of the Greek Language, and in especial the present activity in the production of lexicons. Two important undertakings of this sort are in progress: the first is obviously the new edition of Liddell and Scott, now more than half published. The other is the great lexicon of contemporary Greek now being compiled at Athens, of which it is hoped to issue the first fascicule next year. Of this publication an account has been given in the last number of the *Journal* of the Society, written especially for it by Professor Koukoules, at that time at the head of the Scriptorium. In accordance with the ideals of modern scholarship, each of these lexicons confines itself to a definite period. Liddell and Scott, of which the earlier editions strayed down but with some incompleteness well into the Byzantine age, now limits itself to authors earlier than 600 A.D. But for this period the material is much augmented by the incorporation of words and usages from papyri and inscriptions, the number of which has naturally in recent years been much increased. Similarly the new dictionary at Athens goes no earlier than the year 1800 A.D., but for this period it comprises an immense amount of material gathered by various scholars from the contemporary spoken dialects; the value of this for the study of Greek, it may be said, from the Hellenistic age downwards can hardly be

over-estimated. This point has been admirably illustrated by Prof. Koukoules in the paper mentioned above. But what is to be done for the Greek of the intermediate period of 1200 years from 600 to 1800 A.D.? Similar lexicons with time limits are obviously required, and preparations are being made in this country for a lexicon of Patristic Greek which will follow immediately on the new Liddell and Scott, and in Athens for a new dictionary of Byzantine or mediaeval Greek. Slips for this are already being accumulated in a special mediaeval Archive at Athens. The time limits of this work are not, it seems, definitely fixed, but it will in any case cover the whole Byzantine period and probably also the years between the fall of Constantinople and the formation of the present Greek State. It will, in fact, supersede the dictionary of Sophocles and the admirable *Glossarium* of Du Cange. To this last scholar the speaker paid a warm tribute and passed on to speak of the members and honorary members lost by death during the past session. He spoke especially of Mr. Herbert Green, whose labours in Greek Lexicography have been specially acknowledged in the preface of the new Liddell and Scott. He concluded his remarks by saying something of the Athens of to-day as a centre of Greek Studies. Not only have we there for linguistic students the treasures of the scrip-

torium of the lexicon generously placed at the disposal of students, but also the library of a late member of the Society, Dr. John Gennadius, makes Athens more than ever the only possible centre for research into the recent history of Greece. Dr. Gennadius was at the very beginning of the Society a member, a Vice-President and then an honorary member, and the last number of the *Journal* contained a notice of his career by Dr. George Macmillan and an interesting account of the library which now bears his name written by Dr. William Miller. Other distinguished members of the Society deceased within the last year were mentioned, and a welcome was extended to the new honorary members. In the course of his remarks on the Athens lexicon the speaker gave some account of the remarkable career of one of these new honorary members, Prof. George Hatzidakis. He began life as a village boy in Crete, escaped to Athens at the time of the great rising of 1866, found his way to Germany as a student, made himself, it may be said, the founder of the scientific study of modern Greek, and finally was the prime mover in the scheme for the present lexicon, which is being made in the main by scholars who owe their training to his teaching and example.

A vote of thanks to the President for this address was carried by acclamation.

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1932.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s d.	£	s d.
To Debts Payable.....	2486 14 11	By Cash in Hand—Bank	11 2 3½
„ Subscriptions paid in advance.....	51 19 0	Assistant Treasurer	63 9 2
„ Endowment Fund	1309 12 0	Petty Cash	74 11 5½
(includes legacy of £200 from the late			170 0 1
Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from			2725 0 0
the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)			
„ Life Compositions and Donations—			
Total at Jan. 1, 1932	2298 9 0		
Received during year	15 15 0		
	2314 4 0		
		Less proportion carried to Income and	
		Expenditure Account	23 0 0
			388 2 6
		Valuation of Stocks of Publications	450 0 0
		„ Library	1500 0 0
		„ Photographic Department ..	200 0 0
		„ Paper in hand for printing Journal	7 0 0
		„ Balance, Deficiency at January 1, 1932 ...	381 8 1
		Add Balance from Income and Ex-	260 1 9½
		penditure Account	
		Balance, Deficiency at December 31, 1932	641 9 10½

XVI.

£6162 9 11

£6162 9 11

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY,
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

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<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
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To Rent	405 5 0	By Members' Subscriptions—	
" Rates.....	117 0 5	Arrears	32 11 0
" Library Premises Account — Proportion		1932	1139 16 0
transferred from Balance Sheet			
" Salaries.....	23 0 0	Members' Entrance Fees	1172 7 0
" Insurance.....	726 10 6	Student Associates' Subscriptions	22 1 0
" Miscellaneous Expenses	21 19 2	Libraries' Subscriptions—	
" Stationery	110 17 1	Arrears	79 7 0
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" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members,	76 10 11		320 2 8
Notices, &c.	81 5 10	Dividends on Investments	329 11 8
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library	348 0 3½	Contributed towards Rent by British School	142 18 7
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Interest on Overdraft		use of Society's room	
Grants—		Contributed by the Society for Promotion	20 0 0
British School at Athens	100 0 0	of Roman Studies	272 0 0
" " Rome	10 10 0	Rent from London Association of Account-	
		ants, Ltd.....	650 0 0
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" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'	119 6 1	Sale of 'Ante Oculos'	4 6 6
Account	864 1 4	Sale of 'Artemis Orthia'	23 17 0
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		Donations towards Society's expenses for	
		year.....	53 17 6
		Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo-	
		graphs Account	55 2 5½
		Deficit.....	200 1 9½
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Dr.

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- New Palaeographical Society.** Indices to facsimiles of ancient manuscripts, etc. Second series, 1913-1930.
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NINETEENTH LIST OF ACCESSIONS TO THE CATALOGUE OF SLIDES

MAPS, VIEWS, EXCAVATIONS, ETC.

Maps.

- C5732 Map to illustrate empires absorbed by Persian Empire (Robinson, *Hist. of Greece*, p. 97).
 C5731 Map of Aegean, showing route of Xerxes (Abbott, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 122).
 C5730 Map of the campaign of Marathon (*JHS.* 1932, p. 15).
 C5702 Map of Palestine.
 B9875 Map of Italy (Havell, *Republican Rome*, pl. 1).
 B4209 Map of the plain of Ostia (Carcopino, *Ostia*, map at end).

The Middle East.

- C5390 **Khorsabad**, Palace of Sargon; orifice of drain (*ca.* 26 feet high).
 C5747 **Persepolis**, Apadana stairway, N. wing.
 C5735 " " during excavation.
 C5738 " " S. end.
 C5740 " " reliefs of tribute-bearers.
 C5748 " Tripylon stairway.
 C5739 " " "
 C5736 " smaller stairway, showing reliefs.
 C5737 " " reliefs of tribute bearers.

Syria.

- C5701 **Baalbek**, Temple of Helios: S. side.
 C5703 **Jerusalem**, Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the façade.
 C5704 " " the entrance.
 C5705 " E. wall and distant view of Dome of the Rock.
 C5706 " Dome of the Rock.
 C5707 " " nearer view.
 C5708 " " interior.
 C5709 " S.E. angle of wall and 'tomb of Absalom.'
 C5710 " Zion gate.
 C5711 " pool of Bethesda.
 C5712 " 'Solomon's stables.'
 C5713 **Lebanon**, terraces on the mountain.

Asia Minor.

- C5443 **Priene**, Agora, N. Hall (ἱερὰ στοὰ) from E.
 C5444 " Ecclesiasterion: N.W. angle from S.E.
 C5406 " theatre: W. parados and part of auditorium from E.
 C5744 **Ras Shamra**, vaulting of tomb.

Crete and Islands.

- C5220 **Cnossos**, temple tomb: restored pavilion from upper columnar sanctuary. (Cf. *JHS.* 1931, p. 207.)
 C5478 **Mallia**, stairway from S.
 C5482 " table for offerings.
 C5469 " great pithos.
 C5499 **Tylissus**, capped pillars and corridor from W.
 C5500 " stone bath and raised water channel leading to cistern.
 C5534 **Rhodes**, Ialysus: 4th century fountain.
 C5557 **Thera**, temenos of Artemidorus: relief portrait of Artemidorus and relief of dolphin.

Greece.

- C5397 **Delphi**, stoa of the Athenians.
 C5559 " Marmaria: sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, treasures from W.
 C5396 **Sunium**, general view of the temple.
 C5572 **Mantineia**, the wall looking W. from the Orchomenos Gate to Mt. Maenalus. (Cf. Fougères, *Mantinee*, pl. 8, gate marked 'Orchomenos B.')
- C5579 " Melangeia-Argos gate from S., shewing towers. (Cf. Fougères, *Mantinee*, gate marked 'D.')

Italy.

- B7201 **Capri**, the 'citadel of Tiberius.'
 B7202 " " " " restored view.
 B4185 **Misenum**, the cape.
 B5098 **Pontine** marshes, unreclaimed.
 B5099 " " " reclamation in progress.

Sicily.

- C5714 **Etna** from Taormina.
 C5715 " nearer view.
 C5597 **Selinus**, propylon and temenos of Demeter Malophoros looking S.W.
 C5588 " megaron of Demeter from S.W.
 C5628 " Acropolis: N. wall, view looking S. through gate.
 C5604 " temple A: W. front from N.W.
 C5615 " temple C: entrance to cellar from N.E.
 C5619 " temple C: N. pteron. On right, temple D; S.E. angle of altar.
 C5645 " temple E: fallen column at N.W. angle, from N.E.
 C5644 " temple F: W. front from S.W.
 C5643 " temple G: blocks grooved for lifting ropes.
 C5750 **Syracuse**, air view of Ortygia.

Gaul.

- C5716 **Avignon**, the bridge, cathedral and palace of the Popes.
 C5717 " the cathedral and palace.
 C5718 **St. Honorat** (Iles des Lérins), donjon.
 C5719 " " " interior.

Roman Britain.

- C5389 For comparison with the wall of Hadrian: the great wall of Peru from the air.

EARLY ANTIQUITIES

Minoan.

- C5358 Cnossos, "Procession Fresco" (Evans, *Palace*, ii (2), supp. pl. xxvii).

Oriental.

- C5375 **Khafaje**, bronze stand, in form of a nude bearded man.
 C5388 " Plaque with scenes of royal ceremonial; the lower left corner supplied by a fragment from Ur.
 C5746 **Minet-el-Beida**. Porcelain head.
 C5741 **Ras Shamra**, polychrome cup in form of female head.
 C5742 " head of a woman in polychrome porcelain.
 C5745 " silver figures of a 'divine couple.'
 C5377 " pithos.
 C5743 " cylinder seal impressions.
 C5376 **Ur**, limestone head.
 C5387 " steatite bowl with frieze of bulls and ears of corn: ca. 2200 B.C.

Egyptian.

- C5304 Tutankhamen's tomb, flexible gold pectoral in form of the Nekhebet vulture.
 C5303 " diadem of gold, turquoise and lapislazuli.
 C5305 " pectoral inlaid with gold and semi precious stones.

Cyprus.

- C5386 Votive terracotta chariot from A. Irini.

Sardinia.

- C5383 Bronze statuette of an archer. Teti.
 C5382 Bronze statuette of a priestess [?]. Bonorva.

Prehistoric Drawings.

- C5374 **La Bastide** (Pyrenees), cave drawing; a cave lion.
 C5392 **Fezzan** (Tripoli) rock drawing; a giraffe's head.
 C5393 " " " elephant and two giraffes.
 C5394 " " " restored drawing.

SCULPTURE

- | | |
|-------|---|
| C5379 | Thasos, archaic chariot group : relief on jamb of town gate. |
| C5380 | nearer view. |
| C5381 | Athena Parthenos. " Madrid "Gardner," <i>Six Gk. Sculptors</i> , pl. 21). |
| C5381 | Nereid, from the agora at Athens. |
| B4197 | Slab from Ara Pacis, Aeneas sacrificing to Penates (Studniczka, <i>Zur Ara Pacis</i> , pl. 5,
fig. 8). |
| B7203 | Frieze of temple of Venus Genetrix, Rome: cupids. |
| B7204 | two cupids. |
| C5370 | Relief, "children playing at ball" woodcut (Baumeister, <i>Denk.</i> fig. 228). |
| B7205 | Relief: a covered carriage. Maria Saal (near Klagenfurt). |
| <hr/> | |
| B5100 | Agrippina ; portrait statue found at Pompeii, Minneapolis. |
| B4203 | ' Virgil .' Mus. Cap. |
| <hr/> | |
| C4986 | 'Spinario,' Terme Mus. |
| C5384 | Bronze female head from the agora at Athens. |
| C5385 | " " " " profile. |

VASES, ETC.

- ♂5353 The Trojan horse. B.F. Aryballos from Cervetri (*Jahrbuch*, 1892, pl. 2).

R.F. Vases.

- 65341 **Achilles** departing for Troy (Baumeister, *Denk.* fig. 8).
 65364 **Amphiaraios**, Eriphyle and Alkmaion (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885, pl. 15).
 64290 **Darius** in council before the Greek expedition (Rostovtzeff, *History*, i, pl. 66 (1)).
 65343 **Leda** and the egg. Krater, Vienna (Baumeister, *Denk.* fig. 706).
 65361 **Phaëdra** in swing: with Eros and Aphrodite. Cf. Paus. x, 29, 2 (Panofka, *Manners*, pl. iv, 2).
 65733 Barbarian archer (Robinson, *History of Greece*, pl. xiii).
 65362 Cock fighting (Panofka, *Manners*, pl. xiii, 1).
 65371 The game of *ἐπεριόμιος* (*Arch. Zeit.* 1879, pl. 5).
 65369 Girl with whipping top. White ground cup by Hegesibulus (*Mon. Piot.*, 29, pl. 2).
 65368 Terracotta top. B.M. (*JHS.* 1929, p. 219, fig. 2.)
 65366 Boy playing with 'Yo-Yo.' Cylix. Berlin.
 65367 Attic 'Yo-Yo' decorated with pictures of Peleus and Thetis, Heracles and Nereus.
 65751 Photo of small boy playing with 'Yo-Yo.' (The extended hand suggests a motive for the Hermes of Cythera.)

- 6401 Attic grave lekythos: youth with lyre seated at the tomb. Ath. Nat. Mus. 1937.

PAINTING AND MOSAIC

- B4188 Pompeian fresco, Aeneas and Dido.
C5372 Cupids playing hide-and-seek. Outline drawing. Herculaneum (Roux, *Pompeii*, etc., ii, pl. 81).
C5373 Cupids playing with rope and sticks. Outline drawing. Herculaneum (Roux, *Pompeii*, etc., ii, pl. 87).
C5365 The game of ἀσκαλισμός (jumping on greased wine skin). Mosaic in Berlin (*Arch. Zeit.* 1847, pl. ix, 1).

- B4196 Iris appears to Turnus (Codex Romanus).
B9861 Scene from Virgil's Eclogues (Codex Romanus).
B4193 Virgil, portrait (Codex Romanus).

- C5337-40** Byzantine frescoes in Church at Asinou (Cyprus).

COINS

- 3654, 5 one slide **Elis**, R. Obv. Head of Olympian Zeus (Paris specimen). Rev.
Seated figure of Olympian Zeus (Florence specimen).
9573 **Metapontum** R (N.C. 1918, pl. 6, i & ii).

Coins Illustrating the Narrative of Pausanias.

- C5191 1. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. Eirene and Plutus (B.M.C. *Athens*, 801. Paus. I, viii, 2).
 2. **Cyzicus**, EL. Rev. The Tyrannicides (B.M.C. *Mysia*: Cyzicus, 75. Paus. I, viii, 5).
 3. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. Olympian Zeus (B.M.C. *Athens*, 754. Paus. I, xviii, 6).
 4. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. Theatre and Acropolis (B.M.C. *Athens*, 807. Paus. I, xxi-xxviii).
 5. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. Athena and Poseidon (B.M.C. *Athens*, 707. Paus. I, xxiv, 5).
 6. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. Athena and Marsyas. Fitzwilliam Mus. (Paus. I, xxiv, 1.)
 7. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. Athena Parthenos (B.M.C. *Athens*, 691. Paus. I, xxiv, 5-7).
 8. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. Athena Promachos (B.M.C. *Athens*, 678. Paus. I, xxviii, 2).
 9. **Athens**, Æ. Rev. The Acropolis (B.M.C. *Athens*, 803. Paus. I, xxii-xxviii).
 10. **Paphos**, Æ. Rev. Nemesis at Rhamnus (B.M.C. *Cyprus*: Paphos, 45. Paus. I, xxxiii, 3).
 11. **Megara**, Æ. Rev. Artemis Soteira (B.M.C. *Attica*: Megara, 43. Paus. I, xl, 2).
 12. **Megara**, Æ. Rev. Asclepius and Hygieia (B.M.C. *Attica*: Megara, 50. Paus. I, xl, 6).
 C5192 1. **Corinth**, Æ. Rev. Temple of Palaemon (B.M.C. *Corinth*, 624. Paus. II, ii, 1).
 2. **Corinth**, Æ. Rev. Tomb of Lais (B.M.C. *Corinth*, 691. Paus. II, ii, 4).
 3. **Corinth**, Æ. Rev. Aphrodite hoplismene (B.M.C. *Corinth*, 696. Paus. II, v, 1).
 4. **Corinth**, Æ. Rev. Hermes and ram (B.M.C. *Corinth*, 608. Paus. II, iii, 4).
 5. **Corinth**, Æ. Rev. The Acrocorinthus (B.M.C. *Corinth*, 616. Paus. II, iv, 6-v, 2).
 6. **Sicyon**, Æ. Rev. Tomb (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Sicyon, 245. Paus. II, vii, 2).
 7. **Argos**, Æ. Obv. Head of Hera (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Argos, 33. Paus. II, xvii, 4).
 8. **Epidaurus**, Æ. Rev. Asclepius (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Epidaurus, 7. Paus. II, xxvii, 2).
 9. **Argos**, Æ. Rev. Leto and Chloris (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Argos, 168. Paus. II, xxi, 9).
 C5193 1. **Laconia**, Æ. Rev. Athena of the Brazen House (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Laconia, 87. Paus. III, xvii, 2).
 2. **Laconia**, Æ. Rev. Apollo at Amyclae (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Laconia, 1. Paus. III, xix, 1).
 3. **Laconia**, Æ. Rev. Apollo at Amyclae (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Laconia, 80. Paus. III, xix, 1).
 4. **Messenia**, Æ. Rev. Zeus Ithomatas (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Messenia, 10. Paus. IV, xxxiii, 2).
 5. 6. **Elis**, Æ. Olympian Zeus: head (Paris), full figure (Florence). Paus. V, xi.
 7. **Patrae**, Æ. Rev. Priestess in chariot (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Patrae, 34. Paus. VII, xviii, 12).
 8. **Patrae**, Æ. Rev. Artemis (B.M.C. *Pelopon.* Patrae, 38. Paus. VII, xviii, 9).
 9. **Delphi**, Æ. Rev. Temple of Apollo (B.M.C. *Phocis*: Delphi, 33. Paus. X, vi, 3, xix, 4).

METALWORK

- C5307 Archaic reliefs on tripod in Loeb collection. Peleus and Thetis—Heracles and lion—Apollo and Tityos (Lamb, *Bronzes*, pl. 50).
 C5391 Bronze cup: 2 views. (a) winged bull; (b) hunter. Luristan.
 C5392 5th cent. gold cloisonné armlet (*Treasure of Oxus*, 1926, pl. i).
 C5734 Gold and silver winged ibex, forming the handle of a vase. 3rd cent. B.C. (*Souvenir of Exhbn. of Persian Art*, p. 89).
 C5306 Gold fish from Vetterfelde, decorated with animals in relief. Scythian-Ionian art (Furtw. *Goldfund von Vetterfelde*, pl. 1).
 C5301 Gold comb from Solokha: Scythians in conflict. ca. 300 B.C. (Lawrence, *Later Gk. Sculpture*, pl. 16a).
 C5749 Bronze Hellenistic helmet with battle scars. Reggio Museum.
 C5363 Bronze mirror case from Corinth. Genius of Cock fights. Outline drawing (*Rev. Arch.* 1868, pl. xiii).
 C4683 Boscoreale Treasure: cup of Augustus (*Mon. Piot*, V. pl. 31, top).
 C4684 " " " reverse of preceding (*Mon. Piot*, V. pl. 31, bottom).
 B7206 Gold funerary wreath from Montefortino d'Arcevia. Ancona Mus.
 C5395 Neck and breast ornament, ca. A.D. 600, from Egypt. (Cf. ornaments worn in Mosaic of Justinian at Ravenna.)

MUSIC

- C5354 Byzantine neume: Atheniensis 883, round notation.
 C5355 " " Cryptensis E.A. II, second hand, late round notation.
 C5356 " " Codex Theophanis, 18th Century: probably from Asia Minor. Cucuzelian notation.
 C5357 Greek folk song: printed in the modern notation.

MISCELLANEA

- C5378 Ostraca of Themistocles, Aristides, and Hipparchus. From the Agora, Athens.
 B5164 Fasces, from the Tomba del Littore (Randall MacIver, *Villanovans*, fig. 56).
 B9863 The wooden horse of Troy: after Tiepolo.
 5573 A Greek shepherd carrying lamb.

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THE ATHENS MODERN-GREEK LEXICON

PAPYRI, ostraka, inscriptions and printed texts, some ancient, some mediaeval, and some subsequent to the Fall of Constantinople, bring to light almost daily a multitude of hitherto unknown words; words which complete or enrich our knowledge of the language, history, life, and civilisation of the Greeks throughout the ages. The discovery of a single word indeed may throw light upon much that was unknown or doubtful, and provide a key for a wide range of connected problems. Of the importance of collecting these words there can therefore be no doubt. Many scholars have from time to time set their hands to this work; sometimes, like S. Koumanoudis and Van Herwerden, by publishing supplementary dictionaries, sometimes by appending glossaries to their editions of texts. Stuart-Jones and Mackenzie's new edition of Liddell and Scott records new words, to the obvious advantage of those who consult it.

For the study of Greek life and literature in their entirety our lexicographical aids are very unequal. For the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods they are of great value, but for the Middle Ages we still have to use Du Cange's *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, which is to be accurate hardly a lexicon in the sense in which we use the word, or else the Lexicon of E. A. Sophocles, which is not only too brief, but also unfortunately deals with no words later than the year 1100. For the period after the Fall of Constantinople we have, to mention the more important, the help of Du Cange and of Meursius, the Thesaurus of Vlakhos the Cretan, the trilingual glossary, Latin, Romaic and Greek, of Simon Portius, and the *Tesoro* of Somavera. But none of these fully answers to the demands of modern research. Nor can the brief dictionaries of Modern Greek, from Skarlatos Byzantios' Lexicon of present-day Greek downwards, be called adequate.

In the course of centuries the life of a people is exposed to influences from many directions, and of these the language is the faithful reflexion. Words too become so much altered in meaning as not infrequently to veer right round to precisely the opposite of their earlier signification. Compare, for example, the ancient ἐγείρω, which means ἀνυψῶ, with its corresponding modern form γέρνω, which means κλίνω. The student of later and mediaeval texts will have no difficulty in following me here. I need do no more than remind my readers of these six words, κρίνω, κρίσις, ἀπολογοῦμαι, δικάζομαι, παρρησία, κάμνω. Of these, the first has now come to mean ὀμιλῶ, the second βάσανος, the third is now a synonym of ἀπαντῶ, ἀποκρίνομαι, the fourth of λέγω, the fifth of εὐχαρίστησις, ἀπόλαυσις, and the last again may be used in the sense of λέγω.

If we wish for a complete picture of the language, life and civilisation of the Greeks, we must examine as a continuous whole, κατὰ συνέχειαν, that marvellous creation, the Greek language, marking the points at which

any change of meaning is to be observed and inquiring into the circumstances of such changes. Here solid conclusions can be reached only by tracing the history of each separate word, and most valuable services will be rendered by a lexicon so constructed as to make this possible.

This was the idea of George Hatzidakis, when in 1908 he was successful in getting a decree passed for the compiling and publication of an *Historical Lexicon of the Greek Language*, a lexicon which should expose the phonetic, formal and semantic development of every Greek word from its first appearance to the reign of King George I. This idea was no doubt sound, but to carry it into execution demanded (1) an adequate number of competent scholars, and, what was more difficult to find, (2) sums of money sufficient for a task which would occupy many years.

The scholars who took the initiative in this work, in spite of their enthusiasm and indefatigable activity, were very soon convinced that so wide a task could not be satisfactorily carried out within any reasonable time with the annual grant of 10,000 drachmae which the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs was able to make from the Dorides bequest.¹ They arrived at the following conclusions. The ancient Greek material, registered and collected in lexicons and their addenda, was in no danger of being lost. Almost the same thing might be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the material of the mediaeval language. But they found that the material of the language of modern times is subject from day to day to change and loss owing to the increase of schools and the greater facilities of communication. Words, which thirty years ago were still to be heard in various parts of Greece and are closely connected with the whole linguistic tradition of the country, have been passing into the oblivion naturally involved by the disappearance of the objects which they denoted, and by the general change in the manner of life. The use of local dialects, too, little by little becomes restricted. It would therefore be to the purpose to divide the Lexicon into three substantial parts: (1) of Ancient and Hellenistic Greek; (2) of the Greek of the Middle Ages and the period after the Fall of Constantinople; (3) of Contemporary Greek, the upper limit of which might be set at the year 1800.

It was with these ideas that the collection and arrangement of material began in the year 1909, under editors then appointed: Emmanouel Pezopoulos and Athanasios Boutouras, assisted by a few students. Under the same system the late Petros Papageorgiou was appointed subsequently as Director, and I. Loulakis and myself as his colleagues. In pursuance of our common task I had occasion to study the method followed in the lexicon of the idioms of Bavaria and Austria, and on this I wrote a detailed memorandum.

From the point of view of scholarship the year 1912 was a favourable one. The Sixteenth International Congress of Orientalists was being held at Athens, and in this way many foreign specialists had an opportunity of visiting the scriptorium of the Lexicon and of appreciating its value. They

¹ Later, in 1914, when Eleutherios Venizelos was Prime Minister, the work on the Lexicon was secured by a special decree, and the grant was substantially

increased to a sum exceeding 500,000 drachmae *per annum*.

thought fit to appoint a Commission to call upon the then Prime Minister, Mr. Venizelos, and to represent to him the necessity that the Greek Government should take the Lexicon under its protection; and this suggestion was, in fact, taken into consideration.

The material which the editors had at their disposal fell into the following classes:—

(1) The MSS. which had been got together from the year 1892 onwards, first by the Syllogos Koraes, and later by the Linguistic Society of Athens: this material comes for the most part from the Kingdom of Greece.

(2) The MSS. which accrued as a result of the linguistic competitions organised by the Literary Society of Constantinople. These MSS. are of very great value, as they give us material gathered in Greek places blotted out in consequence of the Asia Minor disaster of 1922. Such of the inhabitants of these places as survive are now scattered in various parts of the Greek State.

(3) Material extracted from printed glossaries and other books.

(4) Of the more important books mention may be made of R. M. Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, M. Deffner's *Tsakonian Dictionary* and G. Rohlf's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität*.

(5) Material which the editors have collected and verified locally. Such missions have already been sent to the Cyclades, to Crete, to Euboea, to Aitolia, to the region of Corinth, to Athos, to Chalcidice, to the Pelion villages, to Lemnos, to Samothrace, to Western Thrace, that is, the district of Souphli and Didymoteikhos.

Unfortunately the value of much of this material is seriously diminished by the lack of the necessary preliminary studies. Its phonetic and semantic imperfections in especial compelled the editors to verify such points, either by special missions or by correspondence. It was fortunate in these circumstances that the editors were men from the provinces, and had themselves written special studies of several of the dialects of the contemporary language, and were thus in a position to detect inaccuracies and to supply the necessary corrections. In this work they were frequently assisted by the willing information of local scholars, schoolmasters, priests, doctors, lawyers, ladies and others.

Working in this way the editors produced an extremely rich collection of material from a very great number of Greek-speaking districts, ranging from Epeiros, Northern Macedonia and Thrace in the north, to Crete, Lycia and Cyprus in the south, and from Pontos and Cappadocia in the east, to Calabria in the west. But neither in Modern Greek nor in any other living language is it ever possible to say that the whole *corpus* of linguistic material has been collected. New books are published: the competitions instituted by the Linguistic Society of Athens on a plan worked out by the staff of the Lexicon bring in fresh MSS.: a rich increase of material is derived from the tens of thousands of refugees from the recent disaster in Asia Minor now concentrated in Old Greece. And to include this last is a pressing necessity, because the refugees, and especially those from Pontos and Cappadocia, by mixing with the inhabitants of Old Greece, are bound to lose, or at the very least to modify, certain elements

in their dialects: elements of great importance for our researches, since they include many features of the ancient and still more of the mediaeval types of the language. All this has been a cause of delay, because the staff has been anxious to include in the Lexicon all this mass of fresh material.

A limit has, however, been set to the process of collection, and two years ago the printing of the first volume was begun. This volume will consist of sixty sheets in quarto, that is to say of 480 pages, and will contain the words up to αν. The printing of this volume has now reached the fortieth sheet, and the whole will in a year from now be in circulation. It will contain in the form of a preface a brief history of the Lexicon and the necessary tables of abbreviations. At the beginning of the second volume, which will complete the letter α, there will be a Grammar of Modern Greek.

The Lexicon, the full title of which is Λεξικὸν τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, τῆς τε κοινῶς ὁμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων, gives an account of all the words of the contemporary language—of newly-formed words it includes only those that have passed into common use, such as ἀεροπλάνο, ὑποβρύχιο—with the evidence for their first appearance and the cause and period of their phonetic or semantic changes. It will, that is to say, give in brief the history of each separate word.

Each entry consists of three parts. The first gives the various local types of the word as it is used at present. The second gives its history, whether it is ancient, or mediaeval, or modern, or a foreign loan-word; its changes of form and meaning are explained with bibliographical references. The third gives the meanings arranged locally with the necessary examples of its use set down in chronological order. Since many contemporary constructions and phrases are found in somewhat the same form in ancient and mediaeval writers, the ancient parallels have been added wherever possible, and we thus obtain a series of linguistic correspondences which exhibit an identity of thought and expression in a striking manner. Lastly, for literary as well as for scientific reasons, the synonyms and opposites of each word are given. The following example may be given to show the working out of the above principles.

ἀβγατίζω, ἐβγατίζω Κύπρ. Χίος. ἀβγατίζω κοιν. καὶ Κορσ. Πόντ. (Γραπ.) ἀβγατίζου Β.Εὐβ. *Ηπ. Θεσσ. Θράκ. (*Αδριανούπ.) *Ιμβρ. Σάμ. κ.ά. ἀβγατίν-νου Λυκ. (Λιβύσσ.) ἀβγα-
κίχου Τσακων. *βγατίζω Κρήτ. Κυκλ. (Θήρ. Κύθν. Νάξ. κ.ά.) Πελοπν. (Λακων.) Προπ. (*Αρ-
τάκ. Πάνορμ.) Τήλ. Χίος κ.ά. *βγατίζ-ζω Σύμ. *βκατίζω Κύπρ. *βγαρτίζω Κρήτ. *βγατίν-νου
Λυκ. (Λιβύσσ.) ἀβγατῶ Α. Ρουμελ. (Φιλίππου-
πούπ.) *Ηπ. (Κόνιτσ.) Θράκ. (Σηλυβρ.) Πελοπν. (Βασαρ. Λακων.) κ. ά. ἀβγατάω Πελοπν. (Λακων. Μεσσ.) ἀβγατίζου *Ηπ. (*Αρτ.) Θεσσ. Πελοπν. (Τριφυλ.) ἀφγατίζου Θεσσ. *βγατάω
Πελοπν. (Λακων.) Παθ. ἀβγατίζουμι *Ηπ. *Ενεργ. μετοχ. ἀβγατίζοντα Πελοπν. (Λεντεκ.) Παθ. μετοχ. ἀβγατίζάμενος Παξ. ἀβγατίζού-
ενος Παξ.

*Εκ τοῦ μεταγν. ἐπιθ. ἐκβατὸς γενομένου ἐκβατὸς καὶ περαιτέρω ἐκβατὸς κατ' ἀντι-
μετάθεσιν γραμμάτων καθὼς καὶ ἐκβάλλω-
ἐγβάλλω-βγάλλω. *Ιδ. ΓΧατζίδ. ἐν *Επιστ.
*Επετ. Πανεπ. 6 (1909 10) 92 κέξ. *Ο τύπ.
ἐβγατίζω ἤδη παρὰ Σαχλίκ. Γραφαὶ καὶ Στίχοι
στ. 176 (ἐκδ. Wagner σ. 69) "ὁ μάστορας ὁ
ζαριστής πιστεύει νὰ ἐβγατίσῃ." *Εν τῷ τύπ.
*βγαρτίζω τὸ ρ ἐγεννήθη κατ' ἐπίδρασιν τοῦ
ὡς πρὸς μίαν σημ. συνων. ζεβγαρτίζω.

(Α) *Αμτβ. (1) Αὐξάνομαι, πληθύνομαι, συνή-
θως ἐπὶ τροφῶν κοιν. : Τὸ ρύζι τὸ καλὸ ἀβγατίζει
πολύ *ς τὸ βράσιμο Τὸ φαεὶ ἀβγατίζει. *Λβγα-
τίζει τὸ ψωμί ἅμ' ἀνεβῆ, κοιν. Τ' ἀλεύρι τὸ
καλὸ ἀβγατάει Λακων. κ. ά. Τὸ φαγεὶ ἀβγατίσε
σήμερα Φιλίππουπ. Με τὸ λάδι ἀβγατίζει ἡ

ἀλιόδα (σκορδαλλιά) Ἰθάκ. "Όταν τρώς κρέας ἀβγατίζει καὶ τὸ ψωμί (ἤτοι ἐπαρκεῖ περισσότερο χρόνον) Παξ. Εἶναι φρεῖ ἀβγατίζαμενο, ἔχει σὰν τὸ κρέας ποῦ χάνεται μέσ' ἑς τὸ τσουκάλι αὐτόθ. Συνών. ἀβγατερό, ἀβγατιστερό, πληθερό. (2) Προχωρῶ, πηγαίνω καλὰ, προκόπτω, προοδεύω σύνηθ. : Δὲ 'βγατίζει ἡ δουλειὰ Κρήτ. Δὲν ἀβγατίζ' ἡ δ'λειὰ Ἰμβρ. Ἡ δουλειὰ ἀβγατίζει Μήλ. 'Ο ἀργάτης ἀβγάτισε (ἐπρωχώρησεν ἐν τῇ ἐργασίᾳ) Λακων. Περπατεῖ, ἀμ' ἐν ἡβγατίζ-ζει Σύμ. Δὲ 'βγατίζει ὁ μύλος (δὲν ἐργάζεται καλὰ, ἤτοι ἀλέθει ὀλίγον) Κρήτ. 'Βγατίζει τὸ χωράφι-τὸ κριθάρι (προχωρεῖ καλὰ ὁ θερισμός του) Τήλ. 'Βγατίζουν οἱ ἐλαιεὶς (ἀποδίδουν ὀρεκτὴν ποσότητα ἐλαίου) αὐτόθ. "Ετσι δὲ 'βγατίζει ἡ δουλειὰ σου Χίος. (β) Προχωρῶ περισσότερο ἄλλου, προσπερνῶ Σάμ. : "Ελα νὰ δοῦμι ποιὸς ὁ 'βγατίζ'. (γ) Ἀπρόσ, πηγαίνει καλὰ, συμφέρε Κρήτ. Λυκ. (Λιβύσσ.) : Δὲ με 'βγατίζει Κρήτ. Δὲν με 'βγατίν-νει Λιβύσσ. (3) Μεταφ. ἀπαλλάττομαι τῆς δυστυχίας, ἀνακύπτω ἐκ τῆς ἀφανείας, προάγομαι, εὐτυχῶ Πόντ. (Τραπ.)

(B) Μετβ. (1) Αὐξάνω, προσαυξάνω, μεγαλύνω, πολλαπλασιάζω κοιν. : "Ὡς τ' ἀβγατίσω τὰ γτήματά μου. Ἐφέτος ὁ 'βγατίσω τὴ δουλειὰ μου. Τοῦ ἀβγάτισε τὸ μιστὸ κοιν. Ἀβγάτ'σε τὸν παρὰ τ' Σαρ. ἐκκλ. Παδρευτήκην. ἀβγάτισαν ἡγγόνια καὶ ἡγγόνια! αὐτόθ. Ἀβγάτισα τὸ δρόμο (ἐπετάχυνα τὰ βήματά μου, ὥστε νὰ προχωρῶ περισσότερο) Λακων. : Φρ. Οὐ θζὸς νὰ τ' ἀβγατίζῃ τὸν ἱλπίδα! (εὐχή) Ἡπ.

|| Παροιμ. Τὸ καλὸ ἄλογο ἀβγατίζει μοναχὸ τοῦ τῆν ταγῇ (ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς ἱκανότητός του εὐδοκίμει) Λακων. || Ἄσμ.

Ποιὸς ἦταν π' ἀναστένανε, ποῦ στήθη τὸ καράβι ;
ἀν εἶν' ἀπὸ τοὺς δούλους μου, ρόγα νὰ τ' ἀβγατίσω

Πελοπν. (Αἶγ.) (β) Προσφέρω περισσότερα, ὑπερτιμῶ, πλειοδοτῶ ἐν πλειστηριασμῷ κττ. Β.Εὐβ. Ἡπ. Θεσσ. Θράκ. Κρήτ. Λυκ. (Λιβύσσ.) Σάμ. κ. ἀ. : Ἀβγάτισε καὶ τὸ πῆρε Θράκ. 'Σ αὐτὸ ποῦ 'δουσι ὁ 'βγατίσσω ἡγώ Σάμ. Συνών. ἀπανωβάνω. (2) Ἐπισπεύδω, τελειώνω, ἀποπερατώνω τι Ἀνδρ. Ζάκ. Θήρ. Κύθν. Νάξ. (Ἀπύρανθ. κ. ἀ.) Σίφν. Χίος κ. ἀ. : Ἀνῆλα πιάσαμε τὴν πλύσι καὶ ἀκόμα ν' ἀβγατίσωμε ! (πρὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἤρχισαμεν τὴν πλύσιν καὶ ἀκόμη δὲν ἐτελειώσαμεν) Ἀπύρανθ. Ἐβγατίσαμε σοὶ δουλειὰς αὐτόθ. "Ὡς τ' ἀβγατίσωμε σήμερα τὰ σῶκα (ἤτοι θὰ ἀποπερατώσωμεν τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν σύκων) Ἀνδρ. Ἡστρωσέ μου ὁ καιρὸς καὶ 'βγάτισα (ἐγινεν ὁ καιρὸς εὐνοικὸς καὶ ἐτελειώσα) Νάξ. Ἀλ-λα ποῦ ναι δροσιστὸ νὰ τ' ἀβγατίσωμε (ἐμπρὸς τῷ ποῦ εἶναι δροσιὰ νὰ τὰ τελειώσωμεν) Σίφν. Ἐλα, βγάτιζε, κ' ἡβγάδανε Θήρ. Ἐβγατίσαμε (ἐτελειώσαμεν δηλ. τὴν ἐργασίαν μας) Χίος Κοίταξε ν' ἀβγατίσεις μάνε μάνε (σπεῦσε νὰ ἔλθης ταχέως ἐννοουμένης ἡ μὴ ἀποπερατώσεως ἐργασίας τινός) αὐτόθ. Ἀβγάτισες τὰ ἔρθε (ἐπρόλαβες νὰ ἔλθης) Ἀνδρ. Πβ. ἀβγατένω.

The intention of the Lexicon is entirely scientific. It does not, therefore, concern itself in any way with what has been called the Question of the Language, τὸ γλωσσικὸν ζήτημα, and avoids in this matter taking any extreme position: it employs, that is to say, neither the very strong *katharevousa* (ὑπερκαθαρεύουσα), nor, on the other hand, does it use any pronouncedly demotic type of the language. For convenience of reference words are entered under their demotic form, and this too is naturally employed for quotations from the contemporary language. The rest of each entry is, as appears from the above sample, composed in a moderate form of the *katharevousa*. The aim of the Lexicon is to trace scientifically the formal and semantic history of the words of the Greek language, and not to support any special school of Greek writers.

This Lexicon of Modern Greek will be an extraordinary assistance to scholars working on the contemporary dialects and on the history of the language. No less will it assist the publication of mediaeval and dialectic texts, and the study of the ancient language, because it will not only give information as to the present existence of ancient words handed down to us by the literary tradition, but will also present us with a series of words which have not come down to us as ancient, but are for all that to be recognised for their form and meaning as either ancient or Hellenistic.

It also gives the true meaning of certain words that have either been wrongly explained or of uncertain significance.

We may now give a few of the more interesting words to be contained in the Lexicon, marking with an asterisk those which, although not handed down to us as such, are nevertheless to be regarded as part of the ancient language.

* αἰγιαλεύω (in the form γαλαεύω, Skopelos) = αἰλιεύω.

* ἀνατρομαλίζομαι = *I shake with cold.*

ἀνδρίζω = *I give my daughter to a man* (Pontos). This meaning of the word is not recorded in any text.

ἀνορταλίζω (Imbros) = *I fly.*

* ἀντιζύγιον (in the form ἀντιζύγι, Ainos). The common word is δράμια, *drachms*. In general use are the adj. ἀντίζυγος and the subst. ἀντιζυγία = ἰσοροπία.

* ἀπονύκτερος (in the Mani form ἀπονύχτερος) = *a man who stays out late*. Only the verb ἀπονυχτερεύω is generally preserved.

* ἀποσήτιον (in the Leukas form ποσήτι) = *the chaff left after corn has been sieved*. The verb ἀποσήθω is generally preserved.

ἀποσκορακίζω (Mani) = *στέλλω εἰς κόρακας*.

* ἀρτόβολος (in the Megiste form ἀρτόβολος) = *the wooden shovel used to insert loaves into the oven*.

* ἀστακόθηρον (in the Selynvria form ὄστακόθηρο) = *net to catch lobsters*.

ἄφαρεί (Paros) = *quickly*.

* βούστροφον, τὸ (Khimarra, Palaia Arta) = *a στρέμμα of land*. Lykophron, 1438, has βούστροφος (γῆ).

* δειλανδρίζομαι (in the form δειλαδρίζομαι from Viano in Crete) = *δελιῶ*. Only δειλανδρέω has hitherto been known.

* διάζυγον (in the Cypriot form διάζυον) = *anything used as a counterweight to a burden*.

* διαπόριον (in the Syme form διαπόρι) = *narrow passage*.

* δίκλοπος (Trebizond) = ὁ ὕπουλος, ὁ διχάζων τὴν γνώμην.

* δилаβία, ἡ (Rhodope) = *tongs*. In mediaeval glossaries the neuter form διλάβιον alone is found, and from Sphakia in Crete we have ξυλλάβι.

δίχα, and in Pontos θίγα, = *without*.

* δίφυχος (Pontos) = *with child*. Generally preserved only with the meaning of two opinions, διγνώμος, ἀστατος.

ἐγκαρδον, τὸ (in the Samothrace form ἐγκαρδο) = ὁ ἐγκάρδιος πόθος. Only ἐγκάρδιος is generally preserved.

* ἐκθαμπίζομαι (in the Siphnos form χταμπίζομαι) = *μένω ἐκθαμβος*.

ἐπαλαί (in the form ἑπαλα in Mani and ἑπαλος in Naxos) = *from of old, παλαιόθεν*.

* ἐννυκτον, τὸ (in the Kephallenia form ἐννυχτο) = *star*.

ἐννυχά (Rhodes) = *early in the morning*.

ἐξυμενίζω (in the Syme form ξυμενίτζω) = *I remove the husk from corn*, ἐκβάλλω τὸν ὕμνα τοῦ σίτου.

* ἐπίδρομος (in the Epeiros form ἀπίδρομος) = *the run a man takes before jumping*. Until now only the adj. ἐπίδρομος = ὀρμητικός has been recorded.

* ἐσμολόγος (in the Chian form ἀσμολόγος) = *the bee which leads the swarm*.

ζωοδέμιον (in the Pontic form from Amisos ζουδέμι) = *rope for tying animals*.

ἰσόζυγον (in the Cypriot form σόζυον) = *counterpoise*, for which the usual word is ντάρα. The adj. ἰσόζυγος = ἰσοβαρής is already known.

* καλλίβατος (Syme). A euphemism for *a place difficult to pass over*, δύσβατος τόπος.

* καρποθήκα (Syme) = *place in which to store fruit*.

καρπολόγος (Chalcidice) = *winnowing fork*, θρίναξ. The word has hitherto been known only as meaning *a man who gathers fruit*.

καταμάγια (ἡ) (Pontos) = *the cloth used for wiping out an oven and clearing it from ashes*. Hitherto only καταμάγιον (with ι and not with ει) has been recorded; the verb is καταμάσσω.

* κλαδοῦχος (Mani) = *he who prunes*.

* μομφεύω (in the Kythnos form μοφεύγω) = *I blame*, μέφομαι.

* νυκτοπάρωρα (in the Mani form νυχτοπάρωρα) = *at a late hour of the night*.

* ὀρνιθοκοίτης (Sphakia in Crete) = *place where birds roost*.

* προκερίας (in the Cyprus form προκερκᾶς) = *ox, whose horns are bent forwards*.

* πρόσβολον (Cyprus) = *the steel used to whet the edge of blunted agricultural tools*. In this sense only προσβολή has hitherto been recorded.

προσέργιον (in the Cypriot form προσέργιον) = *workman's belt of leather or cloth*.

* σμηνιά (Rhodes) = *shoals of fish in rivers*.

* συκολογή (in the Syme form συκολοή) = *basket in which figs, etc., are placed when they are gathered*.

The material in the Lexicon will show that in many cases the information given us by mediaeval lexicographers and writers has been rejected or corrected quite erroneously, the words under suspicion having been, as is now shown, preserved in many parts of Greece. Of this the following words may be taken as examples:—

Themistios (*Or.* 2. 40 *b*) reports the adjective ἀνέμπληστος, with the meaning ἀπληστος. When we find ἀνέμπληγος (= ἀνέμπληστος) in use in Euboeia with this same meaning ἀπληστος, we see how wrong the *Thesaurus* is in correcting the word in Themistios to ἀνέλπιστος.

In Hesychius we read ἀβύρβηλον· πολὺ . . . συρφετώδες, and in Suidas ἀβύρβηλος· πολὺς, μέγας, καὶ ὁ κατακορής. The correctness of the tradition is shown by the fact that to-day τὸ βύρβηλο means ἀφθονία. In the Peloponnese, for example, we hear such a phrase as: Ἄν θέλῃς ἀβγά, σοῦ βρίσκω τὸ βύρβηλο, that is, *in plenty*.

The *Thesaurus* suspects the word ἀνεργία, used in the *Oneirokritika* of Artemidoros (2. 28), and the new edition of Liddell and Scott explains the word by ἀεργία, *idleness, unemployment*, adding that it is a *v.l.* for ἀνεργασία. The passage in Artemidoros runs thus: Ὅρη καὶ νάπαι καὶ ἄγχεα καὶ φάραγγες . . . δυσθυμίας καὶ φόβους καὶ ταραχὰς καὶ ἀνεργίας προσημáινουσι. The word *idleness* quite plainly does not fit this passage at all. It is from the dialect of Karpathos that we get the true meaning of this word, for there ἀνεργία means ἀκαταστασία, ἀνώμαλος κατάσταση, and this is the meaning which should be given to the word in lexicons. The word is in Karpathos used actually to describe the confusion that there is in a hive of bees when the queen has been lost.

Hesychius has the entry μάγγανα· φάρμακα [δίκτυα] γόήματα, but the word γόημα is not found in our lexicons, and Schmidt wrongly corrected it to γοητεύματα. But in the Peloponnese, in Krini and in Epeiros, μάγγανα means *loud cries* (γόήματα) or *noisy quarrels*, and in Epeiros μαγγανίζω means *I shout*. Γόημα has therefore a right to a place in our lexicons.

So too the word στήριον is wrongly rejected. In Hesychius we read στήριον· ἱέρακι· Σέλευκος. The editor Schmidt proposed, but with some hesitation, the reading περιστήριον· ἱερατικὸν ἔνδυμα, and the *Thesaurus* marked the word as *obscurum*. But at the present day at Kissamos in Crete στόρι is the name of a very big kind of hawk. Hesychius is therefore correct and we should read the passage, στήριον (ἢ στόριον)· ἱεράκιον· Σέλευκος.

Hesychius also gives ταρόν· ταχύ, and the word ταρός· ταχύς should be in our lexicons. There is no necessity to follow Schmidt in correcting τὸ ταρόν to (δ)τραρόν, because we now know that in Crete and at Lasta in Gortynia ταρός is at present used of wind in the meaning of ταχύς.²

The modern Greeks have necessarily a closer connexion with the Byzantine than with the ancient Greek world. The number of Byzantine words still preserved is, in fact, very great, and the help afforded by the full resources of Modern Greek to the understanding of Byzantine words, hitherto quite unexplained or explained quite wrongly, can hardly be overrated.³ In editing this Modern Greek Lexicon one becomes aware at every step of the use of Modern Greek for understanding the Byzantine, and conversely how much a knowledge of the Byzantine helps the study of the contemporary language. The root meaning of many modern words is to be discovered only from their Byzantine use, and Byzantine Greek alone provides the clue to many modern phonetic, formal, and semantic problems. Each of the two lexicons, the Modern and the Byzantine, forms a most necessary complement to the other.

² See also the notes on these corrections contributed by B. Phavis, S. Deinakis and myself to Ἑλληνικά, XXXVIII, p. 67, and to the Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον, II, pp. 92, 96, 148.

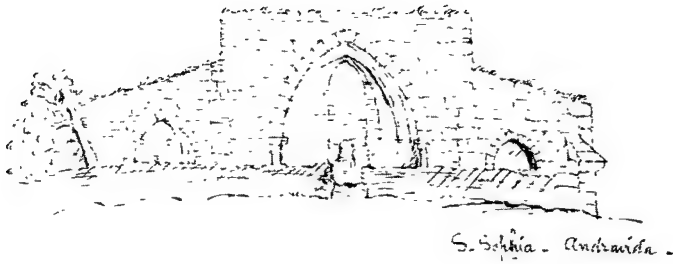
³ Of this the reader will find many examples in the paper Παρατηρήσεις καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γλωσσάριον τοῦ *Du Cange*, which I published in Ἑλληνικά, XLII, pp. 34–65.

For these reasons the Greeks are anxious to see a complete lexicon of the Byzantine texts, to answer to the requirements of modern scholarship. The feeling in this matter expressed so excellently at the Second International Byzantine Congress, held at Belgrade, by the distinguished linguistic scholar Paul Kretschmer, was therefore regarded as very timely. His proposal was that the Academies should collaborate in producing such a lexicon, above all in alliance with the Russian Academy, in connexion with which the late Theodore Uspenski and the Russian Byzantinologists had already made certain preliminary studies with a view to a fresh edition of the Greek Glossary of Du Cange. This opportune and very well argued proposal met with the universal approval of the members, and the philological section appointed a committee of five to discuss the project: these were Paul Kretschmer, the late August Heisenberg, Hubert Pernot, Eugen Darko, and myself. The deliberations took a favourable course, and the Academy of Athens was persuaded to take the initiative in the publication of a complete lexicon of the Byzantine period. This resolution was announced in a speech on the subject by George Hatzidakis at a full meeting of the Third International Byzantine Congress, held at Athens. But at the last moment those who were responsible hesitated to proceed, in view of the impossibility of coping scientifically with so heavy a task: the undertaking was thus postponed. But for all that the Academy of Athens, by way of taking a first preliminary step, resolved to publish a lexicon of proper names, both of persons and of places, occurring in books and documents from the Fall of Constantinople to the year 1800. They further resolved to collect from these same sources the linguistic material that will contribute towards the future construction of a lexicon. The Academy also founded about two years ago a special Archive for this purpose, with its scriptorium in the Academy building, in which the Lexicon of the Modern Greek Language is also housed. My readers, and especially those concerned with the study and publication of mediaeval texts, can imagine how detrimental this postponement has been to our researches. At a time when Byzantine studies are being widely prosecuted and fresh texts constantly coming to light, the publication of a complete Byzantine lexicon is a pressing necessity. But in any case the Academy of Athens, by its undertaking in 1926 the supervision and publication of a Lexicon of Modern Greek, and by establishing two years ago this mediaeval Archive, two tasks both to the credit of scholarship in Greece, will undoubtedly render great services to students of Greek letters, and give a fresh impulse to Byzantine and Modern Greek studies.

PHAIDON KOUKOULES.⁴

⁴ This article has been written expressly for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* by Professor Phaidon Koukoules, now Professor of the Study of Byzantine Private and Public Life in the University of Athens,

and until a year ago the Editor-in-Chief of the Lexicon. For the translation I alone am responsible. —R. M. DAWKINS.



[A 6. 18, p. 278. Sept. 25th, 1882.]

FIG. 1.

COLONEL T. M. CROWDER'S TRAVEL JOURNALS

ALL members of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, about half a century ago, were acquainted with a row of little brown volumes which stood in the Bursar's study: they contained the records of his travels in most parts of Europe and the Near East, and anyone who thought of going abroad to those regions or was interested in their geography naturally betook himself to the Fellows' Buildings with any problems that presented themselves. Then the appropriate volume was brought out, and it was rarely that information was not forthcoming: wherefore the collection was known in College as the Book of Jasher.

Colonel Crowder was Bursar of Corpus from 1874 to 1892, and after his death in the latter year his journals were presented to the College by his nephew, Sir Matthew Dodsworth. They are now in the strong-room among the College MSS., and there is so much valuable information contained in them that it seems desirable to place their existence on record and to give some idea of their scope and character. Their shelf-numbers are C 6. 4-7, A 6. 1-22: twenty-two journeys in all are described, but only eight of these were in Hellenic lands, and attention will be confined to these eight.

The first journey was in 1853: starting from Paris on Jan. 22, Col. Crowder made his way down through Italy and crossed from Naples to Palermo: he spent a month in Sicily, visiting Alcamo, Trapani, Marsala, Castel Vetrano, Sciacca, Girgenti, Palma, Terranova, Caltagirone, Lentini, Syracuse, Catania, Nicolosi, Giardini, and Messina: thence he went by way of Malta and Syra to Athens, which he reached on April 9. From April 14 to May 9 he toured the Morea: on May 14 he left Athens again and travelled through Thessaly, leaving Volo for Salonica on May 25: four days were spent in Chalcidike and eight in Athos: then he crossed Thessaly and Epirus to Corfu, and made his way back to Athens through Boeotia: finally quitting Athens on July 13, he went to Constantinople and spent about six weeks there before returning home through Austria.

In the next year, 1854, he went to Egypt in November and up the Nile to the Second Cataract, returning to Cairo and then travelling by Suez, Mt. Sinai, Akaba, and Petra to Jerusalem: he traversed Palestine to Damascus and Baalbek, and spent the summer of 1855 in a cottage on the Lebanon: after a visit to Palmyra he took steamer from

Beyrout to Constantinople, went up to the Crimea, and returned through Constantinople, Athens, and Corfu.

The next trip was a briefer one: he arrived at Constantinople on July 12, 1861, and visited Brusa, Olympus, the Dardanelles, Mount Ida, Gallipoli, Cavalla, Athos, Salonica, Monastir, Ochrida, Argyrocastro, Butrinto, and Corfu, which he left on Oct. 9.

In 1865 his route took him through Macedonia in the opposite direction: leaving Trieste on July 11, he went down the Dalmatian coast to Cattaro and crossed by Cetinje, Scodra, Prisrend, Uskub, and the Vardar valley to Salonica, and then saw Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion on his way to Volo and Athens.

His first visit to the Greek islands was in 1874: he reached Athens on March 12, and five days later took boat for Syra, Delos, and Tenos: then he had eight days in Crete, and called at several islands on his way back to Syra and Piraeus, whence he went home through Corinth, Patras, and Brindisi.

In 1879 he went further afield, to Armenia: starting from Samsun he made his way by Ladik, Amasia, Boghazkoi, and Yuzgat to Kaisarieh: thence he went through Sivas and Kharput to Bitlis, and by Van and Erzerum to Trebizond.

He renewed his acquaintance with the Peloponnesus in 1882, when he left Athens on Sept. 31, and went through Corinth and Argos to Sparta: then from Kalamata he travelled north through Karytena and Pyrgos to Patras. On this journey he paid special attention to mediaeval remains.

His last journey in Greek lands was in 1886, when he crossed at the end of March from Athens to Mytilene and visited Ionia: his route included Chios, Smyrna, Ephesus, Samos, and Patmos, and the last ten days were spent in Rhodes.

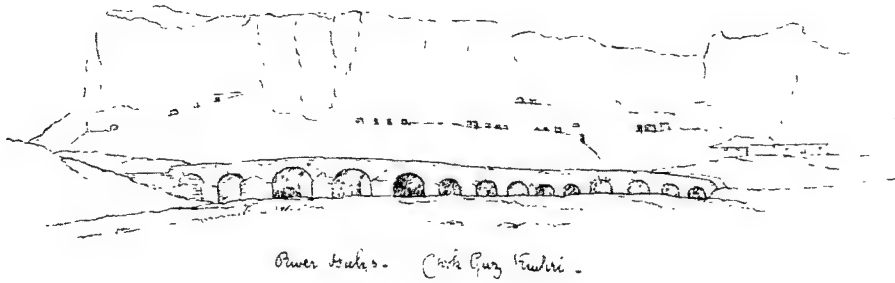
All the later journeys were made in company with the Rev. H. F. Tozer, and to some extent the material in Col. Crowder's diaries has already been published in Mr. Tozer's books. But the fellow-travellers looked at things from different points of view, and it is interesting to compare their accounts and to see how one supplements the other. A few excerpts from the journals will give the best idea of their general nature.

[Delos. March 1874. A 6. 11, p. 209.]

Fri: 20. These hovels [i.e. the huts on Delos] are built partly of old materials with contracting doorways in the Ionic or Egyptian style, and without appears the detached drum of a column like an altar. There are no doors, and within chaff and rotten straw scattered over the ground hold fleas plentifully.

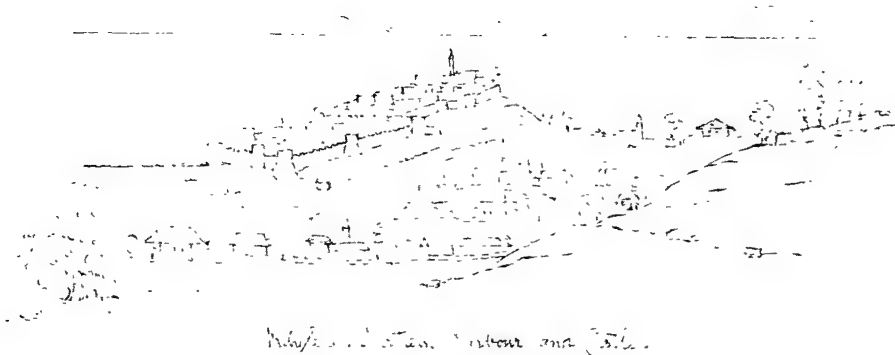
Excepting in the dip hard by us, the island is very rugged and bestrewn with granite. There is much lentisk amongst these rocks and many beautiful wild flowers, particularly anemones of various colours, and in size much larger than ours. Mt. Cynthus rising about at an even distance between N. and S. of the island, it is upon its W. slope and in the N. half of the isle that such remains of antiquity as exist are to be found. There are literally few stones standing one upon the other excepting in the theatre, which is clearly visible upon the slope just mentioned, and where in some parts of the N. wall as many as 14 horizontal courses remain, although they are by no means regular and the ends of the blocks are often cut diagonally instead of perpendicularly. The interior arrangement of the seats is visible although very ruinous, and below the proscenium appear vaults. This and the public buildings generally

upon the island were of Parian marble, which with all due allowance for human destructive agency does not appear to stand weather as well as the stone of Pentelicus.



[A 6. 14. p. 102. July 29th, 1879.]

FIG. 2.



[A 6. 20. p. 54. March 31st, 1886.]

FIG. 3.

[Aladschakhan to Hekimkhan. August 1879. A 6.14, p. 247.]

- 6.0 Thurs: 14. We effected an earlier start than usual, and entered upon scenery of a far superior character to the bare uplands we have lately traversed, our day's march being mostly through a wild vale with considerable bush vegetation. The course pursued was generally E. of S.E., and, after rising a slight ridge on leaving the village, we descended at once to a valley watered by a winding
- 8.15 stream named Yelani Su, or the snake-water. From this we turned away up the left bank of a tributary torrent, with much shaly

10.15 brown iron-stone in the cliffs and slopes, and then descended gradually upon a small river flowing from the N. It was a picturesque open spot with enclosing heights, and the river we crossed by a large-arched bridge where we found increasing vegetation.

The stream-bed was full of willow and tamarisk, and this abundance of tamarisk-bushes and briars on the mountain slopes formed a most pleasing relief for our parched eyes as we followed the course of this same brook during the rest of the day. The water finds its way to the Murad below the junction of the two arms, but as will be seen we left its course for higher ground at Hekimkhan. The village of Hassan Djelebi lay out of our way to the left, and accordingly turning from the track that led thither in a S.E. direction we followed the stream and telegraph wire southwards into a narrow gorge. With many bends the vale gradually led us into the original S.E. line, the water of the stream thin but very clear, the rocks dark and shaly and sometimes conglomerate, although the general character of the district is limestone. We were anxiously looking out for a khan or a spring, but no such luxury as gushing water was to be found amidst these igneous-looking cliffs. We passed a halted caravan on a patch of pasture near the river-side, wild independent wanderers who reminded me much of Arabs, 12.50 their spears fixed in the ground, themselves reposing or sauntering near their grazing horses. Not far beyond we were compelled to halt by the cravings of hunger, and beside the stream beneath the shade of overhanging willow-bushes we rested on a somewhat moist bank (3910 ft.) and again found the pocket filter useful when slaking our thirst from an open running rivulet. In these wild and little inhabited regions it is difficult to obtain definite names for localities. Our host at Hekimkhan called the stream that we were following Chirzeh and the valley Karagasik.

3.0 In the afternoon the rocks became extremely picturesque, varied by hillocks of many colours. The foliage also slightly increased and we skirted gardens of herbs, the result of irrigation. The course was a little more S. and we met with many striking features. At one time on the left side of the valley we crossed a huge shoulder of cliff by a rugged track gazing down on the main stream immediately below us and to our left over a picturesque depression with a tributary crossed by a distant bridge. Again we skirted the foot of a 4.23 small Lurlei-like precipice rising sheer from the river-side. At 4.55 length near what appeared to be the mouth of the vale there appeared a detached mass of rock, and here we ascended E. gradually on to a ridge intervening between the valley and our night's quarters. Below us to the left there lay a very verdant dip with many gardens and much irrigation.

As we advanced over the high ground S.E. there suddenly opened out before us the considerable village of Hekimkhan, with intervening grey arid undulations, and built upon the slope of a dazzling bare ridge at the foot of a hill of striking pyramidal form.

5.25 A few minutes were spent in a hasty sketch of this fine position, and then jogging onwards I caught up our party just settling down in a house a little aside from the main village.



[A 6. 14, p. 182. Aug. 6th, 1879.]

FIG. 4.



[A 6. 14, p. 252. Aug. 14th, 1879.]

FIG. 5.

[Kaliani to Muria Khan. September 1882. A 6. 18, p. 245.]

8.25 Fri: 22. Upon resuming our march this morning we found ourselves high up on the left slopes of the deep wide vale of the Ruphia, as the Ladon now is called, an expanse green with much Indian

corn, the view northwards bounded by the dark uninteresting mass of Erymanthus, the modern Olenos. In the opposite direction, however, beyond the Alpheius towards Andritzena, the outline of the mountains was more broken and picturesque. Our course along the slopes N.W. by a good path led through many well-grown oaks as we gradually descended towards and then converged with the river (450), where upon a wide sandy and shingly bed we found in two streams a greater bulk of water than we had yet seen in the Morea. There was much plane bush, and here in the hot low regions we again meet with the usual foliage, agnus-castus and olives. Having crossed by a ford we halted a little above the bank beneath a magnificent plane overshadowing an excellent fountain. Our ride continued by an ascent into the forest intervening between the Ruphia and the Doana, the latter the ancient Erymanthus known by one and the same name as the lofty mountain whence it derives its source. These are the principal tributaries of the Alpheius, and the Ruphia contributes such a copious stream that in modern days its name has been conferred upon the river of Olympia from the confluence of its waters to the sea. In the forest on which now we entered we found some of the finest vegetation in Greece, principally ilex, the ordinary oak, and much heath. The scenery much reminded us of Euboea. After descending to the Doana, we crossed the river-bed, some quarter of a mile wide, extending between the steep wooded banks and also varied by much small plane and heath. Again mounting into the forest we rode beneath the shade of many vivid green pines with the same leafage as the isthmian but far more lofty. There was an abundance of murmuring streamlets before we emerged out on to a mere heather level where the forest as in North America had been destroyed by fire. So past the village of Lykoures, where the scene was enlivened by a number of very dirty dragoons halting for refreshment, and now we soon obtained our first view of the main Alpheius stream winding away in the distance to the W. in a picturesque tortuous course. Through a mud-built poverty-stricken village we descended to the river bank (250), but here no oleanders gladdened our eyes. The Alpheius valley, after all, excepting for its associations with Olympia is not very admirable. It is too damp, close, and malarious, the friable soil of clay, the river bed too big for its stream, the neighbourhood an expanse of irrigated Indian corn, and the gentle verdant enclosing hills not specially attractive. We stopped for the night at the Khan of Muria, some distance from the right bank and upon a slight elevation, where we had an airy and not uncomfortable lodging, the large upper storey being open to front and rear and very clean.

As may be seen from the second of these extracts, Colonel Crowder made sketches of the country through which he passed, and many of the sketches are in the journals, adding considerably to their interest and

value. But the written account in itself is vivid, and as the record of the experiences of a keen observer is worth study by anyone who desires to know what the Hellenic lands were like in the second half of the last century.

J. G. MILNE.



[A 6. 18. p. 268. Sept. 24th, 1882.]

FIG. 6.

A FORGOTTEN FACTOR OF GREEK NAVAL STRATEGY

IT is a common-place of most scholars, followed enthusiastically by writers of text-books, that Greek sailors did not like the sea; they went from island to island, or crept along the coast. Rarely did they leave the sight of land, and then only the most venturesome; and they did not sail by night. I don't know that I have seen it stated in so many words, but it is implied that the close relations between Miletus and Sybaris were maintained by voyages across the Aegean to Corinth (*e.g.*: 'Corinth becomes the centre of exchange with Italy: it pays better to break cargo at the isthmus than to sail round the stormy coasts of the Peloponnese' ¹), thence (but in Milesian or foreign ships?) through the gulf, up the north-west coast to Corcyra, hurriedly and anxiously across to Otranto, then, following every curve of the coast, past Tarentum and Metapontum, to their goal. If goods must go further, as so many did to Etruria, they took another isthmus-route overland to Laus or Scidrus, thence along the coast again, even as far as Massalia and Emporiae. I was correcting an examination paper the other day in which candidates were asked to mark trade-routes on a map: some of them marked a route from Piraeus to Cyrene *via* Rhodes, Phaselis, the Syrian coasts and Egypt, and another *via* Corinth and the coast route to Sicily, to Selinus, Carthage, and the Syrtes; the sea-route from Athens to the Hellespont was shewn as by the Euripus, the Thessalian coast, every curve of the Chalcidic peninsula, and the coast of Thrace. I did not know whether to deduct marks; for this is certainly what they are taught. Yet it clearly does not give the whole picture of Greek marine commerce. If it did, Corinth, Sicyon and Corcyra would soon have had a monopoly of trade with the west; but in fact Chalcis and Eretria, Miletus, Samos, Phocaea, later Athens and Rhodes, did as much; and it is certain that they were none of them dependent on Corinth for the privilege. Moreover, further west, Massalia was founded, not by Cumae or Velia or Syracuse, as would be expected on the isthmus-theory, but from Phocaea; and trade was maintained by the Straits of Messene and Corsica. Samos traded direct with Spain; and, we may be sure, their vessels did not hug the coast of Africa, dependent on the good-will of the Carthaginians. If we look at recorded cases, we can see that trading vessels sailed direct from Egypt to Rhodes and Athens, and from Sicily to Athens: ² on the former voyage vessels did not necessarily put in at Rhodes between

¹ Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, I. p. 201. Thucydides regarded the isthmus as a land-bridge between North Greece and the Peloponnese, as we do, not between two seas: οἰκίζοντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ αἰεὶ δὲ ποτὲ ἐμπορίου εἶχον, τῶν

Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμιζόντων, χρημασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, κ.τ.λ. (I. 13-5).

² Dem. LVI., XXXII.

Egypt and Piraeus;³ and in the Zenothemis case we read that a voyage was begun direct from Syracuse to Piraeus, and when two or three days out at sea, at night-time, the ship sank (scuttled, it was alleged), and the crew managed to reach Cephallenia in the λέμβος.⁴ When Herodotus⁵ gives the length and breadth of the Euxine, though inaccurately, the correct inference is that the Greeks sailed, when necessary, direct from Byzantium or Sinope to Tauris, from Odessus to Phasis; and by night as well as by day.⁶ We can be certain that Milesian vessels did in fact sail to Sybaris round the stormy south coast of the Peloponnese, and across the Ionian sea; that Corinth and Athens traded direct with Etruria, not *via* Sybaris, and that Phocaean vessels were to be seen in Massalia, and Massaliots in the East.

On the other hand, the Athenian fleet on its way to Syracuse did sail first to Corcyra and hugged the shores of Italy; the fleet to Egypt touched at Cyprus and perhaps at Phaselis, as well as at Rhodes; and the fighting in Phoenicia (Erechtheid inscription) may have been in the course of sailing along the coast towards Egypt. What was the reason for this variety in practice? It was due to a radical difference between warships and merchantmen; and when this has been analysed we shall be in a position to understand as well one of the chief factors in Greek naval strategy. The merchantman was built to carry heavy loads, and went under sail. Its crew were comparatively few in number, we do not know how many for any class of ship, and in addition to the crew there were usually the cargo-owner, the master and owner of the ship, and the ship's captain, with, presumably, their personal servants.⁷ In a ship under sail, carrying heavy cargo, it was easy to carry as well food and water for all persons on board for many days. A journey from Athens, Miletus or Rhodes to S. Italy and Sicily, without a break for revictualling, was possible enough; or from Athens and Rhodes to Egypt, Cyrene to Gytheum or Piraeus, Byzantium to Phasis; sailing both night and day. Contrast the conditions of the trireme: it was propelled by oars. Men (especially, if you like, free men) cannot row more than a few hours continuously, nor more than a certain number in every twenty-four, in ordinary circumstances (a forced journey, like that of the ship that took the second decree to Mytilene, gives the extreme of endurance). Secondly, the trireme, unlike the galleys of Roman and later times, was built for speed, as lightly as possible and to carry as few passengers as possible; the development of naval tactics by Athens in the fifth century increased this tendency: there were forty 'passengers' *plus* the officers in the Chian ships at Lade; in the later

³ Dem. LVI. 9.

⁴ Dem. XXXII. 5-8. The agreement cited in XXXV. 10-12 is for a voyage from Piraeus to Mende or Scione and the Bosphorus, thence by the west coast to Borysthenes, and a return direct to Piraeus.

⁵ IV. 86.

⁶ Thuc. II. 97 also shows that night voyaging was common. But it is unnecessary to multiply instances; the fact that some knowledge of the stars was necessary for the skilled seaman is sufficient proof. It is only necessary to stress the fact. And

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

that trading by sea in winter was avoided if possible was due, not so much to the fear of bad weather, as to the difficulty of sailing on cloudy nights, and even cloudy days, with no stars or sun as guide, and no compass.

⁷ All of these 'passengers' and the crew could, in case of shipwreck, take to the ship's one λέμβος (Dem. XXXII). Ordinary passengers, however, sometimes had little chance of safety: Dem. XXXIV. 10, when thirty were drowned, the master and the crew saved.

Athenian vessels only ten and the officers, and the ships were even lighter built. But the whole number of persons on board was round about 200; for so many it was impossible to carry more than at most a day or two's supply of food⁸ and, especially, of water (rowing in the Mediterranean summer is thirsty work, however abstemious the Greeks were); it was at all times desirable to carry as little deadweight as possible. There was not normally room for sleeping on board (contrast Thuc. III. 49. 3), perhaps no means of cooking for the whole crew. All this meant that on an ordinary journey the trireme would not travel for more than twelve hours a day at most, and must if possible put in to land once every twenty-four hours to renew its supply of food and water (of the latter, at least), to give the rowers proper rest and sleep, and to cook a meal.⁹ That is why the triremes, unlike the merchantmen, hugged the coast. Troopships and horse-transporters suffered from similar limitations. Even when, as on the Syracusan expedition, special ships with a corn-supply and bakers accompanied the fleet (Thuc. VI. 44. 1), a landing would be necessary for the baking if the food was to be consumed *en route*; actually it was intended as an emergency supply once the armament reached Sicily.

This involved yet another condition in war-time, that the shore, into which they were compelled so frequently to put, should be friendly or benevolently neutral, or at least not occupied by the enemy. Consider Thucydides' description of the voyage to Sicily, remembering that the larger the armament the greater the difficulty of finding food: the whole armament is collected and reviewed at allied Corcyra, and divided into three divisions, ἵνα μήτε ἅμα πλείοντες ἀπορῶσιν ὕδατος καὶ λιμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν ταῖς καταγωγαῖς, πρὸς τε τὰλλα εὐκοσμότεροι . . . ὦσιν, κ.τ.λ. They sailed across to C. Otranto, then along the Italian coast, τῶν μὲν πόλεων οὐ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶ οὐδὲ ἔσται, ὕδατι δὲ καὶ ὄρμῳ, Τάραντος δὲ καὶ Λοκρῶν οὐδὲ τούτοις, ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτήριον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἡθροίζοντο, καὶ ἕξω τῆς πόλεως, ὥς αὐτοὺς ἔσω οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, στρατόπεδόν τε κατεσκευάσαντο ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ, οὗ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀγορὰν παρείχον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνελκύσαντες ἡσύχασαν. Such were the difficulties of a naval expedition abroad: they were able in places to land for water (the prime necessity) and to anchor for rest; some cities would not allow even this; the most friendly allowed them to land and set up a camp, and from there to buy food; an ally would have offered entry into the town as well with all the facilities for lodging and purchase. Similarly, Apollodorus son of Pasion doubtless exaggerated the dangers and discomforts that he had so patriotically undergone; but he correctly describes the conditions of naval warfare, when he says that, *the shore being hostile*, his ship could not put in for the evening meal, and his men went supperless and sleepless the whole night.¹⁰

⁸ Three days' supply just before a battle was taken in by the Corinthians: Thuc. I. 48. 1.

⁹ See in particular Xen. *Hell.* VI. 2. 27-30, Iphicrates' expedition round the Peloponnese; keeping in mind that Xenophon was a landsman.

For the importance of the water-supply for all

ships, see *Stadiasmus Maris Graeci* (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* I. 427 ff.), which gives directions where water was to be found; Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 54; and Athen. V. 208A: all quoted by Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, 6-8.

¹⁰ Dem. L (c. *Polyclem*). 22.

That is to say, a Greek fleet had an extremely narrow range of action; it must be within easy reach, a few hours' journey, of a suitable friendly shore—a shore that is, that has not only an abundance of food and water, especially the latter, but on which a regular encampment can be made, where men can land, cook, sleep, and embark again at any time. A fleet is, of course, always to some extent tied to its base; no fleet, however strong at sea, can live long without the land; it must be able from time to time to renew supplies of food and, now, fuel, and to do repairs; but in the days of the great sailing-ships and in modern times, a fleet can be at sea for days and cover great distances, pursuing or avoiding the enemy. A Greek fleet of triremes had every day, so to speak, to have a base of some kind within easy reach. On a distant expedition, it was almost more dependent on a friendly shore than an army on a friendly country: land troops can more easily forage for themselves; the only advantage to the fleet being that it could, within limits, choose its own place for landing. The trireme, in fact, was not built for the open sea. It was built for speed, therefore as lightly as possible, but for speed in manœuvre, in actual battle, not for voyaging; for tactics, that is, not for strategy. Hence, for a battle, even tackle was left on shore, as at Plemmyrion and Aegospotami. Conditions of supply making it anyhow impossible for the ships to be long away from shore, the naval architects concentrated all their skill in building light vessels that could be easily handled in battle, but were unfit, comparatively, for the open sea. Rowing is in any case not a reasonable method of travel by sea. Tarn is right in saying a trireme was more like 'a glorified racing eight' than a ship;¹¹ and racing eights are not built for voyages.

This characteristic of the trireme, the unsuitability of its build for the sea, and its dependence on the land for almost daily supplies, has been noted by scholars who have given special attention to the subject, by Tarn¹² and Köster,¹³ for example, though their accounts have not received sufficient recognition from historians; and the latter has shown the distinction between the Greek merchant vessel and the trireme noted above.¹⁴ But the proper application of the principle to Greek naval strategy has, as far as I know, been missed. Take first the Persian War. The Greeks gave up the idea of holding the pass of Tempe, we are told, because it could be turned: certainly an insufficient excuse for the retreat. The Greek army, in full force, could have held all the passes, certainly long enough to have secured the loyalty of Thessaly. But for the navy conditions were different. It must be there if it was to prevent the Persian fleet sailing south and capturing passes in the rear of the Greek army; but there was scarcely a

¹¹ *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 1930, p. 124.

¹² *Op. cit.*, and 'The Greek Warship,' *JHS*. 1905, pp. 137, 204.

¹³ *Das Antike Seewesen*, Berlin, 1923, and in Kromayer u. Veith, *Heerwesen u. Kriegführung*, Munich, 1928 (in Müller's *Handbuch*). Indeed both Köster and Tarn somewhat exaggerate the unseaworthiness of the trireme, its helplessness in bad weather, for

example. We seldom hear of Athenian fleets destroyed by storm: after Arginusæ the undamaged vessels survived well enough.

¹⁴ *Seewesen*, pp. 186–7. He also (p. 143) has much of interest about Greek sailing, pointing out, as is unfortunately still necessary, that it is not true that they could only sail with a following wind. See also p. 81, on the Homeric sailor.

tenable position for it. Between the mouth of the Peneus and C. Sepias (or whatever was the S.E. point of Magnesia), the whole line of the eastern shore of Ossa, Pelion and Magnesia is inhospitable to ships, exposed to the N.E. winds, and offering no landing anywhere for a large number of men, and though well supplied with water, very ill supplied with food;¹⁵ the land round the mouth of the Peneus itself offers a sandy shore and easy landing and room for encampment, but there was no town there, and supplies would have had to come through Tempe; Persian land troops, coming down by the E. coast, E. and then S. of Olympus, would have cut off the fleet from its supplies and from contact with the army, even without forcing the pass of Tempe. If we add to this the tactical position, that the Greek fleet would have been compelled to engage the enemy in the open waters, where their slower speed¹⁶ and inferior numbers would have exposed them to the greatest disadvantage, and that, in the event of defeat, they had no retreat but to their base at the Peneus mouth, and would have been entirely cut off, we can see why the Greek commanders chose rather to lose Thessaly than risk the whole cause with so little prospect of victory, and when defeat would have been decisive.

At Artemisium the whole position was superior: tactically, because they could fight in more enclosed waters, and strategically, because Euboea formed a good base, and the N. coast good landing ground, and they could, in case of need, retreat down the Atalanta channel to Chalcis or further, *provided that the shores were friendly*. It is said often enough that after the fall of Thermopylae the fleet retreated as well because to remain N. of Euboea was useless; but this is only half the truth: it retreated because its position would have become untenable. With Xerxes in possession of the coast of Opuntian Locris, and then of Chalcis and Euboea, the fleet at Artemisium was as much cut off from its base as if it had been a land force; or, at least, it would have been compelled to sail out eastwards, towards the open sea and across the Persian front, and then down the barren east coast of Euboea. The fleet must be near its base; with the Persians occupying on land first Locris, then Boeotia and Attica, it was forced back to Salamis or the Isthmus.¹⁷ Similarly on the Persian side: it is wrong to argue with, for example, Wace,¹⁸ that Aphetæ cannot have been within the Gulf of Pagasæ or at its entrance, because 'if the Persians could enter the Gulf, they would have passed the Greeks at Artemisium and have outflanked Leonidas at Thermopylae.' They could not do that unless

¹⁵ The Greek fleet might, as a matter of fact, have been stationed at Artemisium with the army in Thessaly, if it could have been sure of holding the enemy fleet; for the latter could do nothing between Tempe and the Gulf of Pagasæ to hamper the Greek army. But in the event of defeat, the army would have been lost.

¹⁶ Although all good writers since Grote have recognised the technical superiority of the Persian ships, it is too often forgotten, and needs emphasising once more. The position at Artemisium, and still more at Salamis, was the same as in the concluding

battles of the Syracusan expedition: the better ships and seamen were at a disadvantage in narrow waters.

¹⁷ Koster, *Seeuwen*, p. 211, and in Kromayer-Veith, p. 167, rightly calls the Greek position *unhaltbar* after the fall of Thermopylae, but without explaining why. Kromayer (*ibid.*, p. 149) followed the usual view in calling it *gegendstandlos*, as did Grote (iv. p. 170). Koster, *Seeuwen*, p. 140, touches on strategy as affected by the build of the trireme, but misses the main point.

¹⁸ 'Topography of Pelion, etc.', *JHS*. 1906, p. 146.

at the same time they had secured the shore behind Themistocles and Leonidas, as later they might have landed at Argos to turn the position at the Isthmus, if Argos was really friendly. Otherwise they might have as easily outflanked the Greeks by sailing down the east coast of Euboea. But the Persian army and fleet moved together even more for the sake of the latter than the former.

I am not supposing that this explains all the difficulties in the story of the Artemisium-Thermopylae fighting. These consist in the action of the Phocians, and the fact that a Spartan king was sent to guard the passes with a considerable, yet manifestly inadequate, force. There are two passes by which Central Greece can be reached from the Spercheios valley, the one by Thermopylae and Elatea, the other in a southerly direction (as the railway and a road in modern times) towards Doris and the western end of the Phocian plain, and thence by Amphissa to Delphi. This latter route appears to have been of quite secondary importance, in both Greek and Roman times (note that, if Herodotus is right, the Phocian defence against Thessalian inroads is at Thermopylae); but it must have been known, and in all probability the 'flight' of the Phocians before Hydarnes was nothing more than a retreat of outposts and a concentration to defend it, under the mistaken impression that it was here that the Persian turning movement was to be attempted. By the time the enemy was through Thermopylae and on the road to Elatea the Phocians were cut off from their allies and surrendered. But the numbers at Thermopylae, considerable but insufficient, are unexplained. It may be that a bad blunder was committed, and it was thought the force would be sufficient. It may be, as Kromayer supposes, that the Greeks never intended anything but a delaying action (as they had intended at Tempe too), to hold the Persians while the defence at the Isthmus was completed, and that everything except the cutting-off of Leonidas and some of his troops went according to plan.¹⁹ It may be that the boundless optimism and energy of Themistocles had persuaded them that a decisive victory could be obtained at sea, if Thermopylae were held for but a short time, and therefore the whole fleet was put into action, though only small land-forces. But it seems more probable that Herodotus' account is near the truth, that the mistake was due to dissension among the allies, some being for action at Thermopylae, others for the Isthmus. We are familiar enough with instances, at all periods of history, of disputes within governments as to whether an expedition shall be sent—some vehemently in favour, others as strongly against, with the result that a

¹⁹ A great deal of folly has been written by historians, from Herodotus to Beloch, about the action of Leonidas. Here at least there should be no difficulty. He found his position was turned, and it was his duty to extricate his army by a quick retreat. He at once sent back his troops: but a retreat, with the enemy in pursuit, does not consist only in a quick march with your back to the enemy. Leonidas had to keep some troops, and those the most reliable, to cover the retreat, to face the enemy. He chose that duty for himself, and his Spartans, Thebans and Thespians, running the risk, an unavoidable

risk, of being cut off. That was the action of a good soldier and a brave man, which Leonidas was.

Kromayer also suggests that the Greeks would have defended the Cithaeron-Parnes line, either north or south of the mountain-range, if they had had sufficient troops at their disposal, as they had next year, but not in 480, when so many men were on board ship. But practically the whole of the Peloponnesian army, and probably the Boeotian as well, was available. It was not the Greek habit to defend mountain passes.

compromise is reached and the expedition starts, but an inadequate one. (Just as, I imagine, after fierce debate among the directors of our railway companies, it was decided that fresh bread should be served in restaurant-cars, provided that there be not enough of it.) Even so, it is difficult to understand the absence of any Athenian force at Thermopylae. A large proportion of their men were at sea, much larger than in any subsequent campaign; but not all of them; and no one can accuse them of lack of enthusiasm. Perhaps Themistocles persuaded his countrymen to concentrate all their energies on the fleet, and would not risk his land-forces on so inadequately-found an expedition as that to Thermopylae.

However that may be, Xerxes occupied Phocis, Boeotia, Attica. Then, and not till then, when the coast was in friendly hands, could the Persian fleet sail round and be ready to engage the Greeks at Salamis; without Phaleron as a new base they would have been helpless. Once there the question was, whose food-supply would last the longer? The large Persian host, in a foreign country, with an immense line of communications, now in a land not rich in foodstuffs and probably in part denuded of what it had, must have been in difficulties. But how much more serious the position of the Greeks! The whole allied fleet within the straits of Salamis, the Athenian land-forces and large numbers of refugee non-combatants on the island, and all dependent, once the enemy chose to block the entrances to the bay, on the food-supply of a barren island and what the Athenians had managed to bring with them from Attica.²⁰ It must have been only a matter of days before they would have been compelled to surrender, or make their way out into the open sea where the Persians would have all the advantage in the fighting. No wonder the majority of the allied commanders were for retreat to the Isthmus; no wonder they urged against Themistocles the soldier's plea that military considerations were being sacrificed to political (not that political considerations were to be ignored: the Athenian and Aeginetan sailors might have suffered in morale if their families were in the hands of the enemy). Themistocles was risking everything for the sake of the tactical advantage of the straits. Artemisium had persuaded him that the Greeks could win if they fought in those narrow waters, and only so; but the advantage was of no value if the Persians refused to attack. By giving false information, he induced them first to divide their forces, then to enter the straits. Why they did so, whether from over-confidence, or because the difficulties of supply were much more serious than we are told, because they *could* not wait for the Greeks either to surrender or attack, we shall never know. The event justified Themistocles. But it was a desperate gamble; and we can only be astonished at the man who, by his insistence and energy, the force of his personality, could impose his will on his colleagues, when all the military arguments but one were against him.

To get back to my immediate subject, the limitations of the trireme, its dependence on nearby land, and the consequences of this. We can see more clearly how important for Athens in the Peloponnesian War was the

²⁰ Herodotus had heard something of this: VIII. 68. 7.

neutrality or friendship of Argos, and the possession of Cythera and Pylos: an expedition round the Peloponnese, communication with Naupactus, became comparatively easy.²¹ We can see why, to support the attack on Pylos, the Spartans landed troops on Sphacteria, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον σφίσι ποιῶνται: without the island the Athenians had no good base, Zacynthus being much too far off for triremes; and we know what difficulties, even after their complete victory over the Spartan fleet, the Athenians experienced in the blockade through having no friendly shore near at hand.²² We can understand too why neither Demosthenes' colleagues nor the Spartan authorities at first attached any great importance to the capture of Pylos: it was a difficult place for the Athenians to hold, when it had to be supplied by sea. (Contrast our position at Gibraltar, connected with England by sailing-ships or steamships.) Similarly, Sicily, even if the expedition had succeeded, could scarcely have been held by Athens: not only because Athens had not enough soldiers nor administrators (especially the latter), but because the line of communications was too long; with a fleet of sailing vessels this would have been no difficulty, but the range of action of the trireme was too limited—not only was its voyage from Athens to Sicily much longer,²³ but it was dependent on the peoples of the coast. And we can understand why Greek fleets found it impossible to maintain an effective blockade, even when in command of the sea, why Peloponnesian squadrons were able to escape the vigilance of a superior Athenian fleet, why it was so difficult to keep the sea clear of pirates: triremes could not keep continuously at sea long enough for police work. The remarkable thing is that Athens succeeded as well as she did, both in 'keeping her allies in hand' and in suppressing piracy.²⁴

A word as to the Greek attitude to the sea and sea-adventure. Even Köster, a sympathetic writer, who does justice to their actual achievements in navigation, agrees with the majority that the Greeks had no real love for the sea, were not true seamen, had no naval heroes; seamanship was not praised in their songs.²⁵ It may be so; I would not assert this view to be wrong. But it is worth while uttering a word of warning: fragmentary remains of a literature and an art can so easily mislead. Read the story of the storm at sea in *Amelia* (bk. iii, c. 4), in which 'the sailors were going to hoist out the boat and save themselves,' leaving the soldiers to their fate; as soon as it was brought alongside, 'the master himself, notwithstanding all his love for her, quitted his ship, and leapt into the boat,' and 'every man present attempted to follow his example'; of the two officers one

²¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* VI. 2. 27-30, cited above, n. 9.

²² Köster (in Kromayer-Veith, pp. 196-7) notes the necessity of a near-by base in foreign expeditions, and quotes the case of Demetrius Poliorcetes before Rhodes, and then the similar considerations which induced the Duke of Parma to advise the King of Spain to secure Flushing before sending the Armada. But he does not note the special difficulty of the trireme. In the late war the allies had to have a base at Lemnos and Imbros for the attack on Gallipoli; but that does not mean that modern and ancient

conditions of naval attack are the same, and it is the difference that needs emphasis. In fact, compare the strategical factors in the campaigns of Pylos and Navarino.

²³ There was not much difference in the average speed of trireme and merchantman—each from five to six knots. See Köster, *Seewesen*, pp. 125, 177 ff.

²⁴ Conversely, Alexander the Great defeated the Persian fleet on land, when finally by the capture of Tyre he had taken all but their island bases.

²⁵ *Seewesen*, pp. 80-3.

‘appeared quite stupefied with fear,’ the other was ‘no less stupefied (if I may so express myself) with foolhardiness, and seemed almost insensible of his danger’; and ‘as to the remaining part of the ship’s crew and the soldiery, most of them were dead drunk, and the rest were endeavouring, as fast as they could, to prepare for death in the same manner.’ Who would suspect John Bull of any connexion with the sea? Hesiod’s Boeotian was not more a landsman than the English countryman; and not the peasant only, but the gentry—Sir Willoughby Patterne, Sir Thomas Bertram, above all Sir Walter Elliot—far stranger to the sea than Homer’s heroes. If only a little English literature survives, but amongst it Jane Austen’s novels, and it is known not only that she lived in the great days of Nelson, but actually had close family connexion with the navy, what will be thought from *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion* of our English love of adventure at sea? How much would be suspected from Shakespeare? Nobles are generally landmen: especially when the sailing-ship is a merchantman, and the warship is rowed. And literature, even history, can be very conventional. Characteristically Aristotle describes the training of the Athenian hoplite, but says nothing about the rowers, still less of their officers; yet they were more highly skilled than the soldiers. I suspect the Greeks had more of the sea in them than we imagine. Aristophanes understood the sailors among his own countrymen (as he understood most things democratic):

δεῦρ’ ἔλθ’ ἐς χορόν, ὦ χρυσοτρίαιν’, ὦ
 δελφίνων μεδέων, Σουνιάρατε,
 ὦ Γεραίστιε παῖ Κρόνου,
 Φορμίωνί τε φίλτατ’, ἐκ
 τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίοις πρὸς τὸ παρεστός.

And the Athenians were not the greatest of Greek sailors; Phocaeans, Samians, Milesians would claim the prize.

A. W. GOMME.

THE AMATHUS BOWL

A LONG-LOST MASTERPIECE OF ORIENTAL ENGRAVING

[PLATES I-III.]

THE masterpiece of Oriental craftsmanship reproduced in Plates I-III is said by General L. P. di Cesnola to have been found in April 1875, in a rich but partially despoiled chamber-tomb at Amathus in Cyprus. Cesnola's account of the discovery¹ exaggerates the depth at which chamber-tombs are found in Cyprus, but his plan corresponds fairly well with that of a large tomb (still accessible in 1894, and probably to-day) in the low ground north of the acropolis of Amathus. The silver bowl, already broken, and other objects, are said to have been found in a 'copper cauldron,' as if discarded by an earlier tomb-robber.

The 'Amathus Bowl' and a bronze shield-boss (*rondache*) said to have been found with it were published by G. Colonna-Ceccaldi in 1876 and republished in 1882 in his collected papers.² The copper-plate illustration is signed *S. Dardel*, and was printed by *Ch. Chardon aîné* in Paris. If the 'patère et rondache' were brought separately to Paris, this may account for their alienation from the main Cesnola Collection. Dardel's engraving does not include the long ends of the rim, and is inaccurate in several details, as appears from the reproduction in fig. 1. It was reproduced on a smaller scale in Helbig, *Homerisches Epos*, 1884, Plate I, and repeatedly elsewhere.³

In 1885 Perrot and Chipiez⁴ published a line drawing signed *L. Wallet*, which differs in certain details from Dardel's drawing, but not sufficiently to prove independent access to the original.⁵

Neither the 'Amathus Bowl' nor the shield-boss published with it by Colonna-Ceccaldi ever went to New York, though they are commonly quoted as if they were still in the Cesnola Collection.⁶ If they were

¹ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 255-270: plan, p. 260. Individual measurements of 'thirty-nine and a half feet' (p. 269) and 'forty-nine feet' (p. 270) look like misreadings of 3' 9½" and 4' 9", which would be about right; and the generalization '40 to 55 feet' (p. 255) may represent 4' to 5½'.

² Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Revue Archéologique*, XXXI (1876), pp. 25 ff.; *Monuments antiques de Chypre*, &c. (Paris, 1882), ch. iv, pp. 137-152, Pl. VIII. With the 'patère et rondache' (p. 139) were found 'une espèce de sabre en fer d'environ deux pieds anglais de long, très oxydé,' a mass of 'points de javelots en fer,' two 'haches de bronze,' scarabs and scaraboids engraved in 'style égypto-assyrien,' and Assyrian cylinders in hard stone (p. 138). The bronze axes throw doubt on the whole list, though

the sword, arrow-heads, and 'egypto-assyrian' seal-stones are likely enough.

³ E.g. Darenberg-Saglio, *Dict. d'Antiquité*, s.v. 'Caelatura,' fig. 927; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer*, 1893, Pl. 156; H. Brunn, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1893, p. 98, fig. 70.

⁴ *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, III, p. 775, fig. 547.

⁵ E.g. on the bowl, the uraei on the heads of the sphinxes in the innermost zone have tails like those on the hawk-headed figures in the middle zone: the tails are omitted by Dardel, but recorded by Wallet.

⁶ E.g. by F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (Berlin, 1912), p. 21; G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale* (Paris, 1931), p. 1346.

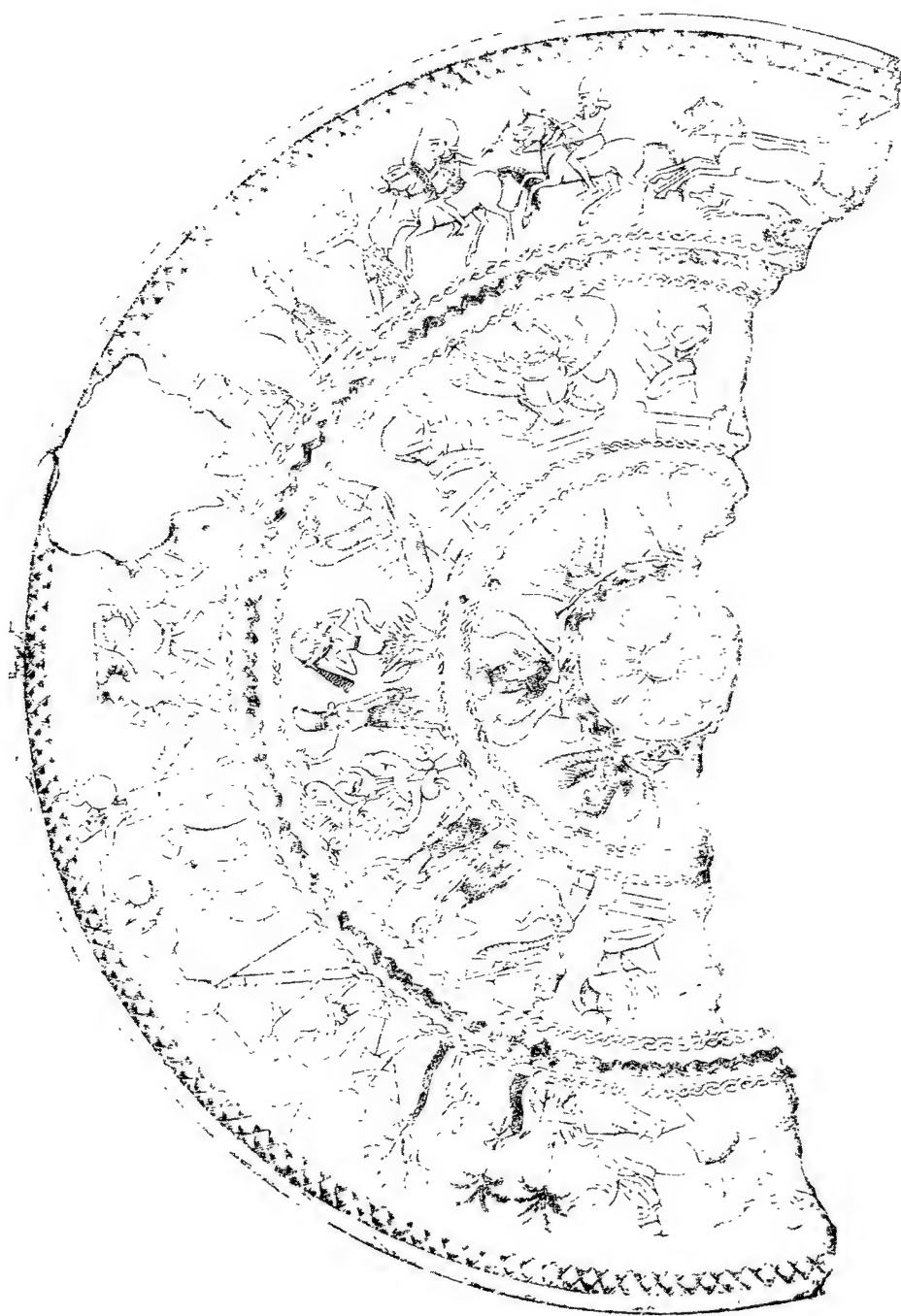


FIG. 1.—THE AMATHUS BOWL: DARDEL'S DRAWING.

separately brought to Paris to be engraved for Colonna-Ceccaldi, their alienation might be explained. Cesnola did not often give or sell objects from his collection; there are, however, small series selected from it in the Museum of Turin, his birthplace; in the Louvre; in the Museum of National Antiquities at St. Germain; in the British Museum; and in the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford; the last-named were given by Cesnola to General Pitt-Rivers.⁷

When I was preparing the *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), all I could learn about the fate of the 'Amathus Bowl' (p. 458) was that it was at one time in the possession of John Ruskin. But when the Ruskin collection was dispersed, there was no mention of it.

In 1931, however, Mr. Ralph Brown, art dealer, of London, bought it together with remainders of books, prints, and china from Ruskin's house. There was no information relative to the bowl in Ruskin's papers, so far as he could examine them. From Mr. Brown the bowl was acquired by Mr. Sidney Smith, who has presented it to the British Museum.

Since Dardel made his drawing, the bowl, already reduced to a little more than half its original surface, has lost (1) nearly the whole of the leading sphinx in the innermost zone, with part of the pedestal of the kneeling figure above it, (2) part of the last horseman on the left of the outer zone, (3) the fallen tree and almost everything else, between the leading horseman and the wood-cutter, and (4) the breakage in the upper part of the castle is more extensive. On the other hand, two long pieces of the rim are preserved, which Dardel omitted, to economize space. In the British Museum, the engraved surface has been skilfully cleaned, revealing many details; these are recorded in the new drawing by Mr. Waterhouse, reproduced in Plate I, on the same scale as the bowl. In Plates II, III, photographs of the best-preserved parts of the design, on double scale, make it possible to appreciate the vigour and minute skill of the engraver, and to study his technique.

The whole class of engraved Oriental bowls, in bronze, silver, and more rarely in gold, to which the 'Amathus Bowl' belongs, has been recently studied by Dr. Frederik Poulsen.⁸ He describes this bowl briefly on p. 21 (under the number A 4), but he clearly had not seen it, for he says that it is in New York, and he describes the male figures about the 'sacred tree' in the middle zone as 'assyrische Königsgestalten,' whereas they hold *ankh*-symbols in their hand, and their dress is the same as that of the archers in the outer zone.

For the three Italian tomb-groups which contain bowls of this class—the Regulini Galassi tomb at Caere, the Bernardini and Barberini tombs at Praeneste—Dr. Randall-MacIver has recently established⁹ on independent evidence an approximate date about 670 B.C., nearer, that is, to the Bocchoris tomb at Corneto containing an Egyptian object dated to

⁷ The fine figure-painted oenochorae in the Pitt-Rivers Museum are published in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology pres. to Sir Arthur Evans* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 72-89, Pls. XII, XIII, XIV.

⁸ *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (Berlin, 1912), chapter iii.

⁹ *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 228-230.

734-728 B.C., than to the Polledrara tomb at Vulci with its scarab of Psammetichus II.¹⁰ The bowls themselves must be a little earlier, but they seem to belong to a single consignment of such goods; for though there are slight differences of handling, the subjects and the style are similar.

What distinguishes the 'Amathus Bowl' from the rest of the group is its vigorous naturalism, and elaborate symmetry or rhythm. As usual, what M. Pottier has happily described as the 'hierarchy of styles' is apparent. Just as, in epic art, preference is given to the lay

ἥτις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται,

so the engraver, like the contemporary vase painter, devotes his originality to the major subject or subjects of his composition, while availing himself, in accessories, of what for him has become more or less *vieux jeu*. Here, around the central rosette, to which the gadrooning and fluting of Minoan and old Syrian metal-work have shrunk,¹¹ the six sphinxes of the inner zone all face to the right, processionally, like the warrior friezes on the bowls from the Regolini Galassi grave, the horses on the inner zone of the 'Hunter's Day' bowl from the Bernardini grave, and even the 'Hunter's Day' itself, though its movement, in both examples, is leftwards.¹²

Each sphinx subtends 50° across the wings; each head 10°, and each interval also 10°; a simple instance of precise plotting which prepares us for what we shall see later. Processional continuity is ensured by making the forward wing of each sphinx overlap the hindquarters of its predecessor; though the sphinxes themselves are recumbent.

Of the middle zone enough is preserved to permit us to restore it as a composition of four groups, in alternate pairs. Of these, two, consisting of three figures only, are made absolutely static by fixed pedestals. Between these 'pilasters' a larger group (of which the counterpart is destroyed) is more elaborate, consisting of a central panel—the 'sacred tree' and its attendants—and lateral outward-facing Horus-figures communing with winged goddesses, Isis holding plumes, and Nephthys with lotus-flowers, whose stiff backs frame this whole composition. The complete scheme, so far as it is extant, thus reads as follows:—

: E F E : D C . B A B . C' D : E F E :

The component elements of this zone are precisely spaced, like the sphinxes. The scarabaeus subtends an angle of 40°; each Sun-god votary

¹⁰ When Dr. Randall-MacIver wrote, this scarab was still assigned to Psammetichus I (663-609 B.C.); it is, however, now thought more probable that all the scarabs in the tomb are of sixth-century date. But Mr. F. N. Pryce tells me that the Polledrara tomb seems to contain two if not more groups of objects, from separate interments: the earlier may be a generation earlier; so Dr. Randall-MacIver's general perspective is not seriously affected.

¹¹ There is, of course, fully developed gadrooning

on contemporary vessels, for example in the Polledrara tomb; but such persistence of older fashions is familiar. We still reproduce 'willow-pattern' and 'Indian-tree' designs on our dinner-plates.

¹² The Bernardini version of the 'Hunter's Day' is figured in Poulsen (p. 24, fig. 14) and Perrot and Chipiez, III, fig. 543; the other, from Cyprus, in *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.*, 4556, and Marquand, *AJ.A.* iii (1887), Pl. XXX. It deserves republication, and there are other fine fragments in New York.

20° ; Isis and Horus 30° ; the 'sacred tree' with its attendants 40° . The only irregularity is that Nephthys and infant Horus subtend 40° , completing the total of 180° for the central-group and one of the wing-groups together. The other half of the zone therefore exactly balanced that which is preserved; and as the kneeling votary belonging to it subtends 20° like its counterpart, we may infer that the missing centre-piece also balanced what is extant. The 'sacred tree,' round which the whole composition is built up, stands exactly in mid-line with the castle, and emphasizes its centrality. But the slightly greater space occupied by Nephthys and infant Horus throws the flanking groups slightly out of balance to the right; in the same direction, that is, as the processional movement of the sphinxes below, and countering the predominant movement of the outer zone in the reverse direction.¹³

There is, on the other hand, no correspondence between these balanced compositions and the processional inner zone of sphinxes: to have attempted that would have stopped its movement.

The outer zone, so far as it is preserved (about 220°), is a single composition, but, unlike the 'Hunter's Day,' it converges on a static centre-piece, the besieged castle, above the 'sacred tree,' the zenith-point of the middle zone. Consequently it also diverges from a corresponding static nadir-point, which we may assume to have been the besiegers' city. Compare with this 'Tale of Two Cities,' with its motive of warfare, the 'City at Peace' with divergent traffic, on the outer zone (v) of an unpublished bowl in the Cesnola Collection,¹⁴ and the papyrus-grove between divergent cattle on the same bowl, zone ii. The resemblances between such compositions and the 'Tale of Two Cities' on the Homeric 'Shield of Achilles' have been often noted, but without the wealth of detail now available.

Here, too, as in the middle zone, the planning is so accurate that the conclusion seems necessary that the artist subdivided his work by angular measurements, using units of 15° , 30° , and 45° . On the castle, the outward-facing defenders subtend 30° , and the feet of the scaling-ladders 45° ; the four foot-soldiers, from toe to heel 30° ; the four archers 45° ; the two horsemen behind them 30° ; the chariot also needs about 30° , allowing for the customary warrior, whose head is partly preserved behind that of the driver. On the other side of the castle the tree-cutting scene, from the wall to the horseman beyond it 45° , of which the ladder accounts for 10° : then the first horseman occupies 15° , and the same must be allowed for the mounted archer following him. The total angular measurement of this whole series is rather less (235°) than the sum (245°) of the items. But that is because usually one section overlaps its predecessor a little. The foot-soldiers encroach on the scaling-ladder, the archers on the foot-soldiers; the scaling-party has not quite come clear of the grove, and the defender leans forth over the scaling-ladder. Similarly, in greater detail, each of the foot-soldiers occupies 10° between toe and heel, but

¹³ The lateral panel, on the right, ended at 130° from mid-line, about 10° beyond the fore-feet of the chariot horse; and that on the left, about 35°

beyond the mounted archer, if he subtended 15° like each of the other mounted men.

¹⁴ *Handbook*, No. 4555.

the four together fill only 30° . On the other hand, no account has been taken, in these angular measurements, of horses' tails and other details which could only be engraved after the following figure was in place: for example, the tail of the preceding horse is engraved above and below the fore-legs of the chariot horse, but not between them: and one of the fore-feet of the leading cavalry-horse was drawn after the archer's cloak was finished, and is curtailed by it.

Applying these measurements to reconstruct about 125° of lost items: as the castle subtends 20° , we may allow the same angular unit for its counterpart.¹⁵ This leaves 20° between castle and chariot, enough for one horseman (15°), or for three standing figures—let us say the king and

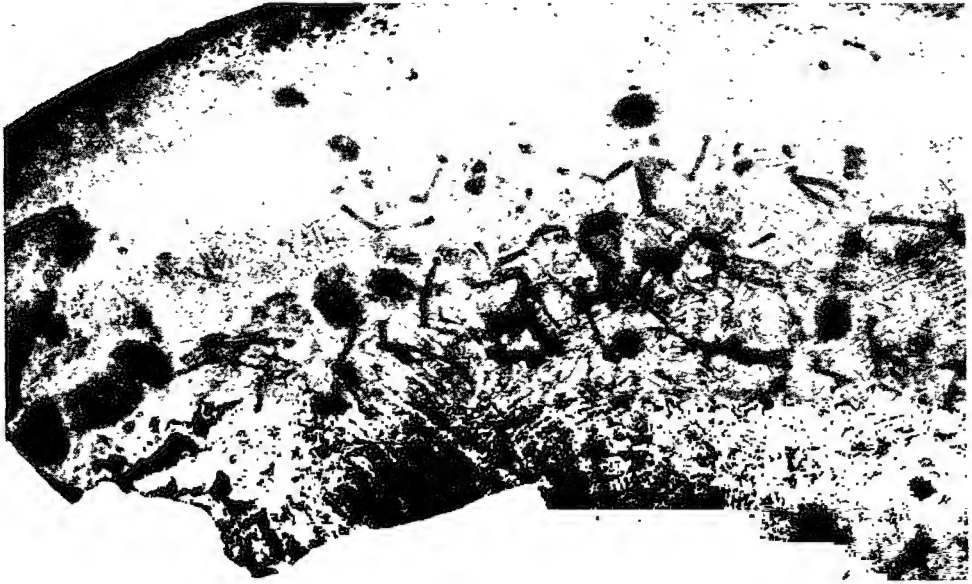


FIG. 2.—PART OF THE OUTER SURFACE OF THE AMATHUS BOWL,
(showing preliminary outlines and embossing. Scale 3 : 2).

his vizier and queen. And then, to left-ward of the castle, we have ($95^\circ - 10^\circ =$) 85° , for three chariots at 30° each, with overlap; or two chariots with a third horseman behind the mounted archer: or, to balance the king and his attendants, a group of women watching the fight, or bringing water and provisions to the army; or perhaps were the captured cattle being driven off, as a pendant to devastation of fruit-trees?

Similar subdivision into angular units is recognizable on other bowls of this class. On a bowl from the Regulini Galassi tomb, the chariot in the outer zone subtends 30° , and there are several other units of 30° and one of about 60° , with the same tendency to overlap of one group on another. On a bowl from the Bernardini tomb, there are again units of 30° . On the 'Hunter's Day' bowl, also from the Bernardini tomb, units

¹⁵ The castle of the 'Hunter's Day' subtends only 15° , but it has no need for defenders or spectators on its walls.

of 20° and 30° are used together on the outer zone, with 45° on the inner. On the lowest (innermost) zone on the deep bowl from the Bernardini tomb¹⁶ the angles are: the garden-scene 60°, the grazing horses 50°, the sportsman 30°, the cattle, two units of 30°, the lion-fights 40° and 50°, and the horseman 50°: here instead of overlaps there are slight intervals between the separate units, amounting to about 20° in all, and partly explained by the craftsman's failure to draw tree-trunks and other upright lines truly radially; they all slope more or less to the right. But no other piece that has been examined in detail shows any such careful spacing as the 'Amathus Bowl.'

Further evidence of forethought is the preliminary planning which the outside of the bowl records (fig. 2). There are two processes in this 'toreutic' decoration; the *embossing* of the larger surfaces in the design, heads, bodies, wings, and the like—which is done from the back—and the *engraving* of outlines and details on the face. That the embossing was done first is evident from the craftsman's procedure here; for he has aided himself by engraving a few guiding lines to connect the parts to be embossed, and in one instance has thereby given us the clue to a detail which might otherwise have been lost. Above the head of the chariot horse, he has engraved the outline of an Egyptian plume, such as royal horses wear in Ramessid battle-scenes, and he has embossed the round disc out of which the plume rises. On the engraved face, this part of the bowl is corroded; even the disc is hardly recognizable, and only the ends of the feathers could be recognized, without clue to their meaning except the reverse workmanship. The engraver, however, is now seen to have improved on his draft, for the conventional smooth outline of the Egyptian plume has been replaced by the same fine 'feathering' as is used for the horses' tails, and the foliage of palms.

How far advanced is the rhythm of the 'Amathus Bowl' beyond the simpler schemes attempted on other bowls of the same period may be illustrated from two bowls from the Regulini Galassi tomb. Poulsen's No. 18 has horsemen (H) and infantry (I) as follows (fig. 3):

$$\cdots \text{IH} \underset{\uparrow}{\text{HI}}(1) \cdot \text{IH} \cdot \overset{+}{\text{IH}} \cdot \overset{\downarrow}{\text{IH}} \cdot \overset{*}{\text{HI}} \cdot \text{IH} \underset{\uparrow}{\text{HI}}(1) \cdots$$

The asterisk marks the zenith-point of the central medallion; the cross, its nadir-point; the arrow \downarrow the middle point of the zone, and the arrow \uparrow its counterpoint, close to which an extra figure has had to be interpolated to adjust miscalculated plotting. It is, as we now see, the familiar Late Minoan 'jazz' rhythm—or shall we call it dactylic ($-\cup\cup$),

¹⁶ Poulsen, no. 15 (fig. 15); *Monumenti*, X, Pl. 33. These measurements are only approximate, as they are taken on the published drawings, not on the bowl itself. But only those drawings are quoted, where the whole circumference is shown continu-

ously. Diagrams like Poulsen's fig. 11 (the bowl from Delphi) or *Hdbk. Gesn. Coll.* no. 4556 (the 'Hunter's Day' from Cyprus) are of course useless for this purpose.

of this centre-piece, a horseman with two footmen; and, to preserve alternation of horse and foot, both horsemen have to be nearest to the chariot escort. On either side of the chariot axle, the half-chariot, half-escort, and flanking group occupy 90° :—i.e. $50^\circ + 40^\circ$ leading, $40^\circ + 50^\circ$ following, reckoning outward on each side from the chariot.

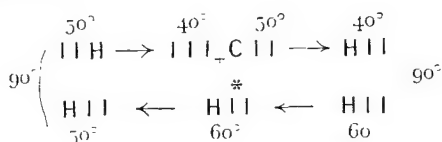
Then the craftsman seems to have begun to plan from the zenith *, which divides another group of one horseman with two footmen. But he determined his zenith point not from the chariot axle, but from the half-length of the chariot or the whole chariot group; $5^\circ - 7^\circ$ 'past twelve o'clock.' Consequently he had more space at his disposal 'before noon'

*



FIG. 4.—SILVER BOWL FROM THE REGULINI GALASSI TOMB.
(After Montelius, *Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, Pl. 338. 3.)

than 'after noon,' as his plotting shows: first group behind chariot 50° ; second group 50° ; third group 60° ; and as his first group began 10° late, owing to the asymmetry of the chariot group, he had still 10° to spare, and his fifth group accordingly fills 60° . His rhythm, therefore, may be analysed and represented as follows, using the same notation, with 'C' for the chariot:—



But here he was in a difficulty, for his fourth group *following* the chariot was also a second group preceding it, and should have had its horseman to the left of the footmen, not to their right. He accepted the situation, however, and gave us a double squad of four footmen, spread out as already explained, and interpolated with 10° of landscape between the leading and following pairs. He was working, probably, on multiples of an unit of 30° , with allowance, as on the 'Amathus Bowl,' for a varying amount of overlap between groups. But his frequent interpolation of various sorts of trees makes it more difficult to follow his planning, however it may have enabled him to compensate for vagaries in execution. All this, however, falls very short, both in design and workmanship, of what we have on the 'Amathus Bowl.'

From the composition, we turn to the subjects of the design, which in turn will raise further points of composition, more subtle and significant.

A siege-scene recurs on the bronze bowl from Delphi,¹⁷ engraved in a more casual style, with some embossing. It is reduced to the simplest terms; on the right, one swordsman, mounting the ladder, one archer, and a chariot moving away, so that the warrior in it may use his bow. As the chariot is drawn by a sphinx, not by horses, it belongs only partly to the battle-scene and forms a counterpart to the castle, of independent though inferior value. Or rather, the chariot with its occupants closes this wing of the sublunary fighting, and the sphinx, though ingloriously associated with it, belongs to the repertory of symbolism, like the *Eris* and *Kêr* in the battle-scene on the 'Shield of Achilles,' and forms an independent and static counterpoint to the castle which is central on the battlefield. From the forward wing to the right wall of the castle we have 180° ; from the back leg to the left wall 170° : so nearly balanced is the design. On the left, between castle and sphinx, are three figures; an assailant falling down the ladder and leaving his shield in the air, an archer, and an ambidextrous warrior wielding bow and battle-axe, and further equipped with round buckler and long sword. Here is the same interest in details of armament, and picturesque incident, but neither knowledge nor craftsmanship to compare with the 'Amathus Bowl.' Though a poor example, it has, however, the value of showing that such a siege-scene was a familiar and popular topic. That it stands rather nearer to the archetype than the 'Amathus Bowl' is suggested by two details. (1) The intrusion of the sphinx is a souvenir of that incoherent crowd of symbolic and decorative items¹⁸ on other bowls of this class, which the 'Amathus Bowl' relegates to secondary rank. (2) On the bowl from Delphi, the warrior who ascends the scaling-ladder has a long 'leaf-shaped' sword, a solid helmet with neck-guard, and a broad collar of rays such as betokens high rank in Egypt, and in Cyprus:¹⁹ he is no doubt

¹⁷ Homolle, *Rev. de l'art anc et mod.* XV, pp. 4 ff: Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 23, Pls. XVIII-XX; Poulsen, no. 10, fig. 11.

¹⁸ E.g. *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* 4554: = Perrot and Chipiez, III, fig. 552: = Colonna-Ceccaldi, Pl. X.

Here it is in the outer and principal zone and the central medallion is from the same repertory.

¹⁹ E.g. on Cypriote votive statues, *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* 1266, 1267, 1362, and 1363; the last perhaps a portrait of Amasis, king of Egypt.

intended for the leader of the besiegers. On the 'Amathus Bowl' the ladder-man is an underling unarmed except for a conical cap, making ready for the heavy armed infantry; yet he still wears the collar of rays, which we must suppose to have been traditional for the man nearest the ladder. In both these points, the designer of the 'Amathus Bowl' shows characteristic independence, and inclination to improve on his model. On the other hand, on the bowl from Delphi, the single arched doorway in a curtain-wall of half-timbered construction may be a misinterpretation of the four cupola-buildings with irregularly placed doors in front of the castle on the 'Amathus Bowl'; for these are a characteristic form of North Syrian dwelling, represented in scenes of Assyrian warfare, and still in use near Aleppo and elsewhere.²⁰

Processions of mixed infantry, cavalry, and chariots are fairly common on these engraved bowls. Usually the equipment consists either of a small round buckler with two spears, or of bow and arrows; sometimes a bowman carries spears also,²¹ or a sword,²² or shield-bearers have no spears;²³ or the shields are oval.²⁴ On the 'Amathus Bowl' the details are far more precise and realistic. Each of the four horsemen has his own head-dress and weapons, spear with or without pennon, whip, or bow; the horses have fly-whisks on their bridles in Assyrian fashion.²⁵ The cavalry horses, like the chariot-team, were drawn at first with plumes on their heads; but when the engraver came to outline the right hands of the riders, he cut right across the stems of these plumes, leaving the extremities of them emerging from the clenched fists. The archers are uniform, in long Assyrian overcoats; their bows are of the 'composite' type, and they have arrows in reserve, carried points upward without quiver; a similar arrow flies over the heads of the heavy-armed men. The headpiece of the ladder-man on the right is of standard Assyrian type; the shields of the scaling party on the left have the spiked boss, a fine example of which is said to have been found with the bowl.²⁶ This round boss, and the shield to which it belongs, are quite different from the oval shield with central boss²⁷ which is also of a standard Assyrian pattern.

Quite different, again, and of exceptional interest, is the hoplite equipment of the infantry; short fringed tunic, solid close-fitting helmet with fore-and-aft crest, round shield with badge, and single spear. Similar shields and spears are held by defenders of the castle, and one of these has a crested helmet, but stippled (for hair or fur) instead of plain; we

²⁰ Representations of cupola-houses, Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, II, Pl. 17; Meissner, *Babylonien u. Assyrien*, I, fig. 90. Modern cupola villages, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 112; Speleers, *Syria*, VIII (1927), Pls. xvi, xvii; Rostovtseff, *Caravan Cities*, 1932, p. 162. I owe these references to Mr. R. D. Barnett, of the British Museum.

²¹ Poulsen, nos. 15, 18, 19.

²² *Ibid.*, nos. 15, 19.

²³ *Ibid.*, no. 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 15, 20.

²⁵ For horse-trappings, compare *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* (statuettes), 1013-17, (terracotta) 2079. The globular cap or turban of the horseman next behind the archers recurs on the head of a terracotta centaur from Cyprus, *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* (t-c), 2065.

²⁶ Colonna-Ceccaldi, Pl. IX. Spiked bosses, *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* (terracotta) 2102, 2093, 2098-2100, (bronze) 4754.

²⁷ Shown in the siege-scene from Delphi, Poulsen, no. 10, and on the inner zone of *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* 4536.

recall the Homeric κτιδέη²⁸ and the commoner κυνέη. That such fur caps could have crests seems to follow from the Homeric description of the καταϊτυξ.²⁹ This corresponds exactly with the 'Carian' armour of Herodotus,³⁰ for the left arms of these warriors are wholly occupied in carrying their shields.³¹ The three 'Carian inventions' obviously cohere. Blazon on the shield only became necessary when the helmet covered not only the neck but part or all of the face; the fore-and-aft crest *on the helmet itself*, not on a *spike* or *knob* like the Homeric κύμβαχος, only became practicable when the helmet itself came down over the neck instead of ending in a στεφάνη round the temples,³² and emerged as a skeuomorph, when a κυνέη, of two side-pieces sewn together over the crown, from brow to nape (like the cap of a jester or of Mr. Punch), came to be copied in bronze-plate.

The σημήια of the shields on the 'Amathus Bowl' are all different. One has a mere central boss, capable of elaboration into the eagle's head or lion's head of the Idaean bronze shields,³³ or into the bull's head of a terracotta shield in the Cesnola Collection.³⁴ Another has the central boss surrounded by a ring of smaller knobs; it is ὀμφαλοεῖς, 'full of bosses,'³⁵ like some Homeric shields, and its decoration may also recall a common use of the 'concentric circle' ornament by Cypriote potters.³⁶ A third has a many-rayed star; two others the 'whirling disc' with curved rays common, like the star, on shields in early Greek vase-painting.³⁷ Finally, the leading warrior has a quite unmistakeable gryphon recumbent, with uplifted beak and conventional curled wing minutely but clearly engraved. We are in the company of those Carian and Ionian 'bronze men appearing from the sea'³⁸ who enabled Psammetichus I to expel the Assyrians from Egypt in 664 B.C. That there are similarly armed men among the defenders is in accord with their mercenary habit: and they occur, though rarely, in Assyrian service too.³⁹

The head which looks out over the wall, between towers, is that of a woman; for the hair is represented by downward strokes from the crown, ending in a stippled area representing the rolled coiffure common among Assyrian ladies. Only a trace remains now of the second head drawn by Dardel; and the oblique lines in the background above it are unexplained, unless they be the weapon of a warrior falling from the left-hand tower, as symmetry would seem to require.

²⁸ *Iliad*, X. 335-458.

²⁹ *Iliad*, X. 258-259. It is distinguished as ταυρεινῇ, ἄφαλον τε καὶ ἄλλοφον, ἥ τε καταϊτυξ κέκληται, ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰδηῶν.

³⁰ *Hdt.* I. 171, καὶ γὰρ τὰ κράνεα λείφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὄχαια ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι.

³¹ Clay shield with ὄχανον, *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* 555.

³² Reichel, *Homersische Waffen*², pp. 100-1. The fore-and-aft crest is seen on a terracotta horseman in the Cesnola Collection *Handbook* (I-C), 2093. An early example from the Lower Town of Mycenae is figured by Reichel, p. 107, fig. 44.

³³ Halbherr and Orsi, *Museo Italiano*, II, 1888; Poulsen, figs. 76, 78, and p. 79. Cf. *BS.I.* XI, 1904-1905, Pl. XVI, p. 306 (Palaikastro).

³⁴ *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* (I-C), 2109.

³⁵ *Iliad*, VI. 118, etc.; cf. XI. 34-5, a shield with twenty ὀμφαλοι.


³⁶ *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* (pottery), 707-714.

³⁷ For shields with ray-ornaments compare *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* (I-C), 554-555, 2098, 2100, 2102; concentric red and black bands (I-C) 2099.

³⁸ Herodotus, II. 152. χρησμός ὡς τισὶς ἤξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων.

³⁹ E.g. on seventh-century reliefs in the British Museum.

Enlarged photographs (Pls. II, III.) show details of engraver's technique. The firm outlines are impressed with a round-nosed punch driven by a mallet, successive blows of which leave undulations on the floor of the groove. Details, such as the fly-whisks under the horses' heads, and the toes of the horsemen, are struck with separate oblique blows of the same punch. Manes and tails, cross-hatched textiles, the chevron borders, and the outer lattice border (with (?) flowers in its openings) are incised with a sharp point, which, however, seems likewise to have been usually mallet-driven; though the vertical fringes of the archers' cloaks may be hand-cut. A similar point, driven vertically, executed rows of dots such as form the curled foliage and date-clusters and the stippling of head-hair and garments. There is no trace of a ring-punch: even the minute circles on one of the shields are hand-cut.

Though engraved with mallet-blows, the outlines of figures are firm and vigorous. Hands and feet are delineated with utmost economy of line, even the sole of a foot being omitted where it might over-run a border-ornament. It is interesting, but not unexpected, that the borders were engraved before the scenes. The faces have markedly Armenoid profile, which looks out oddly from western helmets. As a point of realism, note the gash in the trunk of the half-felled tree. The devastators' axes are of Assyrian pattern. A remarkable reminiscence of Late Minoan draughtsmanship is the conventional flower and foliage detail of the fruit-tree between the palms.⁴⁰ The lotus bouquets in the middle zone are, however, of correct Egyptian drawing. On the other hand, the maeander pattern on the second footman's tunic echoes the geometrical art of the Early Iron Age, and the cross-diagonal panels  on the tunic of the third come from the repertories of Cyprus, North Syria, and Cappadocia.

The horses are of the same small, compact, heavy-headed breed as on other engraved bowls. Though the engraver has only given the chariot team two pairs of fore-legs, he has drawn the heads in triplicate. The war-dog under the chariot has the prick-ear and long collie-like jaws of the Caramanian breed; his back is hair-crested, and what can be seen of his tail is bushy. He is quite definitely not of the 'bull-dog breed' on the Nimrud ivories.

There is no need to identify the siege-scene, as Colonna-Ceccaldi did, with any historical event. In any case, the siege of Amathus during the Ionian Revolt (499-494 B.C.) is nearly two centuries too late, though war-chariots were still in use then at Salamis.⁴¹ Such events were all too common throughout the long Assyrian hegemony, and the Medo-Babylonian balance-of-power which followed: and within this period we must look for other evidence of date. The persistence of the 'Mixed Oriental' repertory may be illustrated by examples of the 'sacred tree'

⁴⁰ Professor Beazley calls my attention to a similar treatment, much later, of vine-foliage on a red-figured fragment, *Acropolis Vases*, II, Pl. xxvii. 441. But this tree is not a vine.

⁴¹ The siege was probably in 500 B.C.: Hdt. V. 104. Cf. Hdt. V. 113, τὰ Σαλαμίνιων πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα.



FIG. 5.—HAWK-HEADED SUN-GOD (RA) AND INFANT HORUS SEATED ON LOTUS.



FIG. 6 —INFANT HORUS.



FIG. 7.—'SACRED TREE.'

FIGS. 5-7.—CARVED IVORIES FROM SAMARIA.

and the 'infant Horus' among ivory reliefs from Samaria,⁴² probably representing the wreckage of Ahab's 'ivory house that he made';⁴³ but the close acquaintance with Egyptian symbolism, at so late a period as the 'Carian armour' indicates, suggests rather the renaissance under the XXVI Dynasty than reminiscences from earlier phases of Egyptian art. In default of exact record of the circumstances of discovery, and of associated objects, we are probably safe in attributing the 'Amathus Bowl' at latest to the early years of Psammetichus' reign. Whether it was made in one of the Phoenician cities, or in the interior (like the Syrian ivories), or in a workshop of Cyprus, there is not sufficient evidence to show; but the cupola-houses show knowledge of the Aleppo district.

J. L. MYRES.

⁴² Figs. 5-7; reproduced by permission from *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1932, July, Pl. III, *right*, 'sacred tree'; Pls. I, and III, *left*, 'infant Horus.'

⁴³ 1 Kings, xxii. 39.

THE PARADOX OF THE *PROMETHEUS VINCTUS*

THE student of Greek religion has no more difficult problem to face than that of the *Prometheus Vinctus*. In previous writings I had always evaded it, because I had not found any solution and I hoped that there might be one. Failing to find anything satisfactory myself or in the writings of others, I have spoken of it in the title of this paper as a paradox rather than a problem. And I am only now setting down my thoughts on it in outline, because I do not find that the religious difficulties of that play are appreciated in their full gravity either by the commentators or by the writers on Greek religion.

The play is unique among (a) the dramas of the Attic stage, (b) the literature of Greece, (c) the religious literature of the world. The truth of the first two statements can be proved by a rapid glance through the existing and recorded literature of Greece, especially through the products of the Attic drama. In no other play, as far as we know, was a God, the protagonist, present on the stage through the whole action, not even in the *Λυκούργεια* trilogy of Aeschylus, nor in the *Bacchae* of Euripides; and in no other Greek drama do we find the character of the suffering God. Dionysos in the dramas above mentioned, although attacked, is rather the cause of suffering to others than a sufferer himself. Moreover, Prometheus is a God suffering for his services to man, as a friend of man. And this brings us within range of a deep and possibly pregnant religious idea, unfamiliar to the Greeks. The dying God may be half-shadowed in certain myths, but it is only the God Prometheus who suffers for mankind. His only parallels in the religious world are Christ on the Cross, and the Indian God Śiva suffering agony from the Serpent's poison for the welfare of Gods and men.¹ And even these two parallels do not preclude one from maintaining that the Aeschylean Prometheus is an unique figure in the religious drama of the world. For Christ and Śiva are consoled by the adoration of men and the love of God or the Gods. But Prometheus Vinctus is tormented and hated by the High God, and with one exception despised and insulted by all the Olympians. The commentators on the play, through their lack of familiarity with Greek or Comparative Religion, have failed to appreciate this unique phenomenon at its proper magnitude. And I do not find it dealt with adequately by Mr. Thomson in his recently published edition.

Let us briefly consider first the fundamental features of the play so far as they bear on the religious and ethical questions which challenge our solution. Prometheus is presented to us as a God, and his Godhead was

¹ Vide Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, s.v. Śiva.

sufficiently attested by Greek mythology, and specially for the Athenians by the altar which they erected to him in the Akademeia and which was associated with the Lampadephoria.² Even the Olympians recognise that he is a God; and he himself in this play proclaims and in the next play, the *Prometheus Luomenos*, deploras his immortality. He belongs to the older Titanic group, most of whom were dispossessed with Kronos, but a few, such as he and his mother 'Ge-Themis,' survived in the later cult. And their survival was accounted for by the myth to which Prometheus makes pathetic reference that they had helped the Olympians in their struggle with the Titans. The Aeschylean Prometheus avers that it was by his advice alone that Zeus and his family won the victory. Therefore the supreme God owed him a deep debt of gratitude. But so far from showing any sense of indebtedness, he inflicts on the Titan an agonising punishment, a torture of the kind that Apollo in the *Eumenides* specially reprobates,³ something like perpetual crucifixion and impaling. And the sole crime of Prometheus is his beneficent service to mankind, his 'philanthropic habits,' but specially his gift of fire to men. This gift is represented by his enemies as a theft of that which was the rightful prerogative of the Olympians alone, especially of Hephaistos. It is nowhere indeed stated that Zeus had issued a clear mandate that mortals were not to receive fire and that Prometheus had deliberately disobeyed. In our equally crude story of Adam and Eve and the apple there is a primitive principle of justice: they knew when eating it they were disobeying a divine mandate, and the early Jewish God was fully as vindictive as Zeus. But there is no hint either on the part of Aeschylus or in Hesiod of any disobedience on the part of Prometheus which might have justified the anger of the despot *parvenu* ὃς νέον κρατῇ. It is merely that Prometheus loved and tried to preserve a race whom Zeus hated; in ll. 234-35 the Titan asserts that as soon as the Olympian dynasty was established, Zeus wished to destroy the whole race of man, who according to Hesiod had led happy and blameless lives under Kronos, and having destroyed them to create a new race of beings, and Prometheus boasts that he alone dared to thwart the designs of Zeus and to save mankind. It is very doubtful if, as is usually supposed, Aeschylus is here referring to Deukalion's deluge and to some casual myth that it was Prometheus who suggested to Deukalion the means of escape in his ark.⁴ Even if this view is correct, neither in the Greek nor the Biblical version of the deluge-story is the action of the High God given a clear moral significance and purpose.⁵

So far we discern in the Aeschylean statement of the whole μῦθος the predominant influence of Hesiod. The Prometheus-legend is given both in the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*; in the latter the only offence mentioned is the stealing of fire which Zeus had hidden away from mortals in order to make their lot harder. In the former poem an additional offence is narrated in detail, the trick that Prometheus played on Zeus

² Vide my *Cults of the Greek States*, v, p. 381, and i, Athena, Ref. 98^a.

³ l. 190.

⁴ Apollod. 1, 7, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* 3, 8, 2, mentions the view that the flood was caused by the wickedness of Lykaon.

in the allocation of the parts of the sacrificial victim; the old Boeotian poet tries to save the omniscience of Zeus by making him choose the worse portion deliberately, in order to have the better excuse for wreaking his spite on mankind; that is, he thinks it more becoming in the High God to be malignant than to be ignorant. The only critic of antiquity who gives the right judgment on this legend is Lucian, who declares in his *Προμηθεὺς ἢ Κεύκασος* that it suggests a vulgar quarrel in a cook-shop. Aeschylus showed his regard for high tragedy by refusing to allude to it in his great drama. But he borrows many other motives from Hesiod: the cruel punishment,⁶ the further torment of the eagle, and finally the deliverance by Herakles, to which in the Hesiodic narrative Zeus appears to consent reluctantly, merely, as it seems, for the increase of the glory of his beloved son. But Aeschylus owes much also to Pindar, from whom, as I have tried to prove in my commentary on the Eighth Isthmian,⁷ he borrowed the momentous motive of the prophecy concerning the child of Thetis. But this was in no way connected with the Prometheus-legend by Pindar, who would probably have rejected it with strong reprobation. The combination of the two motives so as to form the keystone of a great trilogy we may believe to have been a mythopoeic achievement of Aeschylus himself.

But his indebtedness to Hesiod is greater still, in respect not only of the variety of his motives, but of one momentous religious idea common to them both. In the Prometheus-legend of the Hesiodic poems and of the Aeschylean drama Zeus is presented as an evil God, hating mankind. The Hesiodic narrative of the fire-theft and the sacrifice shows the crude naïveté and feeble-mindedness of folk-lore, with a weak veneer of higher theology; it is only of importance as expressing the feeling, occasionally discernible in the popular mind, of the malignancy of the divine powers. But generally this has been overlaid by the prevailing belief in the goodness of God: and I have tried to show⁸ how this higher conception was inevitable and won its way in the more advanced and even in the more primitive religions. Even in the crudest Greek mythology, outside the Prometheus-legend, only the faintest hint is ever given of an evil God or of a God essentially hostile to man: Homer may be giving us real folk-lore when he records that Poseidon was wroth with the Phaeacians for their saving men at sea, and Walter Scott attests the same feeling surviving in his own day in the Hebrides.

But the Hesiodic narrative, though clashing with the better thought of Greece and with his own better thought, was not impressive enough to produce a disturbance in the spiritual world. It is otherwise when this crude and immoral piece of folk-lore is taken up, developed and raised to the highest pitch of poetry and religious emotion by the genius of Aeschylus. For the *Prometheus Vincetus* must be called the *chef d'œuvre* of religious drama. It is religious poetry on the heights; and there is no imaginative reader

⁶ He does not allude to the vile Oriental torture of impaling, to which a phrase in Hesiod appears to hint, *Theog.* 522.

⁷ Vol. i, p. 288; vol. ii, p. 380.

⁸ *Attributes of God*, pp. 163-67.

conversant with Greek who is not thrilled by it. Therefore it might well have been a fateful crisis in the history of Greek religion, when the High God of the whole nation and of the world—for Zeus is more than a national God—should have been represented before a great gathering of the people in all seriousness and solemnity as utterly evil, hateful to men and hating them, callously ungrateful to his benefactor, cruelly tormenting one whose only sin was to have saved and helped mankind, also as obviously lacking the supreme qualities of omnipotence and omniscience. And Aeschylus has gone further in the process of representing him in the blackest traits: he borrows from Hesiod the further torture of the eagle, the despot's reply to the defiance of the Titan. And he also borrows from the older poet as a by-motive the narrative of the most discreditable of the amours of Zeus, his love-affair with Io. Such stories are necessarily stumbling-blocks for those who have risen above the level of anthropomorphic religion. It was only Pindar who had the power to invest them with poetic beauty and dignity, so that the divine amours that engendered Herakles, Aíakos, Aristaíos might seem gracious actions for the welfare of mankind. But as told by Hesiod the Io-legend is graceless and degrading to Zeus; in his version Zeus commits perjury, so that henceforth there is no sin in the perjury of lovers. And the Aeschylean version is equally derogatory to the High God who is impotent to save his victim from the malignant cruelty of Hera. Prometheus may well appeal to this as a further proof of the cruel oppression of the tyrant God; and the Chorus shudder at the thought that they themselves might become the victims of divine lust.

Finally, we may note that even the ministers of Zeus, Strength and Might, are depicted as specially brutal, and the Olympian Hermes as wholly contemptible.⁹

If we looked then at nothing beyond this play, we should feel bound to interpret it as a mighty and dangerous challenge to the whole Olympian religion.

This is felt with all the greater force, as Aeschylus has lavished his powers in depicting the Titan as a noble and lovable being, so as to win for him our entire sympathy and admiration. And the judgment of Aeschylus was dramatically right. It is only because Prometheus is sinless and deeply wronged, able by godlike endurance and patience to win deliverance in the end, and holds the fate of Zeus in his hands, that the spectacle of a God nailed to a rock with a wedge through his quivering breast, doing nothing through the whole play but passively suffering, could be endured as a theme of great tragedy. If he were in any way a malefactor who deserved his torment, it might be a motive for the Grand Guignol, but not for the Attic stage. At the Ober-Ammergau Passion-play we should not endure the long spectacle of the crucified Christ, were it not for the sense of the triumphant exaltation of the divine man. In later antiquity, indeed, we find a condemnation of Prometheus in the Cynic school of philosophy, who maintained all civilisation to be evil;¹⁰

⁹ On the other hand, Hephaistos shows some kindly sympathy with Prometheus, no doubt because he

was affined to him as a brother-god in the Attic cult.
¹⁰ E.g. Dio. Chrys. *Or.* vi, pp. 91-92 M.

they could therefore regard Prometheus who civilised man as the principle of evil. We know that such a view would be impossible for Aeschylus and the Athenian of his period. As regards modern criticism, Mr. Thomson in his recent edition published by the Cambridge Press quotes some utterances both of English and German scholarship implying that Zeus was after all in the right. Prometheus was a rebel or an 'impertinent reformer' who deserved his punishment. Mr. Thomson rightly protests against such moral cretinism. But he himself is inclined to blame Prometheus gently for his lack of σωφροσύνη, when under torture he hurls unmeasured defiance against the High God, who retaliates by sending the eagle.¹¹ Now σωφροσύνη, measured and well-balanced self-restraint, was a virtue in high regard among the Greeks; but the torture-chamber and the rack are hardly the places for its exercise: they did not blame the brave and devoted hetaira who under torture bit out her tongue and spat it in the tyrant's face. We do not expect politeness from the victim of the Inquisition when under treatment. And we should not have loved and admired Prometheus more if he had cowered and whimpered before his tormentor. A writer of the fourth century B.C., Douris of Samos, conscious of the religious immorality of the older story, finds a justification for the eagle-torture by perverting the legend: the sin of Prometheus was his attempt to violate the maiden Goddess Athena, and therefore the eagle devours his liver, the seat of lustful passion.¹² For moral purposes, we may believe, partly to justify Zeus, Douris has transferred to Prometheus the sinful attempt of Hephaistos, his brother-god.

Aeschylus was never more inspired than when he wrote those words of defiance for the Titan; ¹³ his poetic sympathies at least seem to be kindled to a white heat, and he can hardly have calculated coldly or desired that his audience would blame his hero for lack of moderation of language. There were dramatic occasions when the Greeks might applaud, not σωφροσύνη, but a stormy outbreak of moral indignation from a free man or a free God, from an Antigone, a Cassandra, or a Prometheus, although a timid Chorus, sitting on the fence, might be thrilled with the terror of the words. The Chorus of divine maidens, the Oceanids, tremble at the boldness of the Titan and implore him to be careful: this is the bourgeois function of all Choruses; but they show their final judgment of the righteousness of his cause by refusing to abandon him and determining in spite of the warnings of Hermes to share his final overthrow; thus commending themselves to us as the most lovable of all Greek Choruses and more faithful than the disciples of Christ.

But it has been supposed that Aeschylus himself indicates his own feeling that Prometheus has somehow sinned: the Chorus gently 'put it to him,' οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἥμαρτες; (l. 276), and on the face of it this might appear to mean that they thought he had sinned in giving men fire and saving them from misery. If so, that need not be the verdict of Aeschylus,

¹¹ 'The wrath of Zeus is a disease, the unrestraint of Prometheus is a disease,' p. 11.

¹² Muller, *FGH.* ii, Fr. 19: his new version blurs

the violation, but that is implied.

¹³ ll. 180-90; 939-59; 985-95; 1019-28.

for the Chorus are by no means always the mouthpiece of the poet; but that cannot be their meaning, for Prometheus accepts their suggestion at once, ἐκὼν ἐκὼν ἡμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι: and he can only mean, half ironically, that his whole activity was a ἁμαρτία, an error of judgment, in that he had championed the weak against the strong, never thinking that Zeus would repay him with such fearful cruelty. Aeschylus, then, does not allow us to discern any sin, still less any confession of sin, in Prometheus. And Zeus is the more cruel, the more ungrateful, as Prometheus is the more blameless.

Such a delineation of the character of Zeus is in direct contradiction of the best Greek tradition from Homer downwards. In the serious religious thought of Homer, as has been often exposed, we have the fairly consistent picture of the High God as a righteous Judge, the Father of Gods and men, punishing the evil but befriending the good and grieving over the self-inflicted miseries of mankind. And this aspect of him was recognised in many cults and cult-titles found throughout Greece. He was not indeed regarded in the popular cult as devoted to active philanthropy, as the Aeschylean Prometheus claims to have been. No Greek God was definitely characterised as φιλόανθρωπος until Asklepios, who in the later Pagan period was the nearest counterpart to Christ.¹⁴ But neither was any Greek God definitely μισάνθρωπος, least of all Zeus. And the strongest antithesis to the Zeus of the Prometheus-trilogy was presented by the masterpiece of Pheidias, the Zeus Olympios, wrought not long after the date of this play, and revealing him in accordance with the highest religious ideals of the race as the God of peace and mild benevolence.

Also, the Zeus of the *Prometheus Vinctus* violently conflicts with the religious message that Aeschylus strives to convey in his other works. He is *par excellence* the apostle of Zeus, as Pindar may be said to have been of Apollo. And some of his utterances concerning the High God, those especially in the *Oresteia*, composed at a date not far removed from that of the *Prometheus Vinctus*, belong to the great religious poetry of the world. And the people before whom he represents Zeus as a cruel and unjust tyrant in this play he hails in the majestic lyric of the *Eumenides* as specially dear to that god: 'Hail, ye people of this city, ye who sit near the throne of Zeus, dear to his dear maiden daughter; and being beneath the (sheltering) wings of Pallas Zeus halloweth you.'¹⁵

Here then is the paradox, which some scholars try to belittle, but no one has explained.

A cheap and easy solution, of course, is always open to us when we find in a work attributed to a famous author a marked difference in tone or view from that found in his other works; we may deny the attribution and declare the work spurious. And so recently more than one scholar has been found to deny the authenticity of the *Prometheus Vinctus*, maintaining it to be the work of someone influenced by the scepticism of Ionia masquerading under the name of Aeschylus and writing to undermine the established religion. Mr. Thomson has sufficiently exposed the absurdities

¹⁴ Vide my *Hero-Cults*, pp. 276-77.

¹⁵ ll. 997-1002.

of this view, and we need only lament that scholars who work upon the classics should be devoid of literary sense.

Ruling out any possibility of doubt as to the authenticity of the play, can we evade the difficulty by the suggestion that Aeschylus imagines a distinction, such as we find in Platonic and Stoic theology, between a supreme transcendental God, the all-just ruler and beneficent creator of the universe, and the Zeus of the popular mythology, a limited and imperfect God? Even so, we should still have to explain why here, and only here, he should represent that God with such repellent traits; not merely as an imperfect God, but as entirely evil, and a hater of mankind. But that distinction is unreal for Aeschylus. In the decisive passage of the *Agamemnon*,¹⁶ the God of his highest religious vision is still the Zeus of the popular religion, and if our poet chose to reject the detrimental myths as Pindar did, there was no reason why he should not be.

Other scholars, anxious to save the character of Zeus or of Aeschylus, try to find some 'theodicy,' some justification of the dealings of God with Prometheus and man. We are used to strange 'theodicies' in our own pulpits; but to none so strange as that which is half expressed or tentatively suggested by Professor Murray in his *Rise of the Greek Epic*:¹⁷ all is well in the Aeschylean world, for the cruelty and the suffering end in reconciliation, peace and love; both Zeus and Prometheus have to go through a long period of probation and trouble from which they both emerge nobler and purified at the end: the spirit of love presides over the torture, because Zeus has just been carrying on an amour with Io, from which the future deliverer of Prometheus after thousands of years will be engendered. We ought not to accuse Aeschylus of wishing to preach us such a sermon. It was a far cry from Io to Herakles: the amour of Zeus that was directly connected with Herakles and might be represented by such a genial poet as Pindar as an act of beneficence to the human race was that with Alkmena. We discern that Zeus is in strong need of purification; but the poet does not show us the dark spot in Prometheus that needs it, unless the tortured victim's bold defiance of the tyrant is a vice. And to suggest that Zeus's intrigue with the mortal maiden was suggested by a lofty purpose is a parody of the narrative; and to torture the innocent victim and at the same time by indulgence in lustful passion to provide for his future release does not give us an attractive theology. In fact no imagined concept can justify the heinous and ungrateful cruelty of Zeus against the friend of man. But we might imagine a moral explanation of his anger: we might suppose that Zeus intended to destroy the human race for its sins and to create a better, and that Prometheus thwarted him in this noble cosmic purpose. But there is no hint given by Aeschylus that Zeus intended to create a better; and in the Hesiodic poems, when Zeus destroys one race of men, a worse usually takes its place.¹⁸ It would not occur to a

¹⁶ ll. 169-83.

¹⁷ pp. 294-95.

¹⁸ It has been thought that ll. 566-67, εὔποτε τῶν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν θνατῶν παρεξίασσι βουλαί, expresses the poet's intuition of some higher purpose of Zeus

which Prometheus has wrongly tried to thwart. The context is against this: the phrase is only a beautiful expression of the impotence of man: if Prometheus relied on man to save him from the wrath of Zeus he relied on a rotten reed.

Greek dramatist to moralise the situation by suggesting a cosmic solution of the knot which involved the destruction of the human race: a good God for the Greeks meant one who was good for man.

Another solution that has commended itself to many scholars,¹⁹ and notably to Wilamowitz²⁰ in his recent writings, is the theory of a progressive evolution of the Gods: like men they may develop from a lower to a higher state: in crude, primeval days they 'had their fling' and did wild things: then they became civilised and developed into higher moral beings: he quotes as examples the Erinyes softening into the Eumenides; and the vindictive God of the earlier period of the Old Testament, whose cruelties may be pardoned on the ground that at that time he was still young. I do not find these parallels at all helpful: the Erinyes were placated and became friendly to the Athenian people; any God or Goddess might pass through that process; but how far their morality was improved by the trial is not clear. And the God of the Hebrews starts much higher up the scale than the God of Prometheus. But the theory breaks down, because this moral evolution of the High God was never believed in by any who believed in the God at all. And I am convinced that Schmid was right when he said, 'Griechisch ist solche Vorstellung vom Heranreifen der Götter nicht.'²¹

Those who generally fail to realise how serious is the religious convulsion set in motion by the first play of our trilogy have supposed that the two following plays, the Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος and the Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος, may have cleared up the trouble and set things right. I do not find this credible: the moral character of Zeus has been blackened too deeply to be brightened on the traditional lines of the myth. The minimum demand we should make, so that he should win the forgiveness of Prometheus and our own, is that he should have deeply repented, should have turned from hating mankind to loving them, and should have released and reinstated Prometheus with adequate apologies and compensation. We note in our play that Prometheus vows he will not relent and give up the fateful secret which alone can save Zeus until the latter has at least released him and made atonement. All that we can gather from the titles and fragments of the lost plays and from a few statements in later writers does not suffice for a full reconstruction of their plots such as Thomson fancifully attempts; but only for a skeleton-sketch of the final drama. In the second a chorus of Titans arrives at Kaukasos to comfort their weary brother, possibly to persuade him to try humbleness. Herakles enters and receives guidance from Prometheus concerning his journey to the Hesperides: he shoots the eagle; Prometheus gives up the secret,²² possibly having first received a pledge from Zeus that as a reward he will be released: he is then set free and in the final drama, the Πυρφόρος, he was probably represented

¹⁹ Vide Thomson, *Prometheus Bound*, p. 12, n. 4.

²⁰ *Aeschylus-interpretationen*, p. 150, and *Glaube der Hellenen*, ii, pp. 133-4.

²¹ Quoted by Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 4.

²² It is certain that in the Aeschylean as in the later versions Prometheus gives up the secret before

he is finally released (Philod. Π. Εὐσεβ. ii, 41): this is a departure from his previous determination, *P. V.* 177; but the passage in Hyginus, *Fab.* 54, 'itaque fide data . . .' suggests that a mutual treaty was made between the two antagonists, and this might be drawn from the Aeschylean source.

as reinstated in his ancient dignity, as colleague of the benign Attic deities Hephaistos and Athena in some ritual where he appears in the solemn function of Πυρφόρος, carrying a processional torch. Now we cannot say with any precision what part Zeus played in the reconciliation. We have a phrase preserved from the second play, uttered by Prometheus, apparently after Herakles has shot the eagle,²³ 'dear son of a hostile father,' which suggests that there was no sudden 'περιπέτεια' in the divine feud—Zeus is still angry, and it may be that his wilful son is acting against his father's will, but counting on his indulgence. At any rate, we may be sure that Zeus did not 'stand in a white sheet' or by any act of repentance or atonement restore himself to the moral veneration of the thoughtful worshipper. Nor do we know how or by what organ the poet set himself to vindicate the ways of Zeus. It would be strange if he put such a vindication into the mouths of his Titans, though they themselves may be now released and pardoned.²⁴

We can understand his exaltation of Prometheus and his love of him. He was expressing what was probably the sentiment of the Attic people, especially the potters, who at the flourishing height of their art dealt with his personality nobly and sympathetically.²⁵ Then when the poet took up the crude story of old folk-lore, discerning in it the possibilities of high tragedy, he allowed his creative imagination so far to carry him away as to present the astounding spectacle of the tormented and loving God, a new religious revelation; and thus came near to the brink of a crusade against the traditional and popular religion. He shrank from the brink, and patched up the breach in the end, and thus escaped a public prosecution for ἀσέβεια. But the first play remains unique and irreconcilable with the rest of pre-Christian religious literature. The wind of genius bloweth where it listeth. We can quote no parallel.²⁶ We might say that he gives himself up wholly to his dramatic imagination, which comes near to shattering his normal theologic creed.

We should expect that a play of such power and dangerous originality would have made a deep impression on contemporary Athens and on later antiquity. But no record gives us any hint as to the emotion it excited in the Attic people, who, as we know and as Aeschylus found once to his cost, could be dangerous when they thought that their religion was attacked.²⁷ We must believe that it was a new and startling religious experience to the thoughtful Athenian in the audience: the shock was probably softened for him by the final play.

What surprises us is the slightness of its proved influence upon later

²³ According to Plutarch, *Vit. Pomp.* c. 1, Prometheus says this to Herakles after he has been rescued.

²⁴ This pardoning of the Titans had been mentioned by Pindar, *P.* iv, l. 291: *vide* my edition, vol. ii, p. 167: the date of *P.* iv was 462 B.C., probably near to the date of the Prometheus trilogy.

²⁵ E.g. on the Vulkan vase, where he is represented standing majestically before Hera, who offers him

a libation. *Vide* Roscher, *Lexikon*, iii. 3086.

²⁶ Haig, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 112, quotes Milton's admiration for Satan versus Jehovah; but if we scrutinise it we find no real parallel there.

²⁷ Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 111, expressed the opinion that the Athenian people would not have been shocked by the portrait of Zeus given in the *Prometheus Unctus*. But he wrote without knowledge of the popular religious psychology.

literature. We do not expect the incorrigible Aristophanes to have been impressed, whose figure of Prometheus in the *Birds*, skulking about under an umbrella lest the Gods whom he hates and who hate him should see him, is excellent fooling. We look in vain for any echo of it in Sophokles, unless we suppose that his lyrical masterpiece in the *Antigone* on the wonderful works of man is a silent protest against the Aeschylean doctrine which attributed all man's culture to a personal God. On the other hand, in a striking passage in the *Supplices* of Euripides,²⁸ which ascribes a divine origin to our culture, we can recognise the influence of the great Aeschylean drama, although Euripides avoids mentioning Prometheus and is content with θεός τις.

We might well have expected to find clear reference or allusion to our tragedy in that famous passage in the *Republic* where Plato censures the great poets for narrating immoral myths or otherwise speaking blasphemously of the Gods, and twice arraigns Aeschylus on lesser matters than he might have arraigned him on if he had taken note of the *Prometheus Vinctus*. But here and elsewhere²⁹ he is entirely silent about it; and Aristotle also is silent save for one doubtful passage in the *Poetics* where he classes the *Prometheus* among the 'spectacular' tragedies.³⁰ It is still stranger that the author of the treatise 'on the Sublime,' which gives the most sympathetic and penetrating literary criticism that antiquity produced, draws no illustration from the play that was the masterpiece of sublimity in ancient literature. It was certainly read in the Augustan and Imperial periods; but both Horace³¹ and Vergil,³² in passages where they are dealing with the same or connected themes, write as if they had never read the tragedy. Of the later writers Lucian has dealt with the myth in the most original way with his usual satiric humour, (a) in the *Dialogus Deorum*,³³ and (b) again in his treatise Προμηθεὺς ἢ Καύκασος; this is the severest moral indictment of Zeus, and he writes as if in a white heat of indignation; he certainly had the play of Aeschylus in his mind,³⁴ but the borrowing is slight. Among the narratives of the later mythographers who deal with the story, it is only seldom that we can prove their indebtedness to the Aeschylean trilogy.³⁵

Nor is there any clear evidence of its influence on later art, although we may suspect that Panainos, the brother of Pheidias, when he painted the deliverance of Prometheus on the screen of the throne of the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia, was influenced in his choice of subject and his manner of treatment by the great drama.³⁶

²⁸ ll. 201-15.

²⁹ In *Protag.* pp. 320 D-322 there is no hint of the Aeschylean handling of the fire-myth. In *Gorg.* p. 523 D Zeus is said to have ordered Prometheus to deprive mankind of foreknowledge of death, from moral motives: we discern the debt to Aeschylus, *P. V.*, ll. 250-52, but there is no acknowledgment.

³⁰ 1456^{a2}.

³¹ *O. I.*, iii, 17-33.

³² *Georg.* i, 123-35.

³³ Zeus is here the confirmed man-hater: he
J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

releases Prometheus as soon as he has told his secret: there is no mention of Herakles.

³⁴ In the opening scene describing the binding of Prometheus, and in Prometheus' appeal, § 3, ὦ Κρόνε κτλ.

³⁵ There is nothing definite to be detected in Apollodoros; nor in Hyginus, *Fab.* 54, and in *Astronom.* xv ('Sagitta') he only refers to the authority of Aeschylus for one detail, that Prometheus was bound for thirty thousand years.

³⁶ Paus. V, xi, 6.

It may have failed to have won its due homage from antiquity. But of all Greek plays it has been the most generative in our modern literature; for Aeschylus was the far-off begetter of Shelley's great masterpiece, the *Prometheus Unbound*: Robert Bridges also was indebted to him for a notable drama; and there are signs that the inspiration of the Attic poet is not yet extinct.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

THE GREEK KOUROS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

[PLATES IV, V.]

WHENEVER our store of Greek sculpture is enriched by a new example of major importance, the new-comer naturally arouses great interest. The question immediately arises whether it conforms with what is already known of the Greek sculpture of that period or whether it reveals new features. In either case it becomes the object of keen discussion, for we are almost as eager to test the soundness of the edifice we have tentatively set up as to enlarge it.

The newly-acquired archaic marble statue in New York (Pls. IV, V) is such an important new-comer. Under the circumstances I have gladly accepted the invitation of the Editorial Committee of this *Journal* to present a short note on the statue pending its more detailed publication in *Metropolitan Museum Studies* and Brunn-Bruckmann-Arndt, *Denkmäler*.¹

The significance of the New York statue lies in the fact that it is the best preserved and so the most representative example of the earliest 'Apollo' figures—or kouroi as we now preferably call them—of Greece. That is, it stands at the beginning of the long line of development which began about 600 B.C. and culminated about a century and a half later in the Apollo of Olympia. Its only important contemporaries are the famous colossal figures from Sounion,² one extensively restored, the other a mere torso, and the Dipylon statue,³ of which only the head and one hand have survived. The preservation of the New York statue, on the other hand, is astonishingly good. Though broken in several pieces, the fractures (at the waist and knees, above the ankles, above the wrists, at the left elbow, above the right elbow, and at the left thumb) neatly join, with only a few slivers missing at the joints—which have been restored in plaster and coloured. Besides these there are only a few small pieces missing (see illustrations). At the back of the legs is a hard incrustation, not thick enough to obscure the modelling. The warm reddish tone of the surface is due to the earth in which it was buried and which has not been entirely removed.

The statue⁴ may be described as a slim, long-haired youth standing in a strictly frontal pose with arms hanging down along the sides and the

¹ A preliminary publication appeared in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, 1932, pp. 218 ff.

² Rhomaïos, *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, pls. 47-56, pp. 91 ff.

³ Buschor, in *AM.* LII, 1927, pp. 205 ff., and LV, 1930, pp. 163 ff.

⁴ The marble is white and large-grained, evidently Island. The height of the figure without the

plinth is 6 ft. 4 in. (1.93 m.); that of the head 12 in. (30.5 cm.). The plinth was already embedded in the modern rectangular base when the statue arrived at the Museum, but from a photograph taken previously the height of the plinth can be computed to be about 2½ in. (6 cm.). Its form is irregular, roughly following the contours of the feet.

left leg a little advanced in the manner characteristic of the Greek kouroi. He is nude, but wears a necklace,⁵ tied in front with a reef knot (only partly preserved). His hair is encircled by a fillet, also tied with a reef knot, the ends hanging loosely down; at the bottom of each tress is a narrow band.⁶

The figure as a whole is four-sided, directly derived from the block of marble from which it was carved. On the surface of this cubic form anatomical details are indicated by grooves and ridges delicately carved with a fine sense of the composition as a whole. The proportions of the figure display many obvious deviations from nature. The head is too large for the body, the neck is too long, the thighs are too short, the first phalanges of the hands too long. The anatomy is only partially understood. The ideal of the art of the time was evidently not realism as we understand it, but a simplified conception of the human figure, a solid harmonious structure, in which essentials were emphasised and generalised into beautiful patterns.

To visualise the statue in its original state we must supply in our imagination the colour with which the surface was painted and of which only a few traces of red remain—on the necklace, the fillet, the narrow bands at the bottom of the tresses, a circle round the nipple of the left breast, the insides of the nostrils.⁷ The hair was doubtless black, brown, blue, or yellow; the skin perhaps a deep flesh tint; the eyes were also painted, for though no actual colour is preserved we can still distinguish the differentiation of the iris and pupil. This colour scheme must have greatly enlivened the effect.

For proof of authenticity it is interesting to record that on examination under (segregated) ultra-violet rays⁸ a considerable amount of 'penetration' was revealed; that is, the elements had changed the marble from the surface into the body of the stone to a depth of more than $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch, making this area appear—when exposed by a modern fracture—as a whitish band, in striking contrast to the purple core. Moreover, ancient fractures (after careful cleaning) appeared whitish under the ultra-violet rays, the modern fractures purple (except for the band of penetration), the difference being due to the action of time and the fact that marble long exposed to the elements fluoresces under the rays, whereas marble not so exposed does not.

Though the provenance of our statue has not been disclosed,⁹ its resemblance to the Sounion and Dipylon figures suggests an Attic origin—though this is, of course, not a clue to the finding-place, since the statue may have been exported in antiquity. The Sounion and Dipylon figures

⁵ For other instances of male figures with necklaces cf. the Dipylon head, the bronze statuette from Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pl. 4), and a torso in Markopoulo (Buschor in *J.M.* LII, 1927, p. 208).

⁶ Similar bands appear in the Sounion and Delphi youths.

⁷ The cutting of the left nostril is entirely preserved; that of the right nostril is mostly gone, except for a small portion at which point are traces of red.

⁸ The examination was made at the Metropolitan Museum by James J. Rorimer, associate curator of the department of Decorative Arts and author of *Ultra-Violet Rays and their Use in the Examination of Works of Art*.

⁹ The statue is evidently not the one claimed to have been unearthed in Attica by two Greek peasants in the spring of 1932, for it already was in New York in October 1931.

have been dated about 600 B.C.,¹⁰ and this must be the approximate date also of the New York statue. It was the time when Athens was at the beginning of her career of expansion, when her merchants were first engaging in trade overseas, when Solon introduced his epoch-making reforms. Our statue, with its quiet strength and refinement, is a revelation of the advanced culture of Athens at this early period.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

¹⁰ Cf. Buschor in *A.M.* LII, 1927, pp. 211 f. of Greek sculpture between 650 and 550 B.C. and on
The dating is based on the progressive development relations with vase paintings.



FIG. 1.—TOMBSTONE IN OXFORD

AN UNPUBLISHED EPIGRAM IN OXFORD

IN the Sculpture Gallery of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is exhibited an inscribed tombstone, bearing the following description: "Tombstone of Demetrios from Smyrna. Late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. Smoke-discoloured marble. Presented by J. W. Burgon,¹ 1858." As this has remained, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished, I sought the permission of the Keeper of the Museum, Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, to publish it: I am grateful to him for his ready acquiescence. While I was engaged in studying the inscription and a squeeze of it actually lay on my table, I received from Freiherr F. Hiller von Gaertringen a letter asking whether I could trace the inscription referred to in a slip, now in the possession of the Prussian Academy, bearing, in the handwriting of August Boeckh, a copy of the text together with the following note: "Auf einem Grabstein von Athen, im Besitz des Herrn Burgon. Über die Inschrift ein Basrelief. Eine sitzende männliche Figur, deren Oberteil abgebrochen ist, in dem Sessel eine kleine, wunderlich gestaltete männliche Figur. Vor den Sitzenden zwei weibliche Figuren. Die Inschrift: [here follows a copy of the text]. Forchhammer versichert

¹ For John William Burgon (1813-88), Fellow of Oriel and Dean of Chichester, see the *D.N.B.* Suppl. i. 335 ff. and G. C. Richards and C. L. Shadwell, *Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College*, 177. He was born at Smyrna and was the elder son of Thomas Burgon (1787-1858), a Turkey merchant

and member of the court of assistants of the Levant Company, who removed in 1814 from Smyrna to London and was subsequently employed in the Department of Coins in the British Museum (see *D.N.B.*, *loc. cit.*, and the dedication of the first volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*).

diese letzte Inschrift genau gelesen zu haben. Von Forchhammer durch [K.O.] Müller in England copirt." Upon learning that the stone is now in the Ashmolean Collection, Freiherr von Hiller, with characteristic generosity, waived in my favour his claim to publish the inscription. He has also kindly read this article in manuscript.

The accompanying photograph (Fig. 1) renders any further description of the relief unnecessary, while the letter-forms are represented in the following facsimile, based upon a squeeze (Fig. 2). The dimensions of the stone are: height .34 m., breadth .345 m., thickness .06 m.

The epitaph, couched in five iambic senarii, runs thus:—

‘Οδῖτα, ἐπιστράφητι, καὶ γνώσε[ι τάχα]
 τίνων χάριν σ’ ὁ τύμβος ἄθρησαι λέγ[ει].
 Δημήτριον κέκευθα καὶ ξυνάορον
 Σαραπιάδα. Τί δ’ εἶπον ἀπταίστω [τέκνω];
 Περῖτα, χαίροις εἰς γονεῖς τοῖος γ[εγώς].

‘Wayfarer, pay heed, and [soon] shalt thou know wherefore the tomb bids thee behold. Demetrius I hide and his consort Sarapias. But what said they to their unfaltering [son]? Peritas, fare thou well, who hast so [dealt] with thy parents.’

Of the text, with the exception of the two words wholly restored, there can be little doubt. In l. 1 Boeckh read ΓΝΩΣΚΕ, which he restored

ΟΔΙΤΑΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΦΗΤΙΚΑΙΓΝΩΣΚΕ
 ΤΙΝΩΝΧΑΡΙΝΣΟΤΥΜΒΟΣΑΘΡΗΣΑΙΛΕΓ
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝΚΕΚΕΥΘΑΚΑΙΞΥΝΑΟΡΟΝ
 ΣΑΡΑΠΙΑΔΑΤΙΔΕΙΠΟΝΑΠΤΑΙΣΤΩ
 ΠΕΡΙΤΑΧΑΙΡΟΙΣΕΙΣΓΟΝΕΙΣΤΟΙΟΣΓ

FIG. 2.—FACSIMILE OF INSCRIPTION.

as γ(ι)νώσκε [δή]; but the omission of the ι and the use of the present imperative² evoke doubt, and ΓΝΩΣΕ seems to me to be clearly legible on the stone. The last word of the line might be variously conjectured: [σφαῶς] would satisfy the demands of sense and of metre, but I prefer [τάχα], for which I quote as parallels, albeit not very close, an epigram of Corcyra (*IG. ix. 1. 880* = *App. Anth. ii. 229*) beginning ὀδῖτα, βαιὼν σάματι σταθεῖς πέρα μάθοις κεν ἀτρέκειαν, two from Rome (*IG. xiv. 1537, 2126* = *App. Anth. ii. 619, 445*), βαιὼν στήσον ἵχνος παύροις γράμμασιν εἰσορόων and βαιὼν ἐπιστήσας ἵχνος ἐνθάδε τύμβον ἄθρησον, and a fourth from western Crete (*Stud. ital. fil. class. n.s. ii. 390*), σῶφρονα Θεοδόταν ἐσόρα, ξένε, μικρὸν ἐπιστάς. In all of these stress is laid upon the brevity of the delay required of the passer-by if he would learn the message of the epitaph. In l. 2 Boeckh's copy shows ΛΕΓΕΙ, at the end of l. 4 ΣΤΩ.Σ and in l. 5 part of

² Γίνωσκε is, however, used in *App. Anth. ii. 600*.

the ε of γεγώς, restored independently by Freiherr von Hiller and by me. In l. 4 τέκνω appears to me the most probable restoration in view of the following line: the ξ of Boeckh's copy may be a misreading of ε.

The writer seeks to compensate for his lack of poetic genius by the use of poetic words such as ὀδῖτα, ἀθρήσαι,³ κέκευθα⁴ and ξυνόρονον and of the somewhat recondite epithet ἀπταίστωρ, as well as of the device, beloved of epigrammatists alike in classical and post-classical times, whereby the tomb (or sometimes the dead whom it commemorates) is represented as addressing the passer or passers-by. The usual word to designate these is παροδίτης, but there are frequent variants such as πάροδος (Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* 236), παράγοντες (*I.P.E.* ii. 378), παριόντες (Kaibel, 23, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 355), ὀδοιπόρος (Geffcken, *Gr. Epigr.* 188, 326, 359q, *Hermes*, lxxvi. 321; possibly παροδοιπόρος in *Stud. ital. fil. class.* n.s. ii. 358) and, as here, ὀδίτης (Geffcken, 147, 206, 374, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 436). The last two lines strike a more original, though hardly a more poetic, note. The greeting frequently addressed to the passer-by⁵ is here directed by the dead parents to their son, who, we may assume, erected this monument.

The name Περίτας or Περείτας is claimed as Macedonian by O. Hoffmann⁶ and is borne by Macedonians in *BSA.* xxiii. 73 (= *SEG.* i. 276) and *Petrie Papyri*, iii. 2. 5; it appears, however, more frequently in other parts of the Greek world, at Naxos,⁷ Chalcis,⁸ Aphrodisias,⁹ Attuda (Phrygia)¹⁰ and in Egypt.¹¹

Two grammatical points may be noted in conclusion. The form ἐπιστροφήτι (l. 1) for -ηθι is doubtless due to the analogy of the first aorist passive imperative termination -θητι by dissimilation for -θηθι.¹² Of the construction λέγω τινὰ ποιεῖν τι (l. 2) examples are cited in Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*⁹, s.v. λέγω (B) III. 5.

MARCUS N. TOD.

³ A favourite word with epigrammatists (e.g. *Stud. ital. fil. class.* n.s. ii. 358, 360, 363, Geffcken, 187, 363, 364) and with Plato.

⁴ Κέυθω, κέκευθα is preferred (e.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 300, 301, 362, Geffcken, 109, 220, 363, Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 4229) to the more prosaic κρύπτω (e.g. *App. Anth.* ii. 366, 414, Preisigke, 4301 = 5049) or κἀλύπτω (e.g. *App. Anth.* ii. 388, 679, Preisigke, 5004). The subject of the verb is usually τύμβος (e.g. *App. Anth.* ii. 366, 414, 701) or γὰς (ibid. 362, 388, 609, 626).

⁵ e.g. *App. Anth.* ii. 463, 475 (*extra metrum*), 647,

SEG. vi. 138.

⁶ *Die Makedonen*, 228. Cf. my note *BSA.* xxiii. 80.

⁷ *IG.* xii. 5. 39; the name is indexed as Περίτης, *ibid.* p. 350.

⁸ *IG.* xii. 9. 965; the name is indexed as Πέριτος, *ibid.* p. 200.

⁹ *CIG.* 2770, 2771, 2834, *REG.* xix. 138, No. 70.

¹⁰ *CIG.* 3952 = *IGRom.* iv. 844.

¹¹ Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v.

¹² Cf. Jannaris, *Hist. Gk. Grammar*, §§ 182, 808, Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Gramm.* 122.

TWO NOTES ON PTOLEMAIC HISTORY

I. THE LINEAGE OF PTOLEMY I

PTOLEMY I, son of Lagos and Arsinoe, is usually supposed to have belonged, through his mother, to a cadet branch of the Argead house and to have been a third cousin of Alexander.¹ But a fragment of Euphantus, so far unexplained, leads up to the conclusion that his mother was not of the blood royal and that he had no connexion with the royal house at all. Hellenistic literature was full of fictitious relationships,² which often found their way into history as facts; and we seem to have here another case of the same sort.

Euphantus is contemporary evidence for the period during which Ptolemy I was king. He was a pupil of Eubulides and the first philosophic teacher of Antigonos Gonatas;³ supposing he went to him when Antigonos was thirteen, as Aristotle did to Alexander, he was a known man in 307 or 306, while Ptolemy took the crown in 305. As he wrote a treatise on Kingship for Antigonos he was alive in or after 276, after Ptolemy's death; he wrote a history of his own time, and died of old age.

Euphantus fr. 2.⁴ Εὐφάντος . . . Πτολεμαίου φησὶ τοῦ τρίτου βασιλευσάντος Αἰγύπτου κόλακα γίνεσθαι Καλλικράτην, ὃς οὕτω δεινὸς ἦν ὥς μὴ μόνον Ὀδυσσεύως εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὀνόματα θέσθαι Τηλέγονον καὶ Ἀντίκλειαν. I think Mallet⁵ was the first to suggest that τρίτου was a mistake for πρώτου. Since then opinion has been divided. C. Müller in *FHG.* retained, Wilamowitz defended,⁶ and Klek has recently adopted,⁷ τρίτου; E. Schwarz⁸ and Natorp⁹ read πρώτου as being necessitated by the date of Euphantus; F. Jacoby in *F. Gr. Hist.* prints τρίτου but obelises it. But no one has examined Euphantus' story of *how* Callicrates flattered Ptolemy; this story proves at once that it was Ptolemy I, and proves some other things also.

Callicrates, says Euphantus, was a flatterer of Ptolemy; 'he was so clever that he not only wore a ring with the figure of Odysseus engraved upon it, but also named his children Telegonus and Anticleia.' How did this flatter Ptolemy? The answer is given by the name Anticleia. In the *Odyssey* Anticleia is merely wife of Laertes and mother of Odysseus; but post-Homeric legend made her the heroine of a scandal. Her father Autolycus, who was a 'clever' man—he surpassed other men, says Homer, in thieving and perjury (*Od. XIX*, 395)—had betrothed her to Laertes;

¹ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* IV², ii, pp. 176–7, and H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, II, p. 330, give the references.

² On some of these see my papers: *Heracles son of Baisine*, *JHS.* 1921, p. 18; *Philip V and Phthia*, *CQ.* 1924, p. 17; *Queen Ptolemais and Apama*, *ib.* 1929, p. 138.

³ Diog. Laertius, II, 110; see Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 25.

⁴ Athen. VI, 251D; *FHG.* III, p. 19; *F. Gr. Hist.* II, B, p. 132.

⁵ *Histoire de l'école de Megare*, 1845, p. 96.

⁶ *Antigonos von Karystos*, p. 87, n. 3.

⁷ *Kallikrates*, *RE.* Supp. Band IV, 859, a confused account.

⁸ *Hermes*, XXXV, pp. 106, 128.

⁹ *Euphantus* in *RE.*

but he had met a 'cleverer' man than himself, Sisyphus, and he gave his daughter to Sisyphus prior to her marriage, so that her son might be the son of the 'cleverest' man alive; that son was Odysseus, who surpassed even his father Sisyphus and became the 'cleverest' of them all.¹⁰ Callicrates' method of flattering Ptolemy implies some parallel between the Ptolemy in question and Odysseus, the name Anticleia showing which aspect of Odysseus is meant; and this parallel is furnished by the story that Ptolemy I was no more the son of Lagos than Odysseus was the son of Laertes, but was the son of Philip II, whose mistress Arsinoe had been before her marriage to Lagos.¹¹ The flattery itself lay in what lawyers would call the innuendo of this: as Sisyphus had been the cleverest man of his day, but had been surpassed by his son Odysseus, so Philip II had been the ablest man of his time, but was surpassed by his son Ptolemy.

This leaves unexplained one item in Euphantus' story; the name Telegonus also must bear upon the matter in some way, but I have been unable to find any story about Telegonus which is in point.

The story then that Ptolemy I was a son of Philip II belongs to Ptolemy's lifetime, as Professor Berve conjectured.¹² It does not, however, belong to the time before Alexander's death, because Ptolemy called one of his sons by Thais Lagos,¹³ or to the period immediately following Alexander's death, for then something would certainly have been heard of it;¹⁴ besides, in 323, the connexion which Ptolemy was meditating was not with the Argead line of Macedonia but with the Sebennyte dynasty of Egypt.¹⁵ Since the Callicrates of Euphantus is certainly, as Schwarz said, the Friend whom Ptolemy I sent on a mission to Cyprus in 310 B.C.,¹⁶ it may be supposed that the story was first put about somewhere in the period which saw the death of Alexander IV (310 or 309 B.C.) and the assumption by Ptolemy of the crown of Egypt (305 B.C.); it might be connected with the latter event. The allusion to Anticleia shows that the form of the story given by Pausanias and Curtius—that Arsinoe had been Philip's mistress before she married Lagos—is the correct version. But this in turn shows that, about 305, Arsinoe was certainly not supposed to have been of the blood royal; had she really been Philip's second cousin he must have married her in proper form, seeing that he even married Cleopatra, who was merely the niece of one of his generals. If then about 305 Arsinoe was represented as having been Philip's mistress (*pellex* in Curtius), the story that she was of royal blood had not yet arisen.¹⁷ She was, in fact,

¹⁰ The story is given in the Scholion to Sophocles, *Ajax*, 190. The tragedians frequently refer to Odysseus as son of Sisyphus. See Bethe, *Sisyphos* in *RE.*; Höfer, *Odysseus* in Roscher, p. 613.

¹¹ Paus. 1, 6, 2; Curtius, IX, 8, 22. Another version, Aelian fr. 285 = Suidas, *Lagos*, does not mention Philip, but only says that Lagos believed that the child was not his.

¹² *Loc. cit.*: diese gewiss in der allerersten Zeit der Ptolemäerherrschaft entstandenen Erzählung.

¹³ Ditt.³ 314; their second son Leontiscus was a grown man in 306, Justin XV, 2, 7.

¹⁴ See Dittenberger on *OGIS*. 54, note 5.

¹⁵ W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, I, pp. 112 sq.; Tarn, *CQ.* 1929, p. 138.

¹⁶ Diod. XX, 21, 1. He dedicated two wreaths at Delos (p. 65).

¹⁷ There is, I believe, no trustworthy instance except Cleopatra VII, and only one untrustworthy one (Justin's story about Apama of Cyrene), of any woman of the blood royal in any Macedonian kingdom living with a man without marriage (see also G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, 1932, *passim*)—one of the most extraordinary manifestations of pride known to history. I once in ignorance spoke of 'the facile queens of Hellenism'; I did the Macedonians a grave injustice.

like Lagos, an ordinary member of the Macedonian aristocracy; one must now follow the process by which she became royal.

Her pedigree as an Argead is given at length by Satyrus,¹⁸ and in it she is the connecting link between Ptolemies and Argeads; the pedigree is, in fact, that of the Macedonian kings from the gods Dionysus and Heracles to a point two generations later than Amyntas I, where it branches, the main line (not given in Satyrus) running through Philip II to Alexander, and a side line through Arsinoë to Ptolemy I. This pedigree is alluded to by Ptolemy III;¹⁹ and there is an earlier allusion to it in Theocritus XVII, 26,²⁰ which takes its date back to about 271. I believe myself that its existence can be traced even earlier, in 279/8, and that it was one of the subjects of the great festival of that year described by Callixenus (Athen. V, 197C *sqq.*).

First, as to the much-discussed date of that festival. I agree with those who have believed that at its date Arsinoë II, whose name is never mentioned in our account, was not yet queen. The passage Athen. 203AB, relating to the crowns given in the ἀγών—20 (query 21)²¹ to the army, 22 to the images of Ptolemy I and Berenice, and 23 to that of Ptolemy II *alone*—seems to me conclusive; had Arsinoë II been queen, her image, like Berenice's, must have accompanied that of her husband.²² But there is another indication, also important, which has not been noticed. Ptolemy II employed the δίκεραι, the double cornucopiae, as a sort of emblem of Arsinoë II; her statues bore it, and she herself used it on her coins;²³ the idea, says Athenaeus, was to show that *her* horn was richer in benefits for men than the fabled horn (κέρας) of Amaltheia, the single cornucopiae, an idea which appears again in her cult-title Καρπόφορος.²⁴ Now in the πομπή of Dionysus the horn of Amaltheia, borne by Eniautos (198A), was a prominent feature, while Arsinoë's horn had no place; and when, in Callixenus' list of miscellanies, the single and double horns do appear side by side, the single horn is the more important; of the horns upon thrones the κέρα is of solid gold, ὀλόχρυσον, while the δίκεραι is only gilt, χρυσοῦν (202A); and of the two enormous horns carried free, the δίκεραι is 8 cubits long (202C), but the solid gold κέρα, Amaltheia's horn, is 30 cubits (202E). Whatever this δίκεραι may refer to,²⁵ it is evident that Arsinoë II and *her* δίκεραι had not yet dawned upon the Court of Alexandria. Therefore, since I believe that Arsinoë II was probably married in the winter of 276/5,²⁶ and since I agree with Professor Otto that the presence of the army

¹⁸ FHG. III, p. 164, fr. 21; he is late third century.

¹⁹ OGIS. 54, l. 6.

²⁰ ἀμφοῖν γὰρ (Alexander and Ptolemy I) πρόγονός σφιν ὁ καρτερός Ἡρακλείδης, i.e. Hyllus, who in the Satyrus pedigree is son of Heracles and (through his mother) grandson of Dionysus.

²¹ Kaibel, in 203A, prints στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς <καὶ> εἰκοσι. The context seems to call for σ.χ. ἐνὶ καὶ εἰκοσι: perhaps καὶ in the original.

²² W. Otto in *Philol.* LXXXVI, 1931, p. 414, n. 27, arguing for 271/0 as against myself (*Hermes*, LXV, p. 447, n. 2), has unfortunately made a mis-

take as to which passage in Athenaeus I was building on (perhaps I did not make it clear), and consequently has not directed his argument to what I believe to be the real point.

²³ Athen. XI, 497B; M. R. Vallois, *CRAcInscr.* 1929, p. 33.

²⁴ *P. Tebt.* III, 883, cited *P. Oxy.* XIV, p. 7; see H. I. Bell, *Archiv.* VII, 1924, p. 22 n.

²⁵ I suppose it is conceivable that Berenice might have used the δίκεραι before her daughter, as she did the diadem, but I think there is no evidence.

²⁶ *JHS.* 1926, p. 161.

should mean that this festival marked the end of a successful war²⁷ (and therefore, if not in 271/0 as he thinks, it can only be in 279/8), I regard 279/8 as tolerably certain. I see no difficulty in the introduction of Berenice, though she was not mentioned in the invitations sent out in 280.²⁸ She plays a very subordinate part, and nothing shows that she and Ptolemy I were being honoured as θεοὶ σωτῆρες;²⁹ probably as yet there *were* no θεοὶ σωτῆρες in the official sense,³⁰ however the pair might be named by private persons in private offerings;³¹ in fact we do not even know that in 279/8 Berenice was dead.³² It might perhaps be argued that in 279/8 we should expect to find the name of Arsinoe I, which never occurs; but there is no difficulty in supposing that she was already repudiated³³ or at any rate in disgrace; her marriage to Ptolemy II was probably in 289/8,³⁴ the year of the alliance of her father Lysimachus and Ptolemy I against Demetrius, and, allowing for three children, her fall might have been at any time after her father's death in 281. And I feel strongly that Callixenus' account must belong to the first festival of the series; that ostentatious extravagance could never have been repeated.

In the procession, the πομπή of Eosphoros was followed by a πομπή of the 'ancestors of the kings,' ἡ τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων γονεῦσι κατωνομασμένη (197D); then came the πομπή of Dionysus, then those of Zeus and other gods, and lastly that of the divine Alexander (197D, 202A); a πομπή of Hesperos closed the procession. Now the festival was in honour of Ptolemy I, who had no πομπή of his own; and I take the connexion to be this. The πομπή of the 'ancestors of the kings' displayed, by means of images, the pedigree of the Ptolemies³⁵ (and probably of Alexander) back to Dionysus, as Satyrus gives it; these images were the εἰκόνας βασιλέων, 'images of kings,' which Callixenus (201F) gives as carried upon cars somewhere in the procession without specifying where, and which modern writers have usually passed over in silence. It may be that the 'many thrones' which (202A) Callixenus also gives as somewhere in the procession belonged to this πομπή also. This parade of images of the ancestors of the royal house naturally drove home the (alleged) blood-relationship of Ptolemy I to Alexander, and also made it clear to the spectators how Dionysus, whose πομπή was to follow, came into the business; he was the common ancestor of Alexander and Ptolemy I, and so to him and to the divine Alexander were naturally assigned the two chief πομπαὶ among those of the gods—Dionysus, the ancestor, at the start, and Alexander at the finish. The details of Alexander's πομπή are not given; but into that of Dionysus was worked the fact that Ptolemy I was (not only Alexander's supposed cousin

²⁷ *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte*, pp. 7 sq.

²⁸ Ditt.³ 390.

²⁹ The belief of some scholars that they were seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the nature of the πομπή of the 'ancestors of the kings.'

³⁰ R. Herzog, *Philol.* LXXXII, 1927, pp. 49–58.

³¹ *Archiv*, V, p. 156, no. 1.

³² Cf. U. Wilcken, *Archiv*, IX, p. 73.

³³ The story which attributes her fall to the intrigues of her successor is as worthless as most other

stories of the kind about Arsinoe II.

³⁴ Ptolemy II was definitely the heir before 288, in which year Eurydice had already left Egypt and gone to Miletus. In *CAH*, VII, p. 97 I put the marriage of Arsinoe I too late.

³⁵ Naturally 'the kings' do not, at this date, mean Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, as some have supposed. In any case there is no evidence that the pair were ever so called.

but also) his *political* heir, by means of the introduction of Corinth and the cities.³⁶ The ancestors, the βασιλεῖς, were, of course, not gods, any more than Corinth and the cities were;³⁷ everything that figured in the procession was not necessarily divine.

To sum up. Whether Callicrates' flattery was well-pleasing to Ptolemy I or not, an early attempt was made to connect that monarch with the Argead house through his *father* by calling him a son of Philip II; subsequently—at latest by the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy II³⁸—this was dropped in favour of a version which retained Lagos as his father³⁹ but connected him with the Argeads through his *mother*, making her of royal blood, which she had not been before. This version became official; the πομπή described by Callixenus was perhaps its canonisation. The motive for representing Ptolemy I as an Argead may have been twofold: partly because Seleucus' son and heir Antiochus (I) really was an Achæmenid,⁴⁰ and the Ptolemies could not let their rivals over-trump them; and partly from the same desire to claim kinship with Alexander which led to Seleucus' wife Apama becoming Alexander's daughter.⁴⁰ The clever Odysseus himself might have envied the skill with which the Ptolemies imposed their alleged kinship with Alexander upon history.

One further point. I have now shown how two of the three Macedonian lines, Ptolemies and Seleucids, ultimately claimed (or others claimed for them) to be connected by blood with Alexander; and we know that, as regards the third line, the later Antigonids (or others for them) reckoned the succession to the crown of Macedonia from Antigonus I as the successor of Alexander, ignoring Philip III and the houses of Cassander and Lysimachus, etc.⁴¹ As Philip V was much concerned to establish his relationship to Philip II and Alexander,⁴² we may suppose that a connexion in blood was already invented between Antigonus I and Alexander⁴²; some day the details of this also may come to light.

II. THE DURATION OF THE PTOLEMAIC NAUARCHATE

It is now widely believed that Callicrates son of Boiscus of Samos, sometime nauarch of Egypt under Ptolemy II, ceased at some period (usually taken as by or before 266 B.C.) to hold his high office but nevertheless remained in honour with the king and was employed by him on other work. I believe that so far, in the Hellenistic kingdoms, no instance is known of a great official, who could not be further promoted, vacating office except for one of two reasons—death, natural or otherwise, or removal in

³⁶ 201 D, E; on its significance, Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 371.

³⁷ The image was called Κόρινθος ἡ πόλις, not 'the Fortune of Corinth,' and it wore the diadem; while the other cities were represented by living women.

³⁸ Three out of the eight demes of the tribe Dionysias at Alexandria, as given by Satyrus, bore names which reflected names in the pedigree, but at the very beginning of it. Doubtless all the eight demenames are of Alexander's day, whether the three were taken from his pedigree or, like the other five, direct

from the Dionysus story. The recently discovered demotic Argeades (*P. Mich. Zen.* no. 66, l. 12) also probably belongs to Alexander's time.

³⁹ Theoc. XVII, 14: Λαγιάδης Πτολεμαῖος.

⁴⁰ Tarn, *CQ.* 1929, p. 138.

⁴¹ K. Ziegler, *PhW.* 1928, p. 94.

⁴² Polyb. V, 10, 10; cf. Livy, XXVII, 30, 9.

^{42a} Seneca *de ira* 23, 1 makes Alexander Antigonus' nephew. Cf. G. de Sanctis' strange discovery, *Riv. Fil.* LIX, 1931, p. 331.

disgrace; and if Callicrates, who had successfully occupied one of the two highest posts in the kingdom, was an exception, there must have been a reason. I want to examine the whole matter, and to suggest a reason, which goes further than the question of Callicrates.

The suggestion that Callicrates survived his nauarchate was first made by Dr. E. Bevan⁴³ in 1927, in connexion with the dating of the letter of Ptolemy II to Miletus;⁴⁴ soon afterwards Professor W. Otto made the same suggestion independently,⁴⁵ in connexion with the dating of the same letter. Meanwhile in 1927 Professor U. Wilcken had suggested that the Callicrates of *P. Cairo Zen.* 59006 (259 B.C.) *might* be the son of Boiscus.⁴⁶ More recently Mr. C. C. Edgar has taken the view that the Callicrates of *P. Mich. Zen.* 100 (257 B.C.) was almost certainly the admiral,⁴⁷ and Wilcken has referred to the mention of the admiral in these two papyri as a fact,⁴⁸ while Professor M. Rostovtzeff has alluded to the Callicrates of *P. Mich. Zen.* 100 as the admiral.⁴⁹ Before going on, I ought to say that, though the Callicrates question had its origin in a consideration of the date of Ptolemy's letter to Miletus, it is now, in my view, quite independent of that document; whether Callicrates were nauarch or ex-nauarch at the date of that letter depends on the dating of the letter and not *vice versa*. What I have to say here has, so far as I see, no bearing one way or the other on the much-argued question of that dating, on which I have said all that I have to say;⁵⁰ the problem of Callicrates must now be treated on its own merits.

The documents which now matter, putting aside Ptolemy's letter to Miletus, are the two Zeno papyri to which I have referred; but before examining them I would note that the name Callicrates, notoriously common in Egypt in the second century B.C., was also common in the earlier period. I give in a note below⁵¹ some cases of the occurrence of the name in Egypt in the third century B.C.; more important perhaps are the Friend of Ptolemy I treated of in the first of these *Notes*, and in the middle of the third century another Callicrates from Samos, sometimes confused with

⁴³ *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, p. 387.

⁴⁴ *Milet*, III, 1, no. 139.

⁴⁵ *Beitrage zur Seleukidengeschichte*, 1928, p. 25.

⁴⁶ *Archiv*, VIII, p. 276.

⁴⁷ *P. Mich. Zen.* 1931, on no. 100.

⁴⁸ *Archiv*, X, 1932, p. 76.

⁴⁹ *Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt*, *Journ. of Economic and Business History*, IV, 1932, p. 764, n. 4.

⁵⁰ The last articles in the debate between Otto and myself as to this dating are Tarn, *Hermes*, LXV, 1930, p. 446; Otto, *Philol.* LXXXVI, 1931, p. 400. I am no more convinced by Otto's reply than I was before, but, as I began, he is entitled to the last word, and I do not propose to write on the subject again; δει που στήναι. The main point about his reply is that he is now compelled to postulate a 'Zwischenzeit' between the categories νῦν and πρότερον (pp. 404, 407); and I frankly confess that I do not understand what an 'intermediate period' between 'now'

and 'formerly' can mean.—In case anyone should think that p. 388 of Dr. M. Cary's book of 1932, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.*, means (as it might perhaps seem to mean) that Mr. Sidney Smith has altered his view of the dating in the *Babylonian Chronicle concerning Antiochus*, I have his permission to state that he is still of the same opinion as when he republished that *Chronicle*, and for the same reason.

⁵¹ Callicrates an *economus* in four third-century papyri: B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Archiv*, II, pp. 83-4. An official in 244 B.C.: *P. Cairo Zen.* 59348. Apollonius son of Callicrates in the last third of the third century: J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraka in the Bodleian Library*, nos. 21, 33-5, 147. An early Ptolemaic gravestone: F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* 2112. Two men unknown: *P. Hibeh* I, 53 (246 B.C.); *PSI*. VI, 551. Καλλικράτους κώμη in 254/3 B.C.: *PSI*. IV, 353; *P. Cairo Zen.* 59596.

the nauarch. His name occurs together with that of Patroclus (the nauarch or future nauarch) in a list of proxenies given by Olus in Crete,⁵² at a time when Egypt was seeking allies in the island: Πάτροκλον Πάτρωνος Μακέδονα, Καλλικράτη Περιγένη Ἀριστόνικον Ἰθισέου Σαμῖος. Ἰθισέου is obviously wrong, and E. Pozzi,⁵³ whom Professor Wilhelm has followed,⁵⁴ proposed to read Βοίσκου, making this Callicrates the nauarch. But the temptation to turn an unknown man into a known one is, I think, to be resisted, certainly in the third century B.C., unless there be clear evidence, and in this case the position is unsatisfactory; J. Demargne, who published the inscription, published it from a squeeze and a copy,⁵⁵ and neither he nor Pozzi nor Wilhelm saw the stone. I had myself previously assumed⁵⁶ that Ἰθισέου was a stone-cutter's error for Ἰσιθέου, a known name;⁵⁷ and as this does less violence to the actual letters (if they be the actual letters) than Βοίσκου, and as Demargne wrote 'la lecture est partout très facile,' I shall continue to believe that this is right unless and until an examination of the stone disproves it. But in any case the name Callicrates is so common that it is clear that we must have some good reason, besides the mere name, if we are to say that the Callicrates of this or that papyrus must be the son of Boiscus.

P. Cairo Zen. 59006 (259 B.C.) is a list of people who drew salt fish from store, probably over some days, in a garrison town somewhere near Gaza; they included members of the garrison, and also (Col. II) Apollonius' steward Zeno and various people travelling with him, among them his accountant Pyrrhon and one Heracleides τῶι ἀγάγοντι—dragoman, or one who saw to horses for the party. Among Zeno's party is listed one Dionysodorus τῶι παρὰ Καλλικράτους; and in Col. I, outside Zeno's party, there are listed another agent of Callicrates and an agent of Ptolemy II; the latter had perhaps not yet arrived, as a note (οὐπω) shows that he had not yet drawn his ration. As one of Callicrates' agents was travelling with Zeno, their object was more probably trade than anything else; Callicrates *might* be a mere trader (there are plenty of cases in the Zeno papyri of quite unimportant men having agents), or he *might* be the ex-nauarch doing some trade on his own account, as did the great Apollonius. It is all perfectly indeterminate; and we cannot interpret it in the light of *P. Mich. Zen.* 100 and say that Callicrates' agents might be concerned with naval matters, because lines 64-5 show Dionysodorus travelling *inland* with Zeno's party to Marisa.

P. Mich. Zen. 100 (257 B.C., *i.e.* the year after 258) is more definite. One Zoilus (not the known *economus*), who calls himself an agent of an agent of Callicrates and a collector (λογευτής) of the τριηράρχημα, the tax for the upkeep of the navy, writes to Apollonius to say that Callicrates has told him to remind him (Apollonius) that he has not paid his navy tax, and that Callicrates has written to him (Apollonius) personally to ask for payment. It is clear that this Callicrates was an important person whose

⁵² *SGDI.* 5104a, l. 36.

⁵³ *Le battaglie di Cos e di Andro*, 1912, p. 370, n. 1. He put it before the Chremonidean war.

⁵⁴ *AM.* LI, 1926, p. 16.

⁵⁵ *BCH.* XXIV, 1900, p. 223.

⁵⁶ *JHS.* XXXI, 1911, p. 256; this astonished Preuner, *AM.* XLIX, 1924, p. 38.

⁵⁷ F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v.

interest or duty it was to get in the navy tax; beyond this the document does not go. For when Edgar says that the allusion to the navy tax 'makes the identification' (with Callicrates the nauarch) 'almost certain,' and that, granting that Callicrates was not nauarch during the Chremonidean war, 'he may have resumed active service as admiral of the fleet' after that war, one is bound to point out that the collection of taxes was no part of the functions of the nauarch, and that, *qua* nauarch, he can have had nothing to do with the navy tax, which was an ordinary royal tax collected by the usual machinery.⁵⁸ And there is a definite reason, which I shall come to, why the Callicrates of this papyrus could not have been nauarch at the time it was written.

But that does not necessarily mean that this Callicrates was not the son of Boiscus. The date, 257 B.C., is important; for of the two dates now possible for the battle of Cos, 258 and 256, 258 seems to me the probable one.⁵⁹ A naval defeat for Egypt so important that she lost the Cyclades and the command of the Aegean, even though Egypt and Syria were not threatened, would entail heavy work to try and make things good; the war was still going on in 257, and therefore the nauarch himself (presumably Patroclus, see *post*) would be with the fleet; and the theory which commends itself to me is that Callicrates the ex-nauarch, being available, had been called out of his retirement and appointed to manage the 'home front'—to reorganise and supplement the existing ships, with a special commission to take charge of and get in the navy tax (perhaps augmented). This, of course, is hypothesis only; the papyrus does not prove it; it does not *prove* anything, except that the Callicrates in question was not nauarch (p. 65). But it can hardly be chance that information is gradually pointing to activity of the sort in the year 257. In the winter of 258/7 the repair of a 'nine' (ἐννήρης) at Halicarnassus was considered so urgent that Apollonius' subordinate Apollodotus got the keeper of the royal treasure in that city to advance 2000 dr. to the trierarch out of the proceeds of a royal tax, while Apollonius himself guaranteed an advance of another 3000 dr.;⁶⁰ and in 257 Zoilus the *economus*, another subordinate of Apollonius, had to neglect his own work because he was 'busy about the sending off of the sailors'⁶¹—a statement which *might* have nothing to do with the war-fleet, but again *might* mean that Callicrates had Apollonius' whole organisation at his disposal. Lastly, in *P. Cairo Zen.* 59040, dated 3 April 257, the writer, whose name is lost, is equipping a ship, ναῦς, and complains that certain men had been drafted into the κυνηγοί, who were a military organisation;⁶² his ναῦς seems more likely to mean a warship than not, since a trading vessel on the Nile is usually called πλοῖον.

I come now to the argument from titles. Otto put forward a definite reason⁶³ for supposing that, at the date of Ptolemy's letter to Miletus, the

⁵⁸ *P. Hibeh* I, 104 (cf. 103). Rostovtzeff *loc. cit.* suggests that the τριηράρχημα of *P. Mich. Zen.* 100 might be a tax on the import of foreign goods, citing *P. Cairo Zen.* 59012–59014.

⁵⁹ My reasons, *CAH.* VII, pp. 713, 862.

⁶⁰ *P. Cairo Zen.* 59036 (repayment asked for 1 Feb. 257); see Wilcken, *Raccolta Lumbroso*, pp. 93 sqq.

The ἐννήρης is called ἡ θ'. My own habit of now calling these great ships in English merely by their numbers, e.g. a 'nine,' follows this ancient practice; I hope it may become universal.

⁶¹ *PSI.* V, 502, l. 24.

⁶² See now P. Roussel, *REG.* XLIII, 1930, p. 361.

⁶³ *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte*, p. 25.

Callicrates therein mentioned was ex-nauarch (*i.e.* had survived his office): he said that, had he been nauarch at the time, the king would have given him his title. But there are other cases in kings' letters where an official is named without his title (I exclude, of course, the greeting, where the title is normally omitted).⁶⁴ There is a clear instance in the letter of Philip V to the Abaeans: ⁶⁵ γέγραφα τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμᾶς. There is another in a letter of Attalus II to Attis: ⁶⁶ συναγαγόντος μου οὐ μόνον Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Σώσανδρον καὶ Μηνογένην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρους πλείονας τῶν ἀναγκαίων; Athenaeus was the king's brother, Sosandrus was his foster-brother, priest of Dionysus Kathegemon, and perhaps general,⁶⁷ and Menogenes was vizier, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.⁶⁸ Similarly, one king could mention another without his title: letter of Antiochus III to the people of Amyzon, ⁶⁹ ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίου [συμμαχίᾳ]. Finally, in the famous letter of Antigonos I to Scepsis,⁷⁰ among the numerous names of rulers, generals, and what not which occur in it, not one has any title or distinguishing word. Otto's argument therefore fails. I may add that the reason of this diversity of practice in kings' letters was undoubtedly this:—when a secretary drafted the letter he put in the title, but when the king wrote it himself he sometimes did not bother to do so. The omission of the title might also occur where the king gave the secretary a rough note to be put into shape, and the secretary copied the material words verbatim.

Only the king, however, could omit the title; the king's secretary never does. It seems clear, therefore (to return to *P. Mich. Zen.* 100), that a mere λογευτής like Zoilus could not possibly omit Callicrates' title if he were nauarch; indeed he even gives Apollonius his title in the *greeting*, [Ἀπολλωνίῳ διοικήτῃ χαίρειν, where titles were usually omitted. To me this is conclusive against Callicrates being nauarch at the date of this letter, 257.

For completeness, I note that the Delian inventories give no help. Two gold wreaths dedicated by a Callicrates appear from 279 to 244, after which they were presumably placed in a ῥυμός. In 279 one of them is listed amid a number of fourth-century dedications,⁷¹ and the inventory of 269 calls the donor Καλλικράτους Μακέδονος; ⁷² he was therefore not the Samian but the already mentioned Friend of Ptolemy I, sent to Cyprus in 310. These wreaths have nothing to do with the son of Boiscus.⁷³

There is therefore no *proof* that Callicrates son of Boiscus survived the termination of his nauarchate; and it is difficult to see why a man who had been so successful ⁷⁴ and was so honoured ⁷⁵ should be relieved of his office by the king, while still remaining in favour; for naturally he could

⁶⁴ See their letters collected by F. Schroeter, *De regum hellenisticorum epistulis in lapidibus servatis quaestiones stilisticae*, Leipzig, 1932.

⁶⁵ Ditt. *Syll.*³ 552 = Schroeter 32.

⁶⁶ *OGIS.* 315, VI, l. 47 = Schroeter 47.

⁶⁷ See Dittenberger *ad loc.*

⁶⁸ *OGIS.* 291–6.

⁶⁹ Schroeter 27.

⁷⁰ *OGIS.* 5 = Schroeter 1.

⁷¹ *IG.* XI, ii, 161B, l. 54.

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

⁷² *Ib.* 203B, l. 78. I once suggested that Μακέδονος might perhaps be a title of honour (*JHS.* 1911, p. 255). Now that the inventories can be studied as a whole this is at once seen to be untenable.

⁷³ The big variations from the normal weights in 161B, l. 89 and 162B, l. 43 must be stone-cutters' errors.

⁷⁴ He was the nauarch of the first Syrian war.

⁷⁵ *E.g.* *OGIS.* 29, a unique honour for a subject.

not retire of himself unless Ptolemy agreed. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a certain probability that this is what did happen, and I am going to suggest a reason; and if my hypothesis should ultimately prove correct, then indeed we might feel certain that the Callicrates of *P. Mich. Zen.* 100 was the ex-nauarch. I start from a perplexing fact about the nauarchs of the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III: there were too many of them. In a period of 68 years, from 286 to 218 (in Philopator's reign), seven are known—Philocles, Callicrates, Patroclus, Timosthenes the Rhodian (p. 67, n. 91), Hermaphilos the Rhaukian,⁷⁶ the nauarch of the battle of Andros,⁷⁷ and Perigenes;⁷⁸ and this during one of the most obscure periods of ancient history, where much of the evidence has perished. Contrast the long terms of office sometimes enjoyed by the highest *civil* officials of the earlier Ptolemies—Apollonius *dioecetes* for 15–17 years at least, Sosibius in office, first as *dioecetes* and then as vizier, ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων,⁷⁹ for some 40 years;⁸⁰ and Polybius speaks as though cases of such long tenure of power as his were common.⁸¹ There is no possibility of there having been two nauarchs at once; other considerations apart, the enormous powers of these Viceroys of the sea absolutely preclude the idea.⁸² And although, as Lord High Admiral, the nauarch commanded the main fleet in battle, and though in this period Egypt was defeated in two great naval battles, Cos and Andros, we cannot take refuge in the belief that some nauarchs were killed in action. For one of the astounding things in the Hellenistic period (I include Rome and Carthage here) is that there is, I believe, no recorded case in which, in a formal battle, the admiral of the beaten fleet, however badly beaten, was killed; the reason doubtless was that the admiral usually had a larger and more powerful ship than anyone else.⁸³ Ptolemy I escaped from Salamis, though his fleet was almost annihilated. Gonatas survived his defeat by Keraunos, Pyrrhus his crushing defeat by Carthage. In the first Punic war, Hannibal escaped from Mylae, Hamilcar from Ecnomus, Hanno from the Aegates Insulae; P. Claudius Pulcher survived the annihilation of his fleet at Drepana. Attalus I escaped at Chios, though his flagship was captured. In Rome's war with Antiochus III Hannibal escaped at Side, as did Polyxenidas at Corycus and Myonnesus; in the Civil Wars, Octavian escaped from Tauromenium, Sextus Pompeius from Naulochus, Antony from Actium. This list must suffice here. There is one case where the *victorious* admiral subsequently died of his wounds, the Rhodian Theophiliscus after Chios;⁸⁴ but he only had a quinquereme, and had risked his life deliberately.

My suggestion to account for the number of Ptolemaic nauarchs in this period, and for the probability of Callicrates' reappearance as ex-nauarch,

⁷⁶ *IG.* XII, 3. 1291, son of Philostratus, a Rhaukian from Crete; the name Hermaphilos is uncertain.

⁷⁷ Trogus, *Prol.* XXVII, in the corruption *prona*; whether *Sophrona* be meant or not is here immaterial.

⁷⁸ Polyb. V, 68, 3.

⁷⁹ The actual title is guess-work. Apparently under Ptolemy II there was no vizier, and the *dioecetes* was the highest civil official.

⁸⁰ On his career see P. Collart and P. Jouguet in *Raccolta Lumbroso*, pp. 128 *sqq.*

⁸¹ Polyb. XV, 34, 4, Σωσίβιος καὶ πλείους ἕτεροι . . . βασιλεῖς ἐκ βασιλέων μεταχειριζόμενοι.

⁸² On their powers see Tarn, *JHS.* 1911, p. 251. Naturally we hear of subordinate commanders.

⁸³ I gave a rough list of flagships in *JRS.* XXI, 1931, p. 186, n. 5.

⁸⁴ Polyb. XVI, 5, 4–7; 9, 1.

is that the nauarch held office for a term of ten years only; that is, that he had to retire at the end of ten years, supposing that the king did not remove him sooner (I do not mean that he had fixity of tenure). No appointment for a term of years is so far known in any Hellenistic kingdom; but it was not unknown in the Greek-speaking world, for some officials at Athens were appointed for four years,⁸⁵ as the censors at Rome were for five, and Aristotle speaks of offices longer than annual as a well-known thing.⁸⁶ My hypothesis fits what is at present known about the nauarchs, and I will take it by decades. The office of nauarch, in the enlarged sense of a Viceroyalty of the sea, was created by Ptolemy I in 286 for Philocles, the date now being certain;⁸⁷ he fills the decade from 286 onward, the last epigraphic mention of him being in 278 (or 277).⁸⁸ Callicrates would occupy the decade from 276; his association with Arsinoë II is well attested, and in my view her marriage was in 276/5,⁸⁹ though she must have been influential before it; and two epigrams of the contemporary Poseidippus show that Callicrates remained nauarch for long enough after her death in July 270 to build the temple he dedicated to her as Aphrodite Zephyritis.⁹⁰ The decade from 266 should be Patroclus'; I will come back to this. The decade from 256 is then certainly that of Timosthenes, author of the well-known work *On Harbours*, as he was nauarch somewhere under Ptolemy II.⁹¹ The decade from 246 is that of the name concealed beneath Trogus' *prona*, the nauarch of the battle of Andros, which is fixed to 246 (or early 245) by its dependence upon the *Paneia* and *Soteria* at Delos;⁹² that from 236 must then be that of Hermaphilos, as *IG. XII, 3, 1291* belongs to about this period; and that from 226 belongs to Perigenes, mentioned by Polybius

⁸⁵ The *Athlothetai* of the Panathenaea and the *Epistatai* of Eleusis; Busolt, *Griech. Staatskunde*, II. p. 1055; other instances p. 1057, n. 1.

⁸⁶ *Pol. VI, 15, 1299a, 7.*

⁸⁷ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 105-9, *CAH. VII*, p. 92; proved now by 287 being the last year of Demetrius' dated Tyrian coinage (E. T. Newell, *Tyros Rediviva*, 1923, pp. 14, 21 sq.). W. S. Ferguson's dating of Demetrius' surrender to spring 286 agrees with this (*ClPh. XXIV*, 1929, p. 29, on a consideration of the Lachares papyrus).

⁸⁸ *SEG. I, 363*; see Tarn, *JHS* 1926, p. 158.

⁸⁹ Tarn, *ib.* p. 161.

⁹⁰ Poseidippus' two epigrams on this temple are given by Preger, *Inscr. graecae metricae*, p. 96, and in Schott, *Poseidippi Epigrammata*; the one from a papyrus also by Hiller von Gaertringen, *Historische Griech. Epigramme*, no. 95 (the other is *Athen. VII, 318b*). Both show that Callicrates was nauarch when he built and dedicated it. Usually this has been thought to be after Arsinoë's death (see now A. D. Nock, *Σύνναος Θεός*, *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil. XLI*, 1930, p. 6, and references); but Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, I, 193 (whose conclusion is adopted by Hiller, *loc. cit.*), argued that the temple was built during her life, because (a) after her death she was herself a goddess, 'nicht bloss Trägerin des Geistes einer anderen,' and (b) the papyrus epigram

calls her βασιλίσσης. But as to (a), she was indisputably Isis in 266/5, after her death (Nock, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and references; see too her identification with Isis, E. Breccia, *Iscriz. gr. e. lat.* 8 and 9, and M. R. Vallois, *CR. Inscr.* 1929, p. 33). And as to (b), in the royal styles of Gonatas (*IG. XI, 4, 1095-6*) and Doson (*ib.* 1097) each calls his dead father βασιλεύς; and Cleopatra VII was βασιλίσσα long after her death, *BGU. IV, 1182, 1198*, as indeed Arsinoë herself was in cult, *Ἐφημ.* 1925-6, pp. 72, l. 16, and 74. Wilamowitz' conclusion is therefore, I think, unfounded.

⁹¹ *Str. IX, 421* ὁ ναύαρχος τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου cannot be wrong, and is confirmed by Pliny, *H.N. VI, 183*, 'classium Philadelphi praefectus' (note the plural). Marcianus, *Epitome Peripli Menippaei* (*GGM. I*), § 2, calls him ἀρχικυβερνήτης of Ptolemy I (Marcianus' phrase, not Menippus'); he may have held this office, and may have written περὶ λιμένων, before he became nauarch; but in any case Marcianus cannot overrule Strabo. Timosthenes was, of course, a subject of Ptolemy, not a citizen of Rhodes.

⁹² W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 1931, pp. 495 sqq., proposes to shift the Delian dates between 301 and 225 one year forward (300 to 224). I need not consider this here, as the battle of Andros a year later would not affect my hypothesis; but I think the evidence is against it.

(V, 68, 3) as nauarch in 218. This means that the seven names we possess go into seven consecutive decades.

As to Patroclus. That he was nauarch at some time during the Chremonidean war is unquestioned;⁹³ and I gave my reasons in 1920 for agreeing with Professor A. C. Johnson that the first campaigning season of that war was 266 and not 265.⁹⁴ But now Professor W. B. Dinsmoor dates Chremonides' decree to 270/69, making 269 the first campaigning season.⁹⁵ I suppose it is possible that Callicrates, who was nauarch for long enough after 270 to build a temple, might have fought part of the war and then been succeeded by Patroclus; but, on a first consideration, I feel that there are serious difficulties in the way of Dinsmoor's dating of the beginning of the war;⁹⁶ and as I naturally cannot investigate this complicated matter at the end of an article on another subject, I must adhere meanwhile, provisionally of course, to my former dating.

There is, however, another fact about Patroclus which is material and has not, I think, been noticed: there can be little doubt that he was the nauarch defeated at Cos (in 258). Phylarchus⁹⁷ relates that Patroclus challenged Antigonus to wrest the command of the sea from Egypt by sending him a present of fish and figs, which Antigonus interpreted to his Council as meaning that they must get command of the sea or starve; and the point of the story must be that it was going to be Patroclus himself whom Antigonus was to defeat in the decisive battle. The story thus gains that touch of the dramatic which Phylarchus is supposed to have sought for in his writing of history.

It remains to ask, why ten years for the nauarch's term of office? If the arrangement was, as it was, an unusual one, probably the reason would be an unusual one also; and I think it may have been that Philocles did happen to be nauarch for ten years and then died; he had previously served Demetrius, and was probably not young. Egypt's debt to Philocles, who had given her the empire of the sea, was very great;⁹⁸ for him the (enlarged) office of nauarch had been created; and Ptolemy II may have decided that no future nauarch should hold office longer than Philocles had done. I am thinking of course of the unwritten but unbroken law in the United States that no President shall hold office longer than Washington did.

The existing evidence then fits my suggestion, but is naturally far from proving it. I am publishing it as a working hypothesis, which may provide a framework meanwhile, and which future discoveries may either confirm or refute.

W. W. TARN.

⁹³ Paus. 1, 1, 1; see Tarn, *JHS*. 1911, pp. 256-8. Add to the inscriptions there considered 'Εφην. 1920, p. 87, a better copy of *OGIS*. 45.

⁹⁴ *JHS*. XL, 1920, pp. 150 sq.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 81 sqq. Followed by W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, 1932, p. 74.

⁹⁶ As does J. Kirchner. *Gnomon*, 1932, p. 453.

⁹⁷ Athen. VIII, 334A = *FHG*. I, 334 = *F. Gr. Hist.* IIB, p. 162.

⁹⁸ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 105-9. But the debt was even greater than I could then know; for he was also the nauarch of the successful war of 280/79 (see Otto, *Beitrage*, pp. 19 sq.), in which Egypt acquired Miletus and much other territory.

THE CASTLE ASHBY APOLLODOROS

[PLATE VI.]

THE name of the vase-painter Apollodoros was discovered by Hartwig,¹ who combined the incomplete inscriptions on two works so close in style that they must be by a single hand: the cup-fragment in the collection of the Marquess of Northampton at Castle Ashby (Pl. VI, 1) gives . . . *odoros-egraphsen*, the fragmentary cup in the Louvre *Apollod.* . . .² The Castle Ashby fragment has been taken to represent actual fighting; but comparison with a fragment in the Villa Giulia suggests another interpretation. The Villa Giulia fragment shows, inside (Pl. VI, 3), the lower right quarter of a warrior moving to right, the shield on the left arm, the spear carried in the right hand. The device on the shield was the face of a satyr in full relief: what remains is the long beard. The shield-rim is inscribed [καλ]εναι. An apron hangs from the rim—a piece of felt or leather folded in two and fastened at the fold to the shield. On the outside of the cup (Pl. VI, 2) we find the lower parts of two warriors moving quickly yet cautiously to the right: chiton, greaves, shield, spear carried low. To the right of the leader came the handle. On the other's shield-rim [. . . να]ι. Now I take the Castle Ashby fragment to have come from just such a scene. What we see there is head and shoulders of a young warrior moving to right, bending; helmet, chiton, wrap, spear carried, shield charged with a satyr's face in high relief; on the right, crest-tip and spear-butt of a second warrior moving in the same direction. I think it almost certain that the Castle Ashby fragment comes not only from a cup with the same subject as the Villa Giulia, but from the same half of the same cup; and that the two Castle Ashby figures are the same as the two Villa Giulia. The relation of the two fragments will have been approximately as in Pl. VI, 1-2.

Hartwig gives h . . . on the Castle Ashby shield-rim: I forgot to verify the reading: if it is correct, the h will have been the beginning of a *ἡοπαῖς* . . . or *ἡεπαῖς* . . . The lines to the right of the shield in the Villa Giulia fragment may be the ends of the satyr's beard.

A second fragment in the Villa Giulia must come from the other half of the same cup; for not only is the style exactly like, but there is the same craquelure near the border inside.³ Outside (Pl. VI, 4), right foot and

¹ *Meisterschalen*, pp. 628-30.

² The Castle Ashby fragment, Hartwig pl. 69, 1, whence our pl. 1, 1, and (retouched) Hoppin, *Rf.* i, p. 45. The Louvre cup G 139 and 140, Pottier, *Album*, pl. 115; part only, Hartwig, pl. 69, 2; part only, Hoppin, i, p. 47. On Apollodoros see Hartwig, pp. 628-40 and p. 702, note 11; and my *Att.* V, pp. 52-3 and 468. Hoppin's account, as I have pointed out elsewhere (*BSR.* 11. pp. 19-20), is a misconception, based on errors exposed by Hartwig

(*Meist.* pp. 314-15).

³ My thanks are due to Cav. Enrico Stefani for kindly allowing me to reproduce the two fragments in the Villa Giulia; and to Dr. Bartolomeo Nogara for his permission to figure, by way of tail-piece (fig. 1), the cup by Apollodoros in the Vatican, no. 5 in Hartwig's list, no. 4 in mine. The left knee and part of the right are modern; part of the shield-rim to the left of the kappa, and of the corselet below that. The photographs are all my wife's.

greaved shin of a warrior to right, then a warrior wounded and fallen, then the right foot and right hand of an opponent, the hand pulling the wounded man's shield away from his body to dispatch him. On the shield-rim [κ]αλ. . . . Inside (Pl. VI, 5, under the actual size), the fragment gives part of a crest, to right, and the letters . . . εμ . . . , no doubt part of the love-name Eurypolemos which appears on two other cups by Apollodoros.⁴

The picture, then, on one half of the exterior was a battle: the other half showed warriors hastening up to take part.⁵ The wounded warrior was male; but whether the other figures were male or female—Amazons—is doubtful.

There is a small fragment in the Villa Giulia which I did not connect with our cup at the time, but the remains are such that I wonder whether it may not belong. Outside, the beginning of a line-border. Inside, what must be the left lower edge of a shield-apron cut out into just the same peculiar half-vandykes as on the outside of our cup; and to the left of them what I take to be a shin, the right shin of the warrior.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

⁴ The signed cup in the Louvre; and the cup in Florence and Villa Giulia (see my *Campana Fragments*

in *Florence*, pl. B. 2).

⁵ See my *Kleophrades-Maler*, p. 18.



FIG. 1.—FROM A CUP IN THE VATICAN.

CLASSICAL EPIGRAMS AND EPITAPHS

A STUDY OF THE KIMONIAN AGE ¹

- I. The use of ποτέ in Epitaphs and Epigrams: and the Eion epigram, *p.* 71.
- II. The Stoa of Zeus, *p.* 82.
- III. The War Monument in the Megarian Agora, *p.* 95.
- IV. A Hellenistic Monument of the Eurymedon, *p.* 97.
- V. The Delphic Charioteer, *p.* 101.

I. THE USE OF ποτέ IN EPITAPHS AND EPIGRAMS: AND THE EION EPIGRAM.

THE epitaphs and other verse inscriptions which are preserved for us in literature impose on us a certain caution. The good-will which our authors have brought to the reading of monuments is like what we bring to the singing of hymns: when lulled by the authority of the verse-form and of the occasion, we can accept things which the poet cannot have intended. I take as example the 'green hill far away *Without a city wall.*' The poet does not say that the hill is unwallled but that it is outside Jerusalem: yet to understand him to say the former is both easy and common.

The moral is important. What generations of intelligent piety can acquiesce in is one thing: what the poet can have meant is another. We

¹ *Bibliographical Note.*—The 'Simonides Question' has not seriously advanced since M. BOAS' elaborate *torso, De epigrammatis Simonideis I*, Groningen, 1905. See also R. REITZENSTEIN (*Epigramm und Skolion*, 1893, pp. 104 sqq.): Art. *Epigramm* in Pauly-Wissowa, 1909, col. 71 sqq.), J. GEFFCKEN (*Griechische Epigramme* [Text and Commentary], Heidelberg, 1916: *Studien zum griechischen Epigramm*, in *Neue Jahrb.* 1917, pp. 88 sqq.): Art. *Simonides* in Pauly-Wissowa, 1927, col. 192 sqq.), and of course WILAMOWITZ (*Sappho und Simonides*, 1913, pp. 192 sqq.).

It is well established that ascription to Simonides in the Palatine Anthology is no guarantee at all that Simonides wrote the poem. Boas believes that a collection was made at the close of the fourth century B.C. of famous epigrams, which ascribed them all to Simonides. He further holds that certain poems of Mnaseas, a writer of the third century B.C. who modelled his style on Simonides, were later ascribed to Simonides: the only one of this class I have occasion to quote is Epigram [O]. For an example of third-century epigrams on classical subjects which were actually inscribed, see Epigrams [W] and [X].

On the question of inscribed epigrams, see especially A. WILHELM, *Simonidische Gedichte* (Öjh. II, 1899, pp. 221 sqq.), E. BORMANN, *zu Denkmälerepigrammen des I. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (ibid. VI, 1903, pp. 241 sqq.), S. WENZ, *Studien zu attischen Kriegergrabern*

(Dissert. Erfurt, 1913), A. VON DOMASZLWSKI, *Die Hermen der Agora zu Athen* (SB. Heid. 1914, Abh. 16), L. WEBER, *Steinepigramm und Buchepigramm* (Hermes, LII, 1917, pp. 536 sqq.), ΞΥΚ ΕΦ ΕΡΜΗΙ (*Philologus*, LXXIV, 1917, pp. 248 sqq. LXXXVI, 1920, pp. 60 sqq., LXXVII, 1921, pp. 77 sqq.), E. BUSCHOR, *Mavandrios* (*Philologus*, LXXXVI, 1931, pp. 424 sqq.).—For the Attic Public Cemetery, see the references in *IG*. I², p. 242.

The collections of metrical inscriptions by KAIBEL and PRAGER are now rather obsolete: a new edition is projected by W. PEEK (*Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, 559 sq.). New discoveries, restorations, etc. are reported in due course in the volumes of *Supplementum* *E[pigraphicum] G[raecum]*. Good selections have been made by J. GEFFCKEN, *Griechische Epigramme*, Heidelberg, 1916, and F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, *Historische griechische Epigramme*, Bonn (*Kleine Texte*, 156), 1926. I give references to the last wherever possible.

The 'Simonidean' epigrams are given in *Diehl's Anthologia Lyrica* under Simonides, and other classical epigrams and epitaphs in his first fascicule (*Poetae Elegiaci*) and under *Anacreon* in the *Poetae Melici, Monodia*. STADTMÜLLER'S Teubner edition of the *Palatine Anthology* is unfinished but includes Book VII (*Sepulchralia*), and it is to be hoped that WALTZ'S Budé edition soon will: PATON'S Loeb edition is complete.

must not, therefore, be shocked to find Herodotos also acquiescing in what the poet never meant him to believe. Recording the Battle of Thermopylai, and concluding with the action in which (he says) only Spartans and Thespians fought, he then names the bravest of the Spartans, and then of the Thespians. He then proceeds, θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτη τῇ περ ἔπεσον — ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε

[A] μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

Thespiiai is not in Peloponnese, and this is not an epitaph. Herodotos has indeed masked this sentence by adding καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασιν ἢ ὑπὸ ² Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἵχεσθαι. This does not seriously mend matters. The inscription belongs neither to the grave of the Thespians nor to the grave of the 'Thespians and others.'³ It marks no grave. It marks a battle-field,

*Four thousand Peloponnesians once
Fought here against three millions,*

and since these stones were erected, it seems, before Simonides died, the bulk of those 4000 were presumably still alive: most certainly they were not buried at Thermopylai. That so aware and alert a man as Herodotos should speak of it as of an epitaph I ascribe to the mesmeric effect of 'ritual' verse.

Eduard Meyer speaks of these lines with contempt. The Persian numbers are indeed rather shocking: yet it is not the numbers at which he points his scorn, but the word ποτέ: 'stopgaps like ποτέ,' he says, 'are used without the least scruple, where the poet is too unskilful to find anything better' (*Forsch.* II. 20-21). This is most undeserved: it is high time that the sense of ποτέ in this and similar epigrams was understood.

The Persians remained in possession of the field of Thermopylai; and Xerxes marched among the corpses and (so it is said) had the body of Leonidas dishonoured (*Hdt.* VII. 238). Doubtless Leonidas and the other dead were ultimately buried; but it was not until at least eighteen months later, perhaps not till a good deal later again, that the Amphiktyons took in hand the honouring of the reconquered site, and the erection of the monuments, epitaphs and epigrams (*Hdt.* VII. 228. 4, 225. 2). Nor should the interval be measured in time only: all history, it must have seemed, had happened in that interval: the Greeks recovered Thermopylai with something of the feelings with which the English marched back into Mons. 'Here once——.'

This couplet, and that more famous and noble couplet on the Spartans (ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν κτλ) were inscribed on public memorials, to the order of the Amphiktyons. Herodotos does not say who wrote them: perhaps Simonides, though in that exalted hour I do not suppose he was the only

² Dr. Macan has claimed Herodotos as an Irishman: surely we need not insert τοὺς before ὑπὸ?

³ See M. Boas, *De epigrammatis Simonideis*, § 14 (pp. 16 sqq.).

Greek capable of skilful and immortal verse. Yet it is likely it was Simonides,⁴ for Herodotos speaks of a third poem inscribed on the same site, and this was written privately by Simonides for his friend Megistias. It looks as if the poet who inscribed the two public monuments took occasion to inscribe a third for his private friend. It is as follows:

[B] μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτείναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

*Megistias remember, whom the Mede
Crossing Spercheios once did kill,
The seer, who saw impending death indeed
And stood by Sparta still.*

Here ποτέ, in a genuine epitaph, refers to the circumstances of death. That this is exceptional, I hope to show: and if it is, then it is the *exceptio probans regulam*, for we have seen the special circumstances requiring ποτέ here. When the monuments were erected, the events had already fallen into perspective.⁵—Those same circumstances are plainly stated in the inscription which Plutarch reports from the precinct of Artemis at Artemision (*Them.* VIII. 5 = H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 14):

[C] παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίασ ἀπὸ χώρας
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει
ναυμαχίᾳ δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων,
σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

This is not an epitaph: like the μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε [A], it seems rather to mark a battle site, and to honour the living, not the dead.⁶ The poet says expressly that when the monument was erected Mardonios had been defeated (στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων: cf. *Thuc.* I. 132. 2): in this perspective, the engagement at Artemision is properly qualified with ποτέ.⁷

One more instance [D], where ποτέ marks the first stage in a process now complete, will lead up to my especial objective [E]. The names of the hundred men who stood siege at Phyle in the winter of 404–3, and so began the democratic revival, were inscribed⁸ in the Metroon at Athens, with this epigram (Aeschines, III. 190 = H. v. Gaertringen, *Hist. gr. Epigr.* 61):

⁴ See Boas, *De epigr. Simon.* pp. 3 sqq., esp. p. 13.

⁵ The 'historical' implication of this ποτέ is developed by the ποτέ in line 3: cf. the dedication of Alexander's Lion-Hunt at Delphi (*BCH.* XXI. 598: H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 82): ον ποτε, Αλεξανδρος τότε οὐ εἰπετο, etc.

⁶ Δαμάσαντες—ἔθεσαν: it is a dedication by the victors.

⁷ A similar ποτέ occurs in the lines quoted by

Plutarch (*Arist.* 19, *De malig.* 42) from the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataiai. We must infer, after these instances, that it was inscribed later than 479.

⁸ This results, I think, from τοῦσδε in line 1. The figure of approximately 100 survivors of the siege results from Aeschines III. 187, χιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τεῦτ' ἔστιν ἑλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα: *ibid.* ὅσοι—ἐπὶ Φυλῇ ἐπολιορκήθησαν.

[D] τοῦσδ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων
 δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους
 θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλιος πρῶτοι καταπαύειν
 ἦρξαν κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

*These for their valour did the ancient People
 Of Athens crown, who that usurp'd and
 Unrighteous government did first assay
 To break, facing the danger with their lives.*

The men were not crowned till the Restoration, of which their action was the 'first beginning,'⁹ was complete and assured (probably in 400, see Ferguson *CAH*. V. 375). The defence of Phyle, like the battle of Artemision, had been the 'bright foundation-stone of freedom.'¹⁰

Exactly parallel in phrase to these οἳ ποτε—πρῶτοι—ἦρξαν are those οἳ ποτε—πρῶτοι—ἡῦρον¹¹ in a poem which Aeschines quotes a few chapters earlier (III. 184: cf. Plut. *Kimon*, VII. 4: = H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 34b):

[E] ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι οἳ ποτε Μήδων
 παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι Στρυμόνοσ ἀμφὶ ροᾶσ
 λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα κρυερόν¹² τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἀρηᾶ
 πρῶτοι δυσμενέων ἡῦρον ἀμηχανίην.

*They too were brave, who once against the Mede
 By Strymon's riverside at Eion
 Advancing fiery hunger and cold war
 First taught their adversary to despair.*

No one who reads this poem with attention can doubt that, at the moment when the poet writes, the battle of Eion lies in the past, and is seen as the beginning of a process¹³ which has since been carried further: that, in fact, these verses are written after the battles of the Eurymedon and perhaps after Kimon's death. Κάκεῖνοι, in line 1, because the victors of Eion are being compared with the later victors. 'They too were brave, who once—first found out how to break the enemy's resource.'

That 'the mesmeric effect of ritual poetry' was enough to let Aeschines imagine the memorial as set up soon after the battle, when the generals came home, is not surprising. It is more surprising that practically all modern scholars follow him, even to repeating the childish tale that the Demos forbade the generals to mention their own names.¹⁴ It is perfectly

⁹ Cf. ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι in the Herm-inscription quoted by Harpokration (πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμῆος: — H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 32).

¹⁰ Pindar's words, quoted by Plutarch, *Them.* VIII.

3

¹¹ Ἡῦρον is, of course, a word proper to *first inventors*.

¹² Κρυερόν Aesch. κρυερόν Plut.

¹³ The 'process' in question is the breaking of Persian *morale*: πρῶτοι δυσμενέων τῆς ἡῦρον ἀμηχανίης.

¹⁴ III. 183–4, ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμὲνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μάχα-

μενοι Μήδους· οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν Εὐρεάν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὥς τότε ἔδιδκε, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, ἐφ' ᾧτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅτι δ' ἀληθὴ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων γινώσκεισθε. Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 327, speaks of this as a 'decree of the Pentekontaetia' quoted by Aeschines! Weber, *Philologus*, LXXIV, devotes 26 pages (257–282) to the 'three Eion epi-

clear that Aeschines is 'aetiologising' for the sake of his moral: he has no evidence beyond the poems themselves, and he reads them uncritically. It is an easy matter to make prejudice against an orator's testimony; so easy as to be hardly necessary. Yet it is worth pointing out that in the next chapter, Aeschines passes on, for his next instance, to the *Stoa Poikile*. 'There is pictured the Battle of Marathon. Who was the general? You will all answer "Miltiades," yet his name is not there. What? did he not ask this favour? He asked it, but the Demos refused: but instead of the name, they let him be painted in the forefront, urging on his men.'—This is no unfair instance: and who will suggest that we have here a true or even plausible account of the circumstances in which Peisianax created the *Stoa Poikile* and had it painted, twenty years at least after Miltiades was dead?

I will return later to the Eion memorial (in the 'Stoa of the Hermai') and the circumstances of its erection and inscription, which are, I think, of great importance and interest: see below, *The Stoa of Zeus*. Meanwhile, more cases of ποτέ.

There is preserved under Aeschylus' name in the Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 255) the following epitaph:

[F] κυανή καὶ τούσδε μενεγχεᾶσ ὤλεσεν ἄνδρας
Μοῖρα, πολύρρηνον πατρίδα ρυομένουσ·
ζῶν δὲ φθιμένων πέλεται κλέος, οἳ ποτε γυίοισ
τλήμονες Ὀσσαίαν ἀμφιέσαντο κόνιν.

*These too, who once did stand to rescue, spear in hand,
Their country's pastureland, dark Fate did kill,
Whose fame in death hath birth: that left the ways of mirth
And clad them in the earth of Ossa's hill.*

The circumstances are unknown: it may indeed never have been inscribed. But from καὶ τούσδε in line 1 and οἳ ποτε in line 3, I infer that the circumstances (if actual at all) are comparable to those of the Eion poem (κάκεινοι—οἳ ποτε) and the other poems we have been considering. It may therefore refer to some unrecorded action on Xerxes' march into Thessaly. The tense of ρυομένουσ is probably *inceptive* (contrast the aorist ρυσάμενοι on the Isthmian cenotaph¹⁵), and appropriate to a forlorn hope. I would be glad to keep this fine poem for Aeschylus, and a real occasion; such as the ranking of the few Thessalian Diehards with the other heroic dead, when the war was over and Thessaly reconquered, would give us.¹⁶

grams': but though he appears to interpret πρώτοι rightly (p. 263), he yet assumes that the poem was written before there were any δεύτεροι, and (pp. 278-9) speaks of the 'decree' as if it was real. So does Judeich, in the welcome and excellent new edition of his *Topographie von Athen* (1931), p. 73. Hiller v. Gaertringen dates the Hermai to 476/5, both in *IG*. I². p. 277, and *Epigr.* 34. Meyer of course ascribes the ποτέ (as usual) to the poet's lack of skill: *Forsch.* II. 12 sq. 20 sq.

¹⁵ Plut. *De malig.* 870 c, f, ἀκράσ ἐστακίαν ἐπὶ θυροῦ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κείμεθα ρυσάμενοι: = H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 22. *Ibid.* 41, the men who died at Byzantion ἰχθυόεσσιν ἀνυόμενοι χώρην are hardly the Athenian conquerors: the Ionic Revolt? or some yet earlier resistance to Persia?

¹⁶ I do not wish here to broach the problem of how the canon of patriots (τοῖδε τον πολέμον ἐπολέμεον. Tod. *Gr. H. Ins.* 19, Ditt. *Syll.* 3 31) was determined. There were certainly isolated exploits not

So far I have quoted only two epitaphs, [B] and [F] ; for ποτέ (referring to the circumstances of death) is, in fact, rare in classical epitaphs.¹⁷ We are not, of course, concerned where ποτέ is already ποτέ at the moment of death : ¹⁸

[G] ὦ ξεῖν' εὐυδρόν ποκ' ἐναίομεσ ἄστυ Κορίνθου
νῦν δ' ἀμ' Αἴαντος νᾶσοσ ἔχει Σαλαμῖς.¹⁹

*We drank the wells of Korinth once : now is
Our rest in Ajax' island, Salamis.*

Or (an epitaph which was never inscribed) :

[H] οἶδε ποτ' Αἰγαίοιο βαρύβρομον οἶδμα λιπόντες
'Εκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθ' ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ·
χαῖρε κλυτή ποτε πατρίσ' Ἐρέτρια, χαίρετ' Ἀθῆναι
γείτονεσ Εὐβοίησ, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλῃ.²⁰

*The loud Aegean main we left for Ecbatane
And midmost of this plain we stayed to die.
Famed home of old adieu, Eretria : Athens too,
Neighbour, good-bye to you : dear sea, good-bye.*

Or (what perhaps is part of the *real* epitaph of the Thespians who died at Thermopylai) :

[I] ἄνδρες τοί ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοισ' Ἑλικῶνος
λήματι τῶν αὐχεῖ Θεσπιάσ εὐρύχορος.²¹

*Men that in life beneath the heights abode
Of Helikon ; whose pride makes Thespiai proud.*

Or finally,

[J] Ζανθίππην Περιάνδρου ἀπέκγονον, ὅσ ποθ' ὑπιπύργου
σήμαινε λαοῖσ' ἔρμ' ἔχων Κορίνθου.²²

If I may repeat my first *caveat* : we have to distinguish between what the reader can easily accept (which is one matter) and what the poet can have intended (which is another). To the long futurity of readers, ποτέ will

recorded in Herodotos, and not gaining for the doers admission to the lists: cf. Nachmannson, *Hist. gr. Inscr.* 11 = H. v. Gaertringen *Epigr.* 24, the capture of two Karian ships by the Peparethians.—There is perhaps some controversial defiance in Herodotos' language, VII. 174.

¹⁷ Weber, *Hermes*, LII (1917), 551, says, 'tatsächlich ist ποτέ für das Steinepigramm charakteristisch.' In the case he is considering (a Hellenistic monument to Solon), ποτέ is, of course, in place. That ποτέ is in fact rare, and never meaningless or stylised, will be seen in such collections of epitaphs and epigrams as *IG*. I². 927–1086 ('Monumenta sepulchralia'), or H. v. Gaertringen's *Hist. gr. Epigramme*, or Geffcken's *Griech. Epigramme*, esp. pp. 1–64 (archaic and classi-

cal), or the large collection given under *Simonides* in Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica*. In this paper I have, of course, been at pains to assemble those poems which do contain ποτέ: need I add to them, e.g. *IG*. XII. 7. 106, Φαι|σατελης ποτε καλος· εβα(σ)κηνε(ν) μιν ο μαν[τισ];?

¹⁸ Where we may translate it 'formerly': it usually qualifies (in these cases) an imperfect. [H] is a good *exceptio probans*.

¹⁹ *IG*. I². 927, = H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 20.

²⁰ *Anth. Pal.* VII. 256 (Plato: = No. 10 in Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica*).

²¹ St. Byz. Θέσπεια, = H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 19.

²² *Anth. Pal.* XIII. 26 (Simonides: = No. 89 in Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica*).

qualify the whole story, unexceptionably if dully: for the poet, it must refer to things which, at the moment at which he writes, have definitely receded into the past.²³ We must not expect the sort of imaginative game with Time which (for instance) Flecker plays in his lines *To a Poet 1000 Years Hence*:

*I who am dead a thousand years
And wrote this sweet archaic song :*

even the self-dramatisation which can throw the immediate past into history, *fuimus Troes*, is a trick outside the simplicity of the classical epitaph. At the most, as in [G] and [J], the poet will allow this recession to the peace-time life of the dead soldier. When he applies ποτέ to the circum-

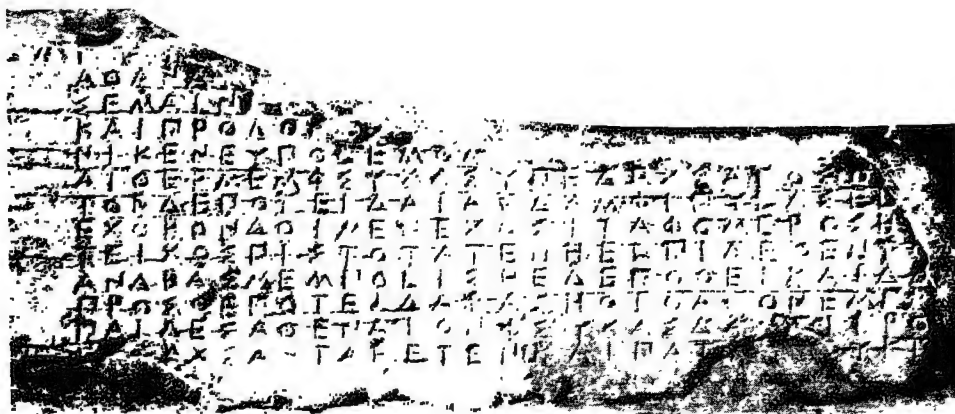


FIG. 1.—EPITAPH ON ATHENIANS WHO FELL AT POTEIDAIA, BM. Inscr. xxxvii.

stances of death, we may (indeed we must) infer that for him those circumstances lie in the past: not yesterday nor last month, but in a past which has become a story.

The restorations recently proposed for *IG. I². 945* (= *Epigr. 53*) lines 1–4—the first of the three epitaphs on those who fell in the Battle of Poteidaia—offend against this canon, since they identify the dead soldiers

²³ Phrases such as εὐδὲν πῶ τοιούτων (H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 49, line 3: *vide not. crit.*), πόλις ἠεδὲ ποθεῖ (*ib.* 53, line 9; cf. 18, line 1), εἰς τοδὲ (*ib.* 36, line 6), show the poet's mind fixed on his own moment, not on futurity. When I read this paper to the Oxford Philological Society, my attention was called (by Prof. Murray, Mr. Syme, Prof. Beazley) to such passages as Aesch. *Ag.* 575 sqq., Homer, *Iliad.* 6. 459 sqq. and especially 7. 87 sqq. [not an imagined epitaph, but an imagined traveller's comment], ἀνδρὸς μὲν τέδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος ὃν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ. In the passages from the *Iliad*, the speaker imagines a form of words to be used by posterity looking back on the present as a story: this is not, I submit, what the

epitaph-writer is doing: though the passages show that the Greek imagination is agile enough to take that leap if it chooses. And the *Iliad* after all is a story: the poet's imagination is not fixed on his heroes' present as *actually* as the epitaph-writer's is; and this is especially evident in the Agamemnon passage, where τῶδε—ἐν ἡλίου φάει (575) is followed by δῆποτε (577) and ἀρχαῖον (579).—The long futurity foreseen in the epitaph on Midas (Plato, *Phaedr.* 264 c, *Anth. Pal.* VII. 153, etc.; cf. Simonides, ap. Diog. Laert. I. 6) is no more than a rather shocking elaboration of ἀθάνατον in [K]¹ [N]⁴ [W]⁴ (or κάλλιστον in [M]⁴ or ζῶν in [F]⁴): it does not, any more than these passages, thrust the poet's present into the past.

with the πρόγονοι referred to in line 3. I think Mr. Powell's restoration (*ClR.* XXI, pp. 61 sq., quoted by Tod, *Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr.* No. 59) unacceptable on other grounds also, since (for instance) it needs punctuation to make it intelligible. The restoration in *IG.* I². (given by Tod in his text) is by many hands, line 1 by Hicks, line 2 by Kirchhoff, line 3 by Kaibel: it is vain to hope to restore the actual words of lines of which less than half survives, and I attempt no improvement on any but line 3. Here the stone now shows *καίπρογονος* (Fig. 1) and Fauvel read *καίπρογονοσθενες*: editors have all agreed to refuse this, I do not know why. *Προγονοσθενες* as an adjective may not be to our taste, but I cannot see that it is impossible: the dead soldiers, who cannot have been ancestors to their contemporary poet, may have had *ancestor-strengthened* courage (cf. *IG.* V 2. 173 = *Epigr.* 68a). So I would modify the reading of *IG.* I². as follows: ²⁴

[K] ἀθανάτομ με θα[νoσι πολῖται σεμ ἀνεθέκαν]
 σεμαινεν ἀρετ[εν τoνδε καὶ ἐσσομένοισ']
 καὶ προγονοσθενες [ἐπαρ ἡοι ἐνορεεσ τε καὶ ἀλκεσ']
 νικεν εὐπολεμoμ μνεμ ἐλάβον [σ]φ[ετερασ']

The absence of the name *Poteidaia* (which comes in both the other epitaphs) may be excused by the heading ἐμ ποτ[εῖδαιαι ἡοιδε ἀπεθανον].

*Deathless memorial of the dead I stand
 To show our children these men's courage and
 High-father'd heart : who left their fame behind
 In the fair memory of that fight enshrined.*

Posterity is addressed, but the poet stays in his own moment. The ancestors are his contemporaries' ancestors, the descendants are his contemporaries' descendants. Nowhere in any of the three poems could ποτέ stand.

I must therefore turn to the only two classical epitaphs known to me ²⁵ in which ποτέ seems to be used at random.

The first in the Tanagra epitaph (at least on Wilhelm's view: *v. infra*):

²⁴ I alter the end of line 3 to avoid repeating ἀρετ: but to say 'valour' in half a hexameter leaves a paralytically wide choice.—Επαρ has perhaps better fifth-century authority than ετορ.—Powell's suggested [Φ]θ[ιμενοι] for line 4 would perhaps require ἐλαβom, which it cannot have: cf. lines 6, 10, 11: in line 12 there is a strong pause before φουχασ.—I feel certain Kaibel is right in insisting that καὶ in line 3 must add a second object to σεμαινεν: if it introduced a new clause it would be quite intolerably flat. [Perhaps this slightly spoils the καὶ in line 2, so possibly write γενεσσομένοισ for καὶ ἐσσομένοισ: but I think not.]—I am unable to trace Fauvel's sketches of the stone in its earlier stage: they are neither in the British Museum nor in the Archives of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin.

²⁵ If there are others, they will equally demand

explanation. I do not count *Anth. Pal.* VII. 270. τούσδε ποτ' ἐκ Σπάρτας ἀκροθίνια Φοῖβω ἄγοντας ἐν πέλαγος μία νύξ ἐν σκάφος (vel εἰς τάφος) ἐκτέρισεν: which is merely a variant on the original τούσδ' ἀπὸ Τυρρηνῶν, etc. The MSS. evidence is given by Stadtmüller *ad. loc.*, 'Entscheidet. wenn nicht schon das unbequeme ποτέ, so doch das bekanntere Sparta.' Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, 213. Besides, ἀπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀκροθίνια is an integral phrase, like [απο Μεθ]ον ακ[ροθ]ίνια in the inscription found on the side of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi [Tod, *Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr.* 14 = Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 23; see now too *BCH.* 54 (1930), p. 315]. Pomtow indeed suggests that they were Hieron's spoils from Kyme (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 35, B b).

For *Anth. Pal.* VI. 50 (Simonides 107, Diehl) see note 86 *infra*.

[L] [χαίρετε ἀριστεεὺς πολέμοι μεγά] κυδο[σ] εχοντεσ]
 [κοροὶ ἀθηναιῶν ἐχσοχοὶ ἡιππ]οσυνα[ι]
 [hoi ποτε καλλιχορο περι πατ]ριδος ο[λεσαθ] ἡεβεν]
 [πλειστοις ἑλλανον αντια μ]αρναμε[νοι]

*Farewell brave peers of battle, names renown'd,
 Young cavaliers of Athens! for whose peace
 Your own sweet lives ye lost in battle-stound
 Against almost the complete host of Greece.*

IG. I². 946, restored from *Anth. Pal.* VII. 254 (= H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 47).—Since Prof. Wilhelm's brilliant identification, there can be little doubt of the Anthology's text, which is assured by the *stoichedon* arrangement of the inscription. Wilhelm has argued that the occasion of this poem is the Battle of Tanagra in 457 B.C.²⁶ But the stone, now lost, is known to have had the 4-stroke *sigma*: and this is so surprising in a public inscription of that date, that v. Domaszewski (*SB. Heid.* 1917, Abhandl. 7, *Der Staatsfriedhof*, p. 18) preferred to connect it with a small cavalry encounter in the Spartan invasion of 431 (Thuc. II. 22. 2, Paus. I. 29. 6). Hiller von Gaertringen followed him in IG. I². 946, but is uncertain again in *Epigr.* 47.

I do not feel the last line so difficult to refer to 431 as Hiller does, since the Athenian cavalry may well have felt they were facing all Greece single-handed.²⁷ Nevertheless, the case for Tanagra is strong, and the problem of the 4-stroke *sigma* is resolved, perhaps, by ποτέ in line 3. *The grave was inscribed some years after the battle*: perhaps when Kimon returned in 451 (the 4-stroke *sigma* appears in a public document of 452-1, IG. I². 335, line 14²⁸), possibly later still.²⁹

The second is the Eurymedon epitaph (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 258 = H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 42).

[M¹] οἶδε παρ' Εὐρυμέδοντά ποτ' ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἦβην
 μαρναμένοι Μήδων τοξοφόρων προμάχοισ
 αἰχμηταί, πεζοί τε καὶ ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν
 κάλλιστον δ' ἀρετῆς μνῆμ' ἔλιπον φθίμενοι.

I am unwilling to take the same way out here, in the absence of any external³⁰ evidence or probability.³¹ I prefer (what may seem more violent) to emend.

²⁶ *OJh.* II. (1899) 221 sqq.

²⁷ Especially when the Boeotian cavalry whom they were fighting were supported by the (whole?) allied infantry (Thuc. II. 22. 2). Cf. Xen. *Hipparch.* VII. 4, ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πέλις τρέπηται ἐπὶ τὰ ναυτικά καὶ ἀρκῆ αὐτῇ τὰ τεῖχη διασώζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁπότε Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐνέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἀξιῶση τὰ τε ἔκτος τοῦ τεύχους διασώζειν καὶ αὐτοὺς μόνους διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἐναντίους, etc.—The careful *stoichedon* lettering also possibly favours a date close to No. 945: contrast 943 and 763. Yet this might be due to its not being a 'routine' epitaph: see note 31 below.

²⁸ And regularly from 450 onwards on this same stone, lines 24 sqq.

²⁹ The exact circumstances can only be guessed: unless Wilhelm's search for the stone should succeed at last. We might then date it more narrowly. I am not sure whether anything at all can be inferred from the Doric vocalisation (ἡιπποσυναί etc.): possibly it points to the Kimonian panhellenic milieu.

³⁰ Unless the occurrence of ποτέ in [O] be taken as external evidence that the Eurymedon cenotaph was not erected until the battles had receded, in some special sense, into the past. See below, where [O] is discussed.

³¹ This case is very clearly distinct from [L]. The tone of this poem is flatter, it is a routine poem: the Tanagra verses have a certain restrained pity, almost indignation. The Eurymedon poem, though less

The poem was imitated in an extant inscription of probably *c.* 440 B.C.³² (*IG. I². 943* = H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 52):

[N] χοιδε παρ Ηελλεσποντον απολεσαν αγλαον ηεβεν
βαρναμενοι σφετεραν δ ευκλεισαμ πατριδα
hoστ εχθροσ στεναχεμ πολεμο θεροσ εκκομισαντασ
αυτοισ δ αθανατον μνεμ αρετεσ εθεσαν

The first line is so much more felicitous in this copy than in the supposed original, that Bruno Keil (*Hermes*, XX. 342) condemned the Eurymedon poem as a fake, clumsily imitated from the Hellespont verses. Meyer's defence of the Eurymedon poem was that all these poems are pretty bad and ποτέ commonly meaningless (*Forsch.* II. 20–21). And so the matter stands. But no! a meaningless ποτέ cannot stand, and the skill which could get the names and doings of Harmodios, Aristogeiton and Hipparchos into one couplet had not run so thin in Athens as to need a meaningless ποτέ and a false caesura to help Εὐρυμέδων (that easy name) into place.

For ποτέ here, besides being meaningless, destroys the caesura.³³ Lines without caesura exist: μνημα τ[οδ εστ ε]πι σωματι κειμενον ανδροσ αριστο is the first line of Pythion's epitaph (*IG. I². 1085*). But no writer of public epitaphs would permit himself such a line: here is once more that division, between the mesmerised good-will of the reader, who will take bad metre when he thinks he finds it, and the integrity of the poet, who keeps his own standards.³⁴ I have little doubt that the poet wrote

χοιδε παρ ευρυμεδοντ απο τ[— —]ον ολεσαν ηεβεν

and this was misread as we have it. [Similarly αΠΟ Τυρρηνων gave rise to a false ποτ', see note 24 above.] We have then to find an adjective capable of being read (carelessly) as ταγλαον.

The word was perhaps τ(ιμ)ον. In non-stoichedon Attic script, two slight marks would convert μι to αλ[ΑΛ]: we have further to suppose that the transcriber read 'ποτιαγλον' as 'ποτ αγλαον.'³⁵ Read then:

'special,' is well written in a noble tradition: I am most unready to impute to its poet the false caesura in line 1.

³² The date hardly matters here, so long as it is later than the Eurymedon: so I need not discuss the suggested alternatives (*c.* 408, etc.). Epigraphically, it cannot possibly be earlier than 450.

³³ Bergk's emendation κατ' ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἦβην restores the caesura, but the extremely rare κατόλλυμι with its notion of 'utter destruction' could never have stood here. We want ἀπό, and we have it.—I once thought of ποταίνιον ὤλεσαν ἦβην (*cf.* νεαραν ηεβεν ελεσαντα in *IG. I². 976*): but I am sure this is too individual for a public epitaph.

³⁴ Which are, of course, sensibly stricter for elegiacs than for hexameter verse. A false caesura such as the MSS. impute to our poet occurs, *e.g.*, in the *Delian*

Hymn (*Hymn. Hom.* III), line 53.

³⁵ He may have been predisposed that way by *IG. I². 943* = [N]: unless indeed we are to think that the epigram was current in (incorrect) book-form already by 440 [or 408] and is responsible for αγλαον ηεβεν in the later poem. [For the early currency of books of epigrams (in Plato's early life), see, *e.g.*, Geffcken-Herbig in *Glotta*, IX. 1918, p. 100, Weber in *Hermes*, LII. 1917, p. 540.] 'Αγλαός is not normally feminine, but the phrase ἀγλαός ἦβη occurs in Theognis 985 in a memorable poem. Τίμιος ἦβη (feminine, *e.g.* Soph. *Ant.* 948) recalls, of course, Mimnermos' ἦβη τιμήσσα. The two words τίμιος and τιμήεις have the same range of meaning; but Mimnermos probably means 'honoured by others,' our poet 'precious to the owner.' Cf. further Kallinos, I. 6, and Mimnermos, 3. 2.

[M²] ἡοιδε παρ ευρυμεδοντ απο τιμιον ολεσαν ηεβεν
μαρναμενοι μεδον τοχσοφορομ προμαχοισ
αιχμεται πεζοι τε και οκυπορον επι νεον
καλλιστον δε αρετες μνεμ ελιπομ φθιμενοι

I must add the other 'Simonidean' epitaph on the Eurymedon (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 443 = Simonides 116 in Diehl's *Anth. Lyr.*), though it is not classical and was not written for the occasion:

[O] τῶνδ' ἐ ποτ' ἐν στέρνοισι τανυγλώχινας οἰστοῦσ
λοῦσεν φοινίσσαι θυῖρος Ἄρησ πακάδι·
ἀντὶ δ' ἀκοντοδόκων ἀνδρῶν μνημεῖα θανόντων
ἄψυχ' ἐμψύχων ἄδε κέκευθε κόνις.

The title in the Anthology is 'On the Greeks³⁹ who fell beside the River Eurymedon.' I suppose the fact of ποτέ coming in the MSS. of two alleged Eurymedon epitaphs weakens the case, formally, for the emendation I have proposed in [M]. I must leave my readers to judge of this, and shall be content to differ from any who suppose [O] to be a contemporary Attic poem.

Boas in his *De epigrammatis Simonideis*, pp. 213 sqq., seeks to prove that it is Hellenistic, the work of Mnasalkas: that it is a literary exercise on the Eurymedon theme. This is no place to discuss the 'Mnasalkas hypothesis' (Boas, pp. 209 sqq.): I have little doubt the poem is Hellenistic.⁴⁰ Whether the lines stood on an actual monument, *e.g.* on the Eurymedon River itself (cf. the Hellenistic monument in Samos to Maiandrios who fought at the Eurymedon),⁴¹ and ποτέ is therefore strictly used; or whether they are a literary fiction,⁴² and the ποτέ is a lapse from actuality (like the

³⁹ Ἕλληνας: Boas, p. 219, believes this to be a mere error for Ἀθηναίους, which stands in the title of the preceding epigram where we might expect Ἕλληνας: the two words, he thinks, have been simply exchanged. This is one of many reasons for supposing that these two poems are from the same source.

⁴⁰ I think no one who knows the Attic style will dispute that the burden of proof lies with anyone who suggests this is fifth-century Attic. I am confident that the frigid and sentimental second couplet was not written, in Athens or elsewhere, within a century of the battle. [Ἀντὶ δὲ is a special mark of the 'refined rhetoric' of Alexandrian poetry: contrast the last couplet of Simonides' ἡσπὶς Γεράνεια (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 496 = Simonides 80 in Diehl's *Anth. Lyr.*) with Kallimachos' imitation (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 271).]

For those who like something more specific than the test of style, the use of πακάς for blood may serve. Its usual sense is *light rain, drizzle*, *e.g.* Hdt. III. 10, Xen. *Cyng.* V. 4: in comedy of a *sputtering* talker or a *spot* of money (Arist. *Adh.* 1150, *Peace* 121). In the *Agamemnon* Klytaimestra thus describes Agamemnon's death:

κάκφυσιν ὄξειαν αἵματος σφαγὴν
βάλλει μ' ἑρεμνὴ πακάδι φοινίσας δρόσος
χαίρουσαν σὺδ' ἐν ἥσπον ἡ διοςδότω
γάνει σπορητός κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.

There is little question but that one passage is copied from the other, and even less question which is the original. The brutal phrase grows out of its context in Aeschylus: in the epigram it (like the other borrowings τανυγλώχινας οἰστοῦσ, θυῖρος Ἄρης) only adds sonority and circumstance to the statement, *These men were once killed by arrows* [cf. μαρναμενοι Μήδων τοξοφόρων προμάχοις σίχηται in the original epitaph]. The Eurymedon battles were fought not later than 466, the *Agamemnon* was produced in 458. The rain of blood (πακάς) comes in a later passage of the *Agamemnon* (1534) with a clear echo of Klytaimestra's words: I think nowhere else in literature.

⁴¹ See Section IV below, 'A Hellenistic Monument of the Eurymedon'.

⁴² The absence of proper names is striking: but they are equally absent from Mnasalkas' verses on Thermopylai (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 242: I do not know why Mackail, *Select Epigrams*, III. 5, refuses the reference to Thermopylai: the poem is certainly *pastiche*).

‘Simonidean’ εὐθυμάχων ἀνδρῶν μνησώμεθα τῶν ὅδε τύμβος,⁴³ which begins like a drinking-song and goes on like an epitaph), is indifferent for our inquiry.

II. THE STOA OF ZEUS.

In his short and dazzling paper *Die Hermen der Agora zu Athen* (*SB. Heid.* 1914, *Abh.* 10), von Domaszewski suggested (pp. 13–20) that the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora at Athens was a monument to the Eurymedon battles: that it was the same as the Stoa of the Hermai, and after Kimon’s death held those three Victory Herms, which Demosthenes and Aeschines mention as memorials to Kimon’s victories: that the three victories celebrated were Eion, Eurymedon, Cyprus, and the three inscriptions were as follows:

Eion [= E] ἦν ἄρα κάκεινοι ταλακάρδιοι οἱ ποτε Μήδων
παισὶν ἐπ’ Ἡϊόνι Στρυμόνοσ ἀμφὶ ροάς
λιμόν τ’ αἰθῶνα κρυερὸν τ’ ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων ἡῦρον ἀμηχανίην.

Eurymedon [Q] ἐξ οὗ τ’ Εὐρώπην Ἀσίασ δίχα πόντος ἔνειμε
καὶ πόλιασ θνητῶν θοῦρος Ἄρησ ἐπέχει
οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ’ ἀνδρῶν
ἔργον ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἅμα.

Cyprus [R] οἶδε καὶ [γὰρ MSS.] ἐν Κύπρῳ Μήδων πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες
Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦσ ἔλον ἐν πελάγει
ἀνδρῶν πληθούσας, μέγα δ’ ἔστανεν Ἀσίς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
πληγεῖσ’ ἀμφοτέραισ χερσὶ κράτει πολέμου.

The first is the first four lines of the fourteen quoted by Aeschines III. 184:⁴⁸ the second and third are quoted, as a single poem, by Diodoros XI. 62.⁴⁹

His treatment of the poems was at once challenged by Weber in *Philologus*, N.F. 28 (1917), 248 sqq., and his thesis buried under the weight of Weber’s 35 pages. These latter now rank as the standard discussion and von Domaszewski’s error is taken as proved: e.g. by Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*. I². 277, and *Epigr.* 34; by Diehl in *Anth. Lyrica Graeca*, notes to Simonides 103; and (the most important) by Judeich in the new edition of his *Topographie von Athen*.

⁴³ *Anth. Pal.* VII. 442: i.e. the poem next before [O]. It is clearly similar in nature to [O] (see note 39 above) and is likewise ascribed to Mnaseas by Boas.

⁴⁸ Also by Plutarch. *Kimon*, VII. 4, whose text is better, and so is presumably drawn from some source independent of Aeschines: see note 76.

⁴⁹ Also by Aelius Aristides twice (Dindorf, Vol. II, pp. 209 and 512) and in the Palatine Anthology, VII. 296. The variants are given in full by Boas (*De ep. Simon.* 104 sqq.) and Weber (*Philologus*, N.F. 28 [1917], 249). Diodoros seems to be the least cor-

rupted: but the others are not derived from him and we can consequently use them as independent evidence. I desert Diodoros in [Q] line 1; ἐξ οὗ γ’ is certainly wrong, Aristides gives ἐξ οὗ τ’. In [R] line 1 I have preferred Μήδων (Aristides and *Anth. Pal.*) to Diodoros’ Μήδουσ: the partitive genitive is common in fifth-century Greek and I think improves the verse. Aristides’ ἐν γαίῃ in the same line (*vice* Κύπρῳ) is quite worthless as evidence: it attempts the impossible task of harmonising [Q] line 4 and [R] line 1. See, however, note 65 below.

Yet much ⁵⁰ of von Domaszewski's thesis (with results of some importance not only for literature and history, but also for the topography of that part of the Kerameikos now being excavated) seems to me to be most probably true. His brilliant and dangerous method of hypothesis was seldom better exemplified; and since his paper was a series rather of suggestions than of proofs, the real strength of the case is quite untouched by Weber's arguments. I have therefore raised the matter again. I have argued above that [E] *cannot* be part of a memorial erected immediately after the Battle of Eion (as H. von Gaertringen, Weber, and Judeich suppose), and will argue now that the same scholars' view, that [Q] and [R] are parts of one poem, is equally untenable.

A. *The Eurymedon epigram* [Q].

I. ΟΥΔΕΝ ΠΩ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ.

Diodoros XI. 62 concludes his narrative of the Battles of the Eurymedon with the words ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κατεσκευασθὲν ἀνάθημα ἐνέγραψε τήνδε: and then quotes the eight lines of [Q] and [R] as a single poem.

Eduard Meyer has well remarked, that these lines are in fact responsible for the monstrosities of the narrative, which converts the 'foot-fight and ship-fight at the River Eurymedon' (Thuc. I. 100. 1) into a sea-fight off Cyprus ⁵¹ and a land-fight in Pamphylia. Poem and narrative are inseparable and both without doubt go back to Ephoros.

It is further clear that the poem cannot, as it stands, refer to the Eurymedon battles: it undoubtedly (in lines 5 and 6 = [R] 1 and 2) contains references to the Battles of Cyprian Salamis, fought after Kimon's death by the Athenians in Cyprus. Ephoros has therefore blundered: whence come these lines which so gravely misled him? Meyer held (*Forsch.* II. p. 14) that the whole poem stood on a monument at Delphi or Dodona which celebrated the Cyprus battles: Ephoros wrongly understood it to celebrate the Eurymedon battles.

No one can quarrel with the two main points of this thesis: viz. that the source of Ephoros' errors is lines 5 and 6 (= [R] 1 and 2), and that these lines refer to the Cyprian battles. I therefore disregard any theory which holds that lines 5 sqq. (= [R]) are 'spurious' in the sense that they were unknown to Ephoros.⁵² But amongst all the discussions of the problem I have never seen it adequately emphasised, how pardonable *and indeed inevitable* Ephoros' error was, if the eight lines all belong together. The Cyprus battles were noteworthy achievements indeed and there were reasons for magnifying them, but the one thing (almost) which *could not* be said of

⁵⁰ I cannot indeed agree to all: e.g. pp. 17 and 18, or note 74, or his general topography.

⁵¹ It is quite certain that the sea-battle was fought close to the Eurymedon River: see below, Epigram

[W].

⁵² Or which accepts the late variant ἐν γαίῃ for ἐν Κύπρῳ. See, however, note 65.

them was, that such a double victory of the same troops by water and land was 'unexampled':⁵³

οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν
ἔργον ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἅμα.

Let me say at once, that if these two lines do not refer to the Eurymedon battles, I think we must resign ourselves to attaching no meaning to the metrical inscriptions of fifth-century Athens.⁵⁴

2. ἐν ἡπείρῳ.

Compared with this main reason, there is less weight in the contention (which I yet think certain) that ἐν ἡπείρῳ cannot (here or anywhere) mean 'in the island of Cyprus,'⁵⁵ and must (here) mean 'on the Continent of Asia.' The demonstration will be rather more laborious: yet since Ed. Meyer (*Forsch.* II. p. 10 note 1) has denied it (quoting *Od.* 5. 56, Kalypso's island; we may add 10. 56, Aiolos' island), and his denial now ranks as orthodox, the case needs stating.

Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, and Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*⁹, both regard 'the shore' (as opposed to the sea) as a distinct meaning of ἡπειρος: the latter work indeed, deriving ἡπειρος from the same root as Germ. *Ufer*, regards this as the original meaning. This derivation is, I believe, beyond question: and indeed it accounts at once for all the Homeric usage.—We may observe that this usage did, in fact, develop into the sense of 'mainland' (continuous shore); and that the only two cases where it does not, in fact, refer to mainland are magic islands⁵⁶ (Aiolos' and Kalypso's), and therefore in some degree comparable to the enchanted confusion of Theognis' lovely lines on the Nativity in Delos (lines 8–9):

πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ⁵⁷
ὀδυρῆσ ἀμβροσίῃσ.

Yet to estimate how soon the later meaning was felt, or how wide apart is the magic world of the Ἀλκίνοῦ ἀπόλογος from the Persian Wars, are matters of subjective judgment. I think, in fact, that the sense of 'shore,' *Ufer*, is dominant in Homer⁵⁸ and Hesiod, and the usual phrases ἡπειρόνδε and

⁵³ The repetition of the double event is striking and would no doubt be rejected as a doublet by many scholars, were the evidence less good.—The actions were not in fact very similar: at the Eurymedon the driving ashore of the fleet was preliminary to the great land-fight [see, however, note 65]: in Cyprus, the defeat of the land-force was preliminary to the sinking of the reinforcing fleet. But the poem stresses precisely the thing which they have in common.—That the sea-fight came first, at the Eurymedon, is commonly accepted (since Meyer) from Plutarch's account (*Kimōn*, XII–XIII), and is perhaps confirmed by [W] (see below) if I am right in believing Maiandrios was killed before the land-fight began: nevertheless the land-fight is almost always mentioned first, e.g. in line 4 of [Q], in line 3 of [M], in

Thuc. I. 100. 1, and Lycurg. *Leocr.* 72: presumably because it was the more important.

⁵⁴ The Battle of Mykale had been fought on sea and shore in one day, yet had been on nothing like the scale of the Eurymedon. I imagine the poem deliberately invites comparison with Mykale.

⁵⁵ Ephoros apparently understood it so. But against him I must appeal to the principle stated at the opening of this paper.

⁵⁶ As opposed to Epeiros proper (*Od.* 14. 97, etc.), the Troad (*Il.* 1. 485), Boeotia (Hesiod, *Erga*, 624), etc.

⁵⁷ I imply, of course, no etymological relation between ἡπειρος and ἀπειρεσιος.

⁵⁸ Except in the latter books of the *Odyssey*, where it means definitely Epeiros.

ἐπ' ἡπείρου are formed accordingly. The question, what our epigrammatist means by *his* phrase, is separate, and is, I think, decided by two considerations:

(i) So long as the *Ufer*-sense is dominant, the proper phrase for *on shore* is ἐπ' ἡπείρου (as, e.g., *Od.* 3. 90 εἴθ' ὁ γ' ἐπ' ἡπείρου δάμη ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν). Our epigrammatist, however, writes ἐν ἡπείρῳ and thus betrays that to him ἡπειρος no longer means *Ufer*.⁵⁹ I need not elaborate this argument, which I take to be (so far as it goes) conclusive. So in Timokreon fr. 5 (Diehl), ἐν ἡπείρῳ⁶⁰ means 'on the continent':

ὠφέλεν σ' ὦ τυφλὲ πλουῦτε
μήτε γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ
μήτ' ἐν ἡπείρῳ φανῆμεν.

'Wealth, you ought never to be seen, *neither on land or sea, nor on the Continent of Asia* [whence poor Timokreon's troubles had come]: you should stay in hell.' Ἠπειρῶ cannot be mere repetition of γῇ: in Timokreon's mouth and circumstances it means 'the Continent of Asia.' This brings me to the second point:

(ii) By the fifth century, ἡπειρος is never used of an island,⁶¹ but always of some part of one of the three 'Continents,' Europe, Asia, Libya. The Ionian scientists had established this division: threefold, e.g., in Hdt. II. 16 and Pindar *Pyth.* IX. 9, ρίξαν ἡπείρου τρίταν: but twofold in Hekataios' geography, since Libya is counted part of Asia. And in the circumstances of the fifth and fourth centuries, most Greeks thought in terms of the *Two Continents*, Europe and Asia: e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 101, δισσαῖσιν ἡπείροις κλιθεῖς: and Chares' wife buried on the Bosphoros says in her epitaph (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 169), ἡπείροις τέρπομαι ἀμφοτέροις. Isokrates, *Paneg.* 35, says, ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου: *ib.* 179, the words τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης δίχα τετμημένης καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης καλουμένης pretty certainly echo our epigrammatist's own first line,⁶² ἐξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνειμε.—And of the two continents, 'the Continent' *par excellence* is Asia: Hdt. IV. 91, Δαρεῖος δ' Ὑστάσπεος Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς (cf. I. 96): Timokreon, in the skolion quoted above: Aeschylus, *Persai.* 42, ἡπειρογενὲς ἔθνος: Eurip. *Androm.* 159, 652: Xen. *Hell.* III. 1. 5; and Isokrates *passim* (see Harpokration, s.v. ἡπειρος, and the use of ἡπειρώται in *Paneg.* 132, 157, 166).

It is in precisely such a context that our epigram belongs; and Aeschylus and Timokreon are its contemporaries. That, after the naming of the two great Continents in line 1, in line 4 ἡπειρος should mean the Island of Cyprus, is unfelicitous indeed; credible only to those who regard the poem as a piece of random bombast, written with no fire of imagination.—Indeed, so long as the eight lines are read together, and referred together to the Cyprus battles, such a judgment is natural.⁶³ The lines (so juxtaposed) are random, the language (in this context) bombastic. Yet this is surprising, since Athenian poetry is at its height.—Now read the first four lines alone and without prejudice as to their context. The reference is now clearly to such a battle as we know the Eurymedon to have been: ⁶⁴ we have now a

⁵⁹ Just as, in *Od.* 14. 100, ἐν ἡπείρῳ means 'in Epeiros.'

⁶⁰ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon* ⁹, quotes this (wrongly) as an instance of ἐν ἡπείρῳ = *on shore*.

⁶¹ When Thucydides calls the Sicilian cities τῇ παρασκευῇ ἡπειρώτιδας, 'their resources are on a continental scale,' he is precisely *not* calling Sicily an ἡπειρος.

⁶² Cf. Meyer, *Forsch.* II. p. 11; Weber, *Philologus*, LXXIV, pp. 248, 257 (note).

⁶³ The poem has commonly been treated with contempt: or damned (as by Meyer, p. 13, Weber, p. 251) with faint praise.

⁶⁴ A double action, on sea and land: unexampled: on the Continent of Asia.

direct statement of fact, in language full-throated and majestic, Aeschylean in quality as it doubtless is in date.

*Since first the Sea did part two Continents
And Ares looms in fury o'er mankind,
Never have mortal men achievèd such
A deed, on continent and sea at once.*

B. *The Cyprus epigram* [R].

I. ἐν Κύπρῳ.

The whole force of Meyer's demonstration, that the poem quoted by Diodoros (= [Q] ÷ [R]) refers to the Cyprus battles of 450 B.C., falls in fact upon the last four lines (= [R]). I need not repeat his arguments (*Forsch.* II. 9 sqq.): the words ἐν Κύπρῳ, guaranteed by Diodoros' [Ephoros'] narrative,⁶⁵ are sufficient.—Ephoros, then, based his narrative of the Eurymedon on a poem of which the first half (but *only* the first half) refers to the Eurymedon battles. How did the second half (which so misled him) become attached?

If this is a *vera quaestio* (i.e. the fact which it asks to have explained is really a fact), then an answer which meets the case may rank as a working hypothesis. The suggestion of von Domaszewski is that the two quatrains stood on adjacent parts of one monument: consequently, in the books of verse inscriptions which were certainly current before Ephoros wrote,⁶⁶ they would be given consecutively, i.e. the two poems are still connected; and he expresses the different nature of the connexion by 'correcting' οἶδε γὰρ to οἶδε καὶ. I must return to this.

To the *falsa quaestio*, put by Meyer and others, 'How did eight lines, all referring to the Cyprus battles, come to be referred to the Eurymedon battles?' various answers have been offered. 'How the epigram came to be falsely referred to the Eurymedon, has been convincingly explained by Ed. Meyer' says Weber on p. 251; but in the additional note on p. 256 'Ed. Meyer seems to me to have only partly explained how, etc.' Since the question is false, the answers hardly matter.⁶⁷

2. οἶδε γὰρ.

Since [Q] cannot refer to Cyprus, and [R] cannot refer to anything else, the words οἶδε γὰρ in [R] 1 present a difficulty. If the two poems stood in

⁶⁵ Uxkull-Gyllenband (a pupil of von Domaszewski, in his *Plutarch und die Griechische Biographie* (Stuttgart, 1927), p. 55, denies that the narrative demands ἐν Κύπρῳ, insists that Aristeides is as good evidence as Diodoros for Ephoros' text, and therefore retains ἐν γαίῃ, and refers the whole eight lines to the Eurymedon. His whole treatment of the Eurymedon narratives pp. 45-59) is stimulating and important, and contrary to the view taken in this paper: he thinks the land battle preceded the sea battle [see, however, my note 53]. I think he is wrong; the land battle was first not in time but in importance:

and 'Ephoros' [Diodoros] narrative, though not true to the poems [Q] and [R], has yet been warped by them, and why should anyone change γαίῃ to Κύπρῳ? But I am so uncertain about [R] that I willingly leave the matter in suspense.

⁶⁶ See Geffcken and Herbig in *Glotta*, IX. 1918, p. 100 (note 35 *supra*).

⁶⁷ Meyer, p. 19, says the monument (at Delphi) referred to Cyprus, but being in effect Kimon's memorial, was later thought to refer to the Eurymedon. Weber, p. 256, says it was an epitaph, but lines 3-4 (of [Q]) sounded very like the Eurymedon.

any sort of relation, οἷδε γὰρ is wrong: if [R] is an independent poem, οἷδε γὰρ is a highly improbable opening. Therefore von Domaszewski corrected to οἷδε καὶ: explaining the corruption as born of the delusion that the two poems referred to one occasion.

This correction is not very easy to justify; and who in any case are οἷδε? Von Domaszewski's answer, 'the generals, Kimon and his colleagues' (p. 18), is, I think, impossible. Οἷδε suggests a list of names, and is most natural in an epitaph appended to such a list: yet I do not, in fact, believe that [R] is an epitaph. Fifth-century epitaphs without exception refer to the fact of death. This does not; and though Weber holds that the grave itself speaks of this 'clearer than any words' (p. 254), it was the Greeks' habit to say it in words. And it is a fiction, and I think a sentimental one, to claim for the *dead* that 'These men destroyed 100 ships.'⁶⁸

I can suggest no correction for οἷδε γὰρ. I feel that [R] is certainly the most problematic of the three poems for von Domaszewski's thesis. I know indeed of no alternative which is better: the truth is perhaps still to be found.

3. ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

Only Aelius Aristeides has this reading: Diodoros has ὑπ' αὐτῶ, the Anthology a lacuna. Schwartz keeps αὐτῶ and takes it with κράτει, and Weber approves: but how can αὐτῶ bear the stress of its position, both in the sentence and in the verse? I cannot understand ὑπ' αὐτῶ except by reference to the ἔργον of [Q] 4: so that it, like οἷδε γὰρ, may be a corruption induced by the belief that the eight lines form one poem.

C. *The Herm-Stoa.*

The Eion epigram [E] compares the Eion heroes (who began the breaking of Persian hope) with later heroes (who continued that work). The Eurymedon epigram [Q] is written about such later heroes, and provides the necessary unit of comparison. The Cyprus epigram [R] appears to belong to the same context (since [Q] and [R] were regarded as one poem), and the Cyprus campaign, which was final in a sense in which the others were not, provided a good occasion for such a retrospect as [E] implies. Athens seems to have decided to treat the Peace as a glorious peace, a Peace with Victory:⁶⁹ a retrospect over the series of undeniable actual victories won under Athenian hegemony would help to make this difficult conception easier.—Further, [Q] reads as if it was written in the exaltation of victory, before the disaster in Egypt or the Cyprus campaign: it may perhaps be suggested that [Q] is the original monument, to which [E] and [R] were added in 449.

Aeschines says that [E] was inscribed on the first of the three herms in

⁶⁸ The fiction occurs in the spurious last couplet of Simonides 90 (in Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.*).

⁶⁹ Cf. the dedication of the Nike Temple: *IG*. I². 24 [= Tod, *Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr.* 40 (with improved

text)]: Welter, *Vom Nikepyrgos* in *AM*. XLVIII, 190 sqq., makes it certain that the Nike Bastion was constructed in its present form before the foundations of the Propylaia were finished.

the 'Stoa of the Hermai' (the *Herm-Stoa*): if he is right in this, and if the above thesis is correct, then [Q] and [R] were inscribed on the other herms in this Stoa.—Aeschines indeed quotes other poems ([S] and [T] below) as inscribed on these other herms: are we entitled to accept part of his testimony and refuse the rest? I answer to this, that the alternative is not between accepting all or rejecting all, but between rejecting all or rejecting part: for it is past doubt that he has put [E] into a wrong context.⁷⁰

I suggest that the part of Aeschines' testimony which it is hardest to doubt is, that there *was* a 'Herm-Stoa' and that it contained three inscribed herms. It is extremely probable, from the words of Demosthenes and Plutarch as well as his own, that the whole monument was popularly referred to Kimon's exploits. The poems which he quotes, he quotes from a book-collection of verse-inscriptions; ⁷¹ it is here we may most reasonably expect error. I may add, that we may hope for some control of hypotheses from the excavations in the Kerameikos: such control as the foundations of the Deinomenid offerings at Delphi have given us for a not dissimilar monument.⁷²—What then is known of the 'Herm-Stoa'? I begin with the testimony of Demosthenes and Aeschines.

1. Demosthenes and Aeschines.

Some memorial which was raised to Kimon's victories was used by the fourth-century orators to point a moral: Kimon's great services, and the modesty of the memorial, show how the later Athenians had cheapened their honours. 'We shall doubtless hear,' says Demosthenes in the *Leptines* (XX. 112), 'that in our forefathers' time certain men after many great services rendered were judged worthy of no such honour as this, but got an inscription on the Hermai and that contented them (ἀγαπητῶς ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἔτυχον): and perhaps,' Demosthenes adds, 'Leptines will quote this inscription to us.'

That these 'certain men' (τινες) were Kimon and his companions is implied by the longer passage of Aeschines in the *Ktesiphon*: ⁷³ 'There were certain men in those days, who endured much labour and great perils on the River Strymon, and conquered the Medes in battle. When they came home, they asked the Demos for a reward, and the Demos granted them great honours, as it then seemed—leave to erect three marble Herms in the Herm-Stoa, on the condition that they did not inscribe their names: that so the inscription might seem to be made not by the generals but by the Demos. And you shall know the truth of my words from the poems themselves: for on the first herm is written [E], and on the second [S] and on the third [T].' I do not yet quote the verses, to which I return later.

It is rather surprising, after Demosthenes' πᾶλλ' ἀγαθὰ, to hear in Aeschines only of the capture of Eion. Are we to believe that the memorial celebrated that victory only?—We are not. I need not repeat here what I

⁷⁰ See above, p. 74.

⁷¹ See notes 35 and 92.

⁷² See, e.g., Keramopoulos in *AM.* 34 (1909), 40 sqq., Pareti in *Studi siceloti ed italoti* (Florence, 1920),

173 sqq. The Stoa of Zeus is to be further excavated this year, *AI.L.* 36 (1932), 383.

⁷³ III. 183 sq.: the Greek is quoted in note 14 above.

said earlier,⁷⁴ to show that Aeschines had no fifth-century decrees before him, nor any evidence beyond the monuments themselves (and what previous orators had said of them). The Herm-Stoa, like the Poikile, provides him a moral; and where we can control him (in the latter case) he draws it with reckless disregard of history. What then may we infer from his words?—In the case of the Poikile, we may infer that there was, in the Marathon painting, a major figure popularly called Miltiades.⁷⁵ In the case of the Herm-Stoa, we may probably infer that such a Stoa existed and contained three inscribed Herms; and (I think) that it was popularly referred to Kimon's exploits. But that Eion alone was celebrated is disproved by the words of [E], which demand a context different from [S] and [T]. I return to this later.

2. Harpokration and others.

The name *Herm-Stoa* is fifth-century usage, since Harpokration, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖ, quotes it from Antiphon. Since both von Domaszewski and Hobein (in Pauly-Wissowa, Art. *Stoa*, col. 20) reject this testimony, I quote the passage:

Ἑρμαῖ: Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν.⁷⁶ Μενεκλῆς ἢ Καλλικράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων [*corrigé*: Ἀθηνῶν] γράφει ταυτί: ἄπο γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑρμαῖ καλούμενοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς κεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφέναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐφ' ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπιγέγραπται γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις

ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης Ἀγαμέμνονα δῆσαν Ἀχαιοί.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Θρακῶν [*corrigé*: Ἑρμῶν] στοᾶ τις ἐλέγετο δεδήλωκε καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα. ὅτι δὲ ἐκαλοῦντό τινες καὶ Ἰππάρχειοι Ἑρμαῖ ἀπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου εἴρηται ἐν τε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ.

I quote from Dindorf's text, and cannot say if Θρακῶν has the *iota* subscript in the MSS. or not, but I imagine this is palaeographically indifferent. To write Ἑρμῶν for Θρακῶν is a reasonably *certain* emendation: since

(a) the citation is otherwise quite irrelevant;

(b) it is palaeographically extremely easy: both *epsilon* and *theta* are, in many hands, circular letters with a stroke in the centre, the only difference is that the circle in *epsilon* is not closed: whilst the misreading of *mu* as two letters, of which the first is *alpha*, is common.

Von Domaszewski is therefore wrong in saying that Aeschines has coined the name for the occasion. Nevertheless the Stoa is mentioned, by this name, in only one further passage, viz. the scholiast on Demosthenes, *loc. cit.*:

τρεῖς ἦσαν Ἀθήνῃσι στοαί, ἡ μὲν Βασιλείος, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἡ δὲ Πεισιανάκτειος (ἀπὸ Πεισιανάκτος τοῦ κτίσαντος· αὕτη δὲ γραφέντων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ποικίλῃ ἐκλήθη).

⁷⁴ See the text above, notes 11–14.

⁷⁵ Can we take Aeschines (III. 186) so literally as to assert that Miltiades' name was not written beside him?

⁷⁶ Hypereides is evidently using the same argument as Leptines and Aeschines. He may well be the source (similar to Aeschines but without his corruptions) from whom Plutarch, *Kimon* VII, derives.

The absence from this list of the *Stoa of Zeus* is so surprising, that Robert has suggested that it and the Herm-Stoa are the same: this identification, which Judeich refuses, would explain the rarity of its mention under its rarer name, and must now be examined.

'In Athens' means, of course, 'in classical Athens,' the Athens of the orators: after the fifth-century building is done, before the Hellenistic building begins. Since it does not include the Alphetopolis or the (fourth-century?) Stoa by the Asklepion, the statement is not exhaustive for the whole city, and we cannot with perfect safety assume that it is exhaustive even for the Agora, where in fact these three lay.⁷⁷ The spade will doubtless tell us soon whether there were in fact three considerable Stoai of classical date in the Agora, or more than three: *if there were only three, then the identity of the Herm-Stoa with the Stoa of Zeus is certain.*⁷⁸ For from Pausanias⁷⁹ and all our other sources, the three classical Stoai in the Agora are well known: Basileios, Poikile, and Zeus'. All are frequently mentioned in literature: and they appear in a list which seems to be similar to our scholiast's, in Harpokration, s.v. Βασίλειος στοά:

Βασίλειος στοά: Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος α'. β' εἰσι στοαὶ παρ' ἀλλήλας,⁸⁰ ἡ τε τοῦ Ἑλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ Βασίλειος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη τις, ἡ πάλαι μὲν Πείσι ἀνάκτιος⁸¹ καλουμένη, Ποικίλη δὲ μετονομασθεῖσα.

The Stoa of Zeus has been identified *in situ* (*AJA.* xxxvi, p. 383). It is alongside the Basileios, as we know from this passage and from Eustathios on *Odyssey* 1. 395, and from Pausanias, I. 3. 1-3. It was a good place for watching the Agora, Xen. *Oecon.* VII. 1-2, XII. 1-2: you could see ambassadors on their way to the Bouleuterion, [Plat.] *Eryxias* 392A: you were out of the Agora's traffic, Plat. *Theages* 121A: it was one of the two public buildings in which Diogenes the Cynic chose to 'live,' Diog. Laert. VI. 2. 22. It contained (in the fourth century) Euphranor's three pictures, the *Twelve Gods*, *Theseus and Democracy*, the *Cavalry at Mantinea* (Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, 1704, 1790-1796).

3. The History of the Stoa.

When was it built? There is a note, deriving from Didymos, and preserved in various forms in Harpokration and Suidas, s.v. Ἑλευθέριος Ζεὺς, *Et. M.* s.v. ἐλευθέριος, schol. Plat. *Eryx.* 392A, schol. Paus. I. 3. 2 [see note 86 below], which has been often referred (*e.g.* by von Domaszewski) to

⁷⁷ This is well known for the Basileios and the Poikile: it is made certain for the Herm-Stoa by Aesch. III. 186.

⁷⁸ It is just possible that the Herm-Stoa was destroyed and replaced by Attalos' Stoa: προέλθετε in Aesch. III. 186 (spoken from the Heliaia, south of Attalos' Stoa?) might be held to confirm this. If so, traces of the fifth-century building should be discoverable.—Hobelin in Pauly-Wissowa, *Art. Stoa*, col. 19-20, suggests that the Herm-Stoa is the same as the Poikile! He has evidently overlooked Aesch. III. 186, where the Dikasts are invited to walk in imagination from one to the other.

⁷⁹ Basileios I. 3. 1: Zeus' I. 3. 3: Poikile I. 15. 1.

⁸⁰ The three Stoai in Aristoph. *Ekkles.* 684-6 are evidently the Basileios and Zeus' (τὴν παρὰ ταύτην) and the Alphetopolis. [If the initials ΒΘΚ conceal nicknames, we can hardly hope to guess them.] The last (if Judeich rightly identifies it with the Makra) is not in the Agora but westward of it, between the Dromos and the 'Theseum' hill: Judeich, *Topogr.* 2, 365. It is a group of three, on the west edge, or westward, of the Agora.

⁸¹ Codd. ἀνάκτιος: the *Epitome* has πυνανάκτιος, Suidas s.v. has πανάκτιος.

the building of this Stoa, but in fact refers to the naming of Eleutherios Zeus, whose statue stood in front of the Stoa (Paus. I. 3. 2). The version of best authority is Harpokration's:

Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς: Ὑπερίδης ' τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Δίῃ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθέριον προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομησαί τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ.' ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος φησιν ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτήρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος.

Judeich interprets this evidence as follows (*Topogr.*² 73): 'To Zeus Soter (or, as he was later also called, Eleutherios) the city erected, in gratitude for his help in the Persian danger, a statue in the Agora: behind which later a Stoa was built.' This is true in fact, I believe; yet hardly represents what Didymos says. Zeus [Soter] received his [extra] title of Eleutherios on a given occasion, which I take to be *subsequent* to the first erection of his statue Διὶ Σωτῆρι [Menander, who says explicitly⁸² that *Eleutherios* was an extra title, is taken by Harpokration to agree with Didymos]. *Ergo*, the 'riddance from τὰ Μηδικά'⁸³ which earned the title Eleutherios is later than the 'salvation' which earned the title Soter.

Two third-century inscriptions (*IG*. II². 689 and 690) contain decrees in honour of the Priest of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, and are ordered to be displayed προσ τῇ στοᾷ του Διοσ.⁸⁴ It is evident that Zeus Soter is the cult title, and he is associated in cult with Athena Soteira. There can be little doubt (compare, for example, the oracle in Herodotos VII. 141) that this cult of the *Two Saviours* dates from the recovery of the city from the Persians in 479: σωτηρία is a more desperate matter than ἐλευθερία,⁸⁵ and Athens had been faced with destruction, not mere subjection. On what subsequent occasion did Zeus receive the popular addition of *Eleutherios*, already borne by him at Plataea since 479?⁸⁶ After the Peace of Kallias?

It will serve concreteness and brevity best, if I here state frankly my full hypothesis, which is a development of von Domaszewski's.

I take the Stoa of Zeus and the Herm-Stoa to be the same: the Stoa was erected after the Eurymedon, in 468,⁸⁷ and contained the Eurymedon-Herm (whose epigram reads as if written in the exaltation of the moment):

⁸² Neither Menander nor Didymos (as quoted) says *explicitly* that the title Eleutherios was added *later*. It is possible that from the first the cult title was Soter, the popular title Eleutherios. Yet I find this unlikely.

⁸³ The parallel citations have τὸν Μηδὸν ἐκφυγόντες schol. Plat. 392A, τῆς Μηδικῆς δουλείας [καὶ ἐπικρατείας *Et. M.*] ἀπαλλαγῆναι Suidas. I suppose Harpokration to be nearest to Didymos' words: Suidas and *Et. M.* by their variations seem to be referring the phrase to 479 B.C.

⁸⁴ *Sic*: not τὸν Ἐλευθέριον.

⁸⁵ Cf. Thuc. V. 111. 2, VIII. 53. 3, Lysias, XII. 69.

⁸⁶ Thuc. II. 71. 2 (cf. schol. Plat. *Elm.* 392A, where for Καρία read Ἰμέρα, and for Καρία in schol. Paus. I. 3. 2. 'Ιμεραίοισι'). The 'Simonidean' epigram

was, I imagine, inscribed later: τέινδε ποθ' Ἑλλανες . . . ἰδρυσαντο Διὸς βωτῶν Ἐλευθερίου (Simon. 107 Diehl).

⁸⁷ *I.e.* in the year following the battle. The date 469 for the Eurymedon I take from Plut. *Kimon* VIII. 7-9: it seems to me almost certain that the honour conferred on the Strategoi at the Dionysia of 468 was consequent upon that victory. See Weizsäcker, *Untersuch. über Plut. biogr. Technik* (Heft 2 of *Problemata*, 1931), 61-64. I cannot follow Weizsäcker in details, but his main thesis, that Plutarch is by temperament a moralist and by purpose an historian, and consequently chooses his material 'eideologisch' and presents it 'falsch' chronographisch, seems to me true and illuminating. [The Eurymedon date is discussed by F. Taeger, *Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. d. Pent.*, Stuttgart, 1932.]

it was called the Stoa of Zeus from the pre-existing statue of Zeus Soter in front of it. Diodoros is thus correct in saying that the Demos made a monument *to the God* (τῷ θεῷ sc. Zeus Soter) out of a tithe of the Eurymedon spoils, and thereon inscribed [Q]: he is incorrect in adding, at this date, [R] also. In 449, after the Peace of Kallias and Kimon's death, the monument was re-formed (much as Hieron re-formed Gelon's monument at Delphi, after the Battle of Kyme) and the Eion-Herm and the Cyprus-Herm were added: it was made a monument of 'the Persian war since Athens took the hegemony,' and its Zeus received the extra title Ἐλευθέριος (διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, as Didymos says). The emulation with the Spartan foundation of Zeus Eleutherios⁸⁸ at Plataea is conscious, and (like the dedication of the Nike Temple) typical of Athens' determination to treat the Peace as a climax of glory. I think it probable that the text of Kallias' Treaty was displayed in this Stoa.⁸⁹

Later, the Decree establishing the Second League was placed in front of it (*IG. II². 43*) when Sparta's failure as Hegemon was to be stressed. Finally, when Athens and Sparta were friends again, the service rendered to Sparta by the Athenian cavalry at Mantinea was painted on its walls (Paus. I. 3. 4, Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 2).

4. Hermai.

Demosthenes, when speaking of the Herm-epigrams, does not say 'the Herm-Stoa,' but simply ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς. The question therefore rises, whether the Herm-Stoa was not sometimes called simply οἱ Ἑρμαῖ; and since 'the Hermai in the Agora' are often spoken of, should we ever take this phrase to refer to the Herm-Stoa?

From Harpokration's quotation from 'Menekles or Kallikrates' which is given above, p. 89, it is clear that οἱ Ἑρμαῖ does not always mean 'the Herm-Stoa':

'The area called *the Hermai* stretches from the Poikile and from the Basileios: it has this name because there are many Herms there, dedicated by magistrates and others.'

The topographical puzzle which this notice presents, I leave to be resolved by the spade: but (since this *Area* cannot be the same as the *Stoa*) it seems to me possible that we have to distinguish two separate senses of οἱ Ἑρμαῖ.

1. The *Area* is clearly in question in ps.-Plutarch's Life of Andokides (*Vit. X. Or.* 834d), where he says, quoting Kratippos (fr. 3, Jacoby), that the mutilators νύκτωρ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν Ἑρμᾶς περιέκοψαν, ὡς Κράτιππος

⁸⁸ Sparta had freed her thousands, but Athens her tens of thousands.

⁸⁹ I base this hypothetical judgment chiefly on the tone of Isokrates' *Panegyrikos*: esp. such passages as ch. 179, where he seems to have his eye on the Eurymedon-Herm, whilst contrasting the Kallias and Antalkidas treaties. It is typical too, I think, that the Decree of Aristoteles (*IG. II². 43*), which directly

challenged the Antalkidas Treaty, was placed beside this Stoa. [Peace of Antalkidas 386, *Panegyrikos* 380, Decree of Aristoteles 379.] It was, in fact, designed as the Athenian counterpart to the Spartan memorial at Plataea, to symbolise Athenian hegemony in rivalry to Spartan. Note that in *IG. II². 43*, line 65, the title Eleutherios is used: contrast *IG. II². 689* and *690* (note 84 above).

φησι. And Andokides, *Myst.* 62, specifies one of these scattered Hermai as near the Phorbanteion and visible from the Stoa Basileios (ὃν ὁρᾶτε πάντες).

I infer from Kratippos' phrase, that the 'Area' was extensive, in no sense a 'point.'

2. When 'the Hermai' appears to indicate a point, should we not perhaps understand thereby the *Stoa*? The cardinal instance is Xenophon, *Hipparch.* III. 2: he is describing his ideal cavalry procession: εἰ, ὅσων (sc. θεῶν) ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστί, ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ — — περιελάνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεοὺς — — — ἐπειδὴν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν — — εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου. The cavalrymen begin and end their circuit of the Agora at the *Hermai*: that is, at a given point. Must not this be the *Stoa*, rather than οἱ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν Ἑρμαῖ? It would follow that the *Stoa* is likewise meant in the lines of Mnesimachos quoted by Athenaeus, 402F: the slave is instructed to invite the young riding-pupils to dinner:

στεῖχ' εἰς ἀγορὰν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς
οὗ προσφοιτῶς' οἱ φύλαρχοι,
τοὺς τε μαθητάς τοὺς ὠραίους
οὓς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
μελετᾷ Φεῖδων καὶ καταβαίνειν
οἷσθ' οὓς φράζω;

The 'Barber's Shop by the Hermai' where the Phratry of the Dekeleieis have their resort (Lysias, XXIII. 3: cf. *IG.* II². 1237, lines 63-4, *ClQu.* 25, p. 135) should also, in that case, be sought near the Herm-Stoa (since 'the Hermai' indicates a *point*); and finally, the 'Grand-stand,' erected by the infatuated Demetrios to enable his lady to watch the Panathenaia, is most easily conceived as overtopping the roof of the Herm-Stoa (μετεωρότερον τῶν Ἑρμῶν, Athen. 167F), and so commanding a view of the whole Agora.⁹⁰

D. *The Poems in Aeschines, in [E], [S] and [T].*

It remains to discuss, how Aeschines came to associate the Eion-epigram [E], with [S] and [T]. First, I quote the poems (omitted above, p. 88):

[= H. v. Gaertringen, *Epigr.* 34: he has inverted the order. The poems are also given in Plut. *Kimón.* VII. 4-6, whose text I have followed in places. The chief variants are: [E] 3 κρατερόν Aesch., [S] 2 μεγάλων ἀρετῶν Plut., [S] 4 ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνοῖς and δῆριν ἔχειν Plut., [T] 2 ἄμ πεδίον Aesch., [T] 3 πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων Aesch., [T] 4 ἔξοχον ὄντα Plut., [T] 6 κοσμηταῖς Plut.—Aeschines' readings, when inferior, are very banal, but he is not always inferior: I imagine he is right, *e.g.*, in [S] 4 *imit.* I believe

⁹⁰ For the appearance and functions of Herms, see L. Curtius, *Die antike Herme* (Munich Dissertation, Leipzig, 1903), S. Eitrem, *Art. Hermai* in Pauly-Wissowa, R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* (Heft 3 in *Königsberger Kunstgeschichtliche Forschungen*, 1931). From the use of *Herma* in Cic. *De legibus* 2. 26. 65, and ἑρμογλυφεῖον in Plat. *Symp.* 215A. it

is possible that the word had sometimes a more general sense than we give it (see Lullies, *op. cit.* 59 sq.), and the Herms in the Agora may have included various types of small sculpture.—Judeich rightly complains that there is no evidence at all for von Domaszewski's thesis of ten Tribal Herms in the Agora (*Topogr.* 2 336, note 2).

both versions have suffered from quotation by an orator, and Plutarch is very likely following Hypereides (see note 76)]:

[E] ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι οἱ ποτε Μήδων
παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι Στρυμόνοσ ἀμφὶ ροᾶσ
λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρυερὸν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων ἡῦρον ἀμηχανίην.

[S] ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν
ἀντ' εὐεργεσίησ καὶ μεγάλησ ἀρετῆσ·
μᾶλλον τισ τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.

[T] ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλησ ἀμ' Ἀτρείδησι Μενεσθεύσ
ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωικὸν ἐσ πεδίον,
ὃν ποθ' Ὀμηροσ ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων
κοσμητῆρα μάχησ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν·
οὔτωσ οὔδὲν ἀεικέσ⁹¹ Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
κοσμητάσ πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡνιορήσ.

No one will suggest that Aeschines copied the poems straight from the Herms. Epigraphic verses circulated in book-form long before Aeschines wrote;⁹² and that these particular poems had been used earlier, to point the same moral, we know because—

(1) Demosthenes (XX. 112) says, twenty-five years earlier, that 'the inscription on the Herms' was a favourite argument against the undue bestowal of honours;

(2) Plutarch (*Kimon* VII), quoting the same three poems in the same context, has some variant readings which are superior to Aeschines' (*v. supra*). It is evident that Aeschines quoted from memory:⁹³ Plutarch derives from some parallel source (possibly Hypereides, see note 76).

These facts make it likely that the three poems were associated together before Aeschines used them in the *Ktesiphon*. His error, in fact, is transferred back to an earlier moraliser: it is an orator's τόπος. Error it is:⁹⁴ nothing is gained by rearranging the poems as, *e.g.*, Meyer and H. v. Gaertringen have done, putting [T] first. Κάκεῖνοι in [E] 1 is said with reference, not to Menestheus, but to the victors of later battles.

As for [T]: its place is, I think, the Poikile, where the Sack of Troy and Battle of Marathon⁹⁵ were painted side by side (Paus. I. 15. 2-3). That [S] stood somewhere in the Agora is guaranteed by the parody⁹⁶ quoted

⁹¹ Cf. Solon, fr. 5, line 3 (Diehl), μηδὲν ἀεικέσ: 'no injury,' *sc.* for those whom they lead. I think we should emend, Ἀθηναίους καλεῖσθαι.

⁹² The evidence in *Glotta*, IX. 100. See note 35 above.

⁹³ His actor's training had no doubt given him a fluent and inexact memory. Χαλκοχιτώνων in [T] 3 is clearly an actor's extemporisation: so is the com-

monplace κρσπερόν in [E] 3.

⁹⁴ See the first discussion of [E].

⁹⁵ The virtues of Menestheus were suited to a pitched battle rather than a siege.

⁹⁶ This was inscribed on some herm γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοισι, *i.e.* with three-stroke *sigma*, etc. It cannot therefore be a mere quotation from comedy?

by Harpokration (s.v. Ἑρμαῖ, see p. 89 above): it may quite well have stood on the combined three-Herm memorial, as von Domaszewski suggests,⁹⁷ but equally well on some other monument.—I suggest (purely *exempli gratia* for concreteness' sake: many other hypotheses are possible) that in the book of inscriptional poems, from which the Moraliser quoted, the epigrams stood in this order—

- [Q] ἐξ οὗτ' Εὐρώπην
[R] Ψ οἶδε γὰρ Ψ ἐν Κύπρῳ
[E] ἦν ἄρα κακεῖνοι
[S] ἡγεμόνεςσι δὲ μισθὸν
[T] ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλῃος

and that, for some reason unknown, the Moraliser started his three poems with [E] instead of [Q]. The book will have contained the verse inscriptions of the Agora, proceeding (like Aeschines' audience, III. 186) from the Herm-Stoa to the Poikile. After [T] no doubt came other poems from the Poikile: *e.g.*:

- [U] Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.⁹⁸

III. THE WAR MONUMENT IN THE MEGARIAN AGORA.

Pausanias tells us that in Megara the heroes of the Persian War were actually *buried* in the Agora (I. 43. 3): and his statement is to some extent confirmed by a curious inscription of the fourth or fifth century A.D. containing a copy of their 'Simonidean epitaph' [Tod, *Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr.* 20, Simonides fr. 96 Diehl]. The inscription, which is in a semi-cursive hand, is practically a 'manuscript,' and I therefore purge its itacisms, add rough breathings and subscript iotas, omit a redundant letter in line 2 of the poem, and supply or indicate the lacunas:

- [V] Ἑλλαδι καὶ Μεγαρευσιν ἐλευθερον ἀμαρ ἀεξεῖν
ἱεμενοι θανάτου μοῖραν ἐδεξαμεθα
τοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Παλίῳ ἐνθα καλεῖται
ἄγνασ' Ἀρτεμιδος τοξοφοροῦ τεμενοσ
τοὶ δ' ἐν ὄρει Μυκάλασ τοὶ δ' ἐμπροσθεν Σαλαμῖνος
{ τοὶ δ' ἐν — — — }
τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ οἵτινες ἐτλαν
χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἵππομαχοῦς ἵεναι
ἄστοι δ' ἀμμι τοδε { ξυνον } γερασ ὀμφαλῷ ἀμφις
Νισαίων ἐπορον λαοδοκῷ ὅν ἀγορῇ

⁹⁷ I see no reason for dropping the last couplet whether of [S] or [T], as von Domaszewski wishes. On the other hand, I find the first line of [S] very difficult: what is τὰδ'? I could understand, *e.g.*, Ἡγεμονι μνημεῖον Ἀθηναῖοι τοδ' ἐθεκαν, as an inscription of 449 dedicating the whole monument to Kimon's memory: but one cannot start rewriting the poems. Τὰδ' may refer to something quite

different, possibly in the Basileios or Poikile.

⁹⁸ Lycurg. *Leokr.* 109: Simonides, 88 Diehl: H. v. Gaertringen, *Hist. gr. Epigr.* 12. Perhaps too, if (as is possible) Polygnotos signed his Attic 'Sack of Troy' in the same way as his Delphian, we may add Simonides 112 Diehl (= Paus. X. 27. 4), γράψε Πολύγνωτος Θάσιος γένος Ἀγλαοφῶντος|υἱὸς περὶ θομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν.

The third pentameter is missing. The poem is too good for that to have been the poet's intention: the readiest explanation is that this line began with the same letters as both its neighbours. It is less easy to see what battle is omitted; for Herodotos' careful list gives no Megarians at Thermopylai (VII. 202), and probably there were no battle casualties among the ten thousand at Tempe (VII. 173): otherwise one or both of these could well have filled the space. However, I let <τοὶ δὲ —> stand, since there *may* have been skirmish casualties at Tempe, and it is just possible there *may* have been Megarians at Thermopylai: Herodotos only gives 3100 Peloponnesians, but epigram [A] (above) says 4000 and may have counted Megarians. [Yet I think Herodotos' silence in VII. 202 a great difficulty: Megara is not really Peloponnesian and epigram [A] may have counted Boeotians.] Boeckh's supplement <νηῶν Φοινισσῶν ἐξολέσαντες Ἀρη> is padding, of which this very spare poem has else not one word, except perhaps the epithets of Artemis in line 4: the reference to the disastrous cavalry battle in couplet 4 is strictly *ad rem* (Hdt. IX. 69).—In the last couplet earlier editors supply <Μεγαρησ>: <ξυνοῖ> mends the metre and, I think, the sense too.⁹⁹ In the last line I write λαοδοκῶν for earlier editors' λαοδοκῶν (the inscription omits all subscript iotas and elision marks, and does not separate the words), and this goes some way to meet Mr. Tod's just criticism of the couplet as inscribed.

We owe our copy to 'Helladios the high-priest,' who says the epigram had perished with time (ἀπολομένον τῷ χρόνῳ) and he had it inscribed (ἐπιγράψηναι ἐποίησεν), not 're-inscribed.' It seems to me clear he copied it, not from the old inscription, but from a book. The copy is careless and misspelt, yet it found no difficulties in the presumably archaic spelling of the original: it must be taken from a transcription in *Koine*. Helladios adds Σιμωνίδης ἐποίηι, and this too is clearly from a book: it is unlikely that Simonides signed his inscribed verses (though Ion of Samos did, Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 115; and so perhaps did Hipparchos the tyrant, [Plat.] *Hipparch.* 228b–229a, cf. *IG*. I². 837). The local antiquaries of Megara (we may suppose) knew and preserved those poems in the 'Simonides' collection which referred to their town: the ascription to Simonides has no more authority than the Anthology ascriptions.—The first couplet (as so often) can stand alone and is in the great style: I do not feel sure we are therefore to regard the other couplets as a later addition: they are so spare in style, and so actual, and the memory of Plataia so vivid.

The Megarians killed in that cavalry charge at Plataia were buried on the spot (Hdt. IX. 85; cf. Thuc. III. 58), not in the Megarian Agora. Were any buried in the Agora? Pausanias says so: Helladios, speaking of τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων καὶ ἐνταυθα κειμένων ἥρων, does no more than repeat the same 'Megarian antiquaries' tradition. But the poem nowhere says κειμεθα (which stood on even the Isthmian cenotaph, Plut. *De malig. Herod.* 87of): *nedum* τηδε κειμεθα: was it not rather a cenotaph,

⁹⁹ ἄστροι (as regularly, e.g., in Pindar) means the heroes' *yellow-citizens*; Μεγαρησ is redundant and clumsy. ξυνοῖ, besides its obvious fitness, has in this

context a further emotional fitness, 'we are all Megarians together': cf., e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* IX. 93 [*Ol.* VII. 90–3, *Pyth.* XI. 52–4].

τοδε ξυνον γερασ, like that of the companions of Dorieus at Sparta (Paus. III. 16. 4; see Lobel, *ClQu.* XXI, 1927, p. 50, whose correction 'Αθηνέων for 'Αθηναίων I consider unnecessary)?

It was treated as a *Heroon*: Helladios says μεχρις εφ' ἡμων ἡ πολις ταυρον εναγίζειν. We may perhaps compare Pausanias III. 12. 9, on the *Hieron* of Maron and Alpheios, the two bravest Spartans at Thermopylai (cf. Hdt. VII. 227): was it here that the names of all were recorded (Hdt. VII. 224)?

It would be useful to determine the exact nature of these monuments, with which the Athenian *Herm-Stoa* perhaps consciously competed.

IV. A HELLENISTIC MONUMENT OF THE EURYMEDON.

The third-century¹⁰⁰ poems found on a statue base at Samos, celebrating the achievements of Maiandrios in the Eurymedon sea-battle, were published by Klaffenbach in *AM.* 51 (1926), 26 sqq.; the supplements by Wilamowitz served admirably to indicate the general purport of the two poems inscribed. Perhaps no more is required, for the gaps are so large that no supplement can pretend to restore the actual words. If I yet presume to offer some alternative supplements, it is because of a technical epigraphic problem involved: for Hiller von Gaertringen has suggested that the poems were inscribed as prose, like the poems of Wilhelmina Stich (*AM.* 51 [1926], 155). This, though inevitable with Wilamowitz' supplements, has rightly been treated as in fact impossible, by Buschor (*Philologus*, N.F. 40 [1931], 424 sqq.).—Buschor's excellent photograph (which I reproduce by the courtesy of the Editors of *Philologus*, Fig. 2^{100a}) shows clearly that the first quatrain was inscribed *in rasura*, presumably later than the second quatrain, and as a separate poem. Buschor reports, moreover, that the top face of the stone has the remains of an early fifth-century list of names in two columns (I reproduce Buschor's photograph with the same acknowledgment, Fig. 3): which may well be a contemporary list of the Samians who fell¹⁰¹ in the battle. He infers that the Hellenistic Maiandrios-monument is a re-shaping of a monument (of some sort) contemporary with the battle.

Further minor difficulties in Wilamowitz' supplements are—

(1) The last word in verse 2. Κλυτην is impossible, since μαχην (in the phrase εστησαντο μαχην) cannot carry an epithet: Wilamowitz has therefore later substituted ποτε, which (though abundantly true) is not very good. I think we want a participle.¹⁰²

(2) Maiandrios' exploits were in the sea-battle, which was prob-

¹⁰⁰ Klaffenbach dates the writing by comparison with the Samian *Berenike* inscription, *AM.* 44 [1919], 21) to about 250 B.C. The poems are simple, quite out of the Kallimachos or Anyte-Mnasalkas tradition. I imagine they are provincial.

^{100a} For the blocks of figs. 2 and 3 the editors are indebted to the Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig.

¹⁰¹ The list can hardly have been long enough to contain all who fought.—I note that among the patronymic genitives in the first column ΕΜΟΚΡΙΤΟ cannot be Δ]ημοκριτο, since the Η is used for η: rather, Ανθ]εμοκριτο.

¹⁰² Conceivably we should restore, e.g., ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΩΙ—ΕΥΡΥΜΕΔ[ΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΕΙ].

ably ¹⁰³ the less important half of the whole affair: should we infer he was killed before the landing? If so, it must be mentioned.¹⁰⁴

I have had one more determining principle: since the ships are called Μηδων συμμαχ[ιδας], I have inferred that the poet regarded the sea-fight as a victory over Phoenicians.

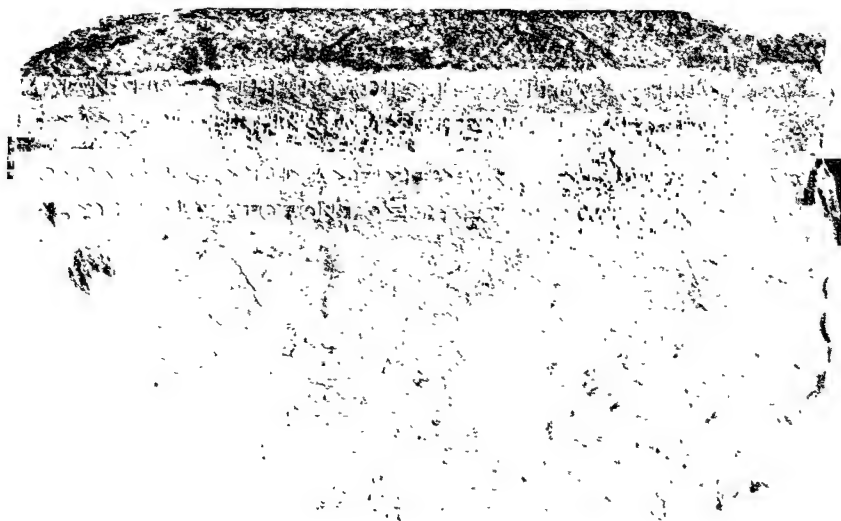


FIG. 2.—INSCRIBED BASE FROM SAMOS.



FIG. 3.—INSCRIBED BASE FROM SAMOS.

[W¹]

- 1-2. {πλειστα κακ Ασσυριοις}
 {σκληρα παθειν Τυριοις}Μαιανδριοσ ευτ επι καλωι εστησαντο μαχην Ευρυ-
 μεδ[οντι πορων
 3-4. ευ ζωην ημειψεν αριστ]ευσας γαρ εκεινηι ναυμαχιηι παντων κλεωσ εθετ
 αθαν[ατον

¹⁰³ To judge by the Attic epitaph ([M] 3 *supra*, αἰχμηταί, πεζοί τε καὶ ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν), and the account in Plutarch, *Kimon*, XIII. 2. Cf. Meyer, *Forsch.* II 6 sq., and see note 65 above.

¹⁰⁴ If the original fifth-century monument con-

tained a list of fallen (note 101, *supra*), Maiandrios' name may have been among them. Did a man-statue (of Maiandrios?) surmount the original monument (cf. Hdt. VIII. 121, and the *Note on Akroteria*)?

[X¹]

- 5-6. οκτώ νηας ἔλεν Μαιαν]δριοσ ὡν ἀφ' ἐκάστησ ἀσπίσ πρύμναν ἐχει χεὶρ θ' ὑποδεξ[αμένη
7-8. τὰς δὲ βαθυς τηλεκλε]ῖτας ὑπεδέξατο πόντος κρυφθείσας Μήδων συμμαχ[ίδας πελάγει

It will be seen how much I have taken from Wilamowitz, for the second quatrain, especially: οκτώ for δωδεκά in line 5 was already suggested by Buschor. I add a few notes, and put the poems out in literary form:—

Line 1. Ἀσσυριοίς: cf. Meleager in *Anth. Pal.* VII. 417, ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ναιομένη Γαδάροις. For σκληρὰ cf. Kallimachos in *Anth. Pal.* IX. 566: the winner says νικῶ, the loser σκληρὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα.

Line 3. Cf. Aeschylus fr. 99, lines 5-6, γυνὴ θεῶν μιχθεῖσα παρθένου σέβας ἡμειψα: then εθετ in line 4 (as in θέσθαι χάριν: cf. Plato *Laws* 820E τοὺς θεμένους = mortgagees) will carry on the figure.

Lines 3-4. If Maiandrios was not killed, we might perhaps supply πορὲν | ἐν πασὶν ζῆλωτος: cf. *IG.* I². 655 (= H. v. Gaertringen, *Hist. gr. Epigr.* 25), [πα]σι Φαυλ[λοσ ἀγετοσ]. Yet I think the γὰρ clause presupposes his death.

Line 4. κλέωσ (for κλεοσ) seems clear from the photograph.

Line 5. ἔλεν means, of course, *destroyed*, not *captured*: here as in [R] 2. Cf. ἐλένας, Aesch. *Ag.* 689.

Line 6. See the *Note on Akroteria*.

Line 8. Wilamowitz' ψαμαθῶι is attractive, and I have doubted if πελάγει was applicable to a battle so close off shore. But cf. [C] 2, of the sea off Artemision.

[W²] [σκληρὰ παθεῖν Τυρίοις] Μαιάνδριοσ, εὖτ' ἐπὶ καλῶ
ἐστήσαντο μάχην Εὐρυμέδ[οντι, πόρων]
[εὖ ζωὴν ἡμειψεν· ἀριστ]εύσας γὰρ ἐκείνη
ναυμαχίῃ πάντων, κλέωσ' εθετ' ἀθάν[ατον.]

[X²] [ὀκτὼ νῆας ἔλεν Μαιάν]δριοσ, ὧν ἀφ' ἐκάστησ
ἀσπίσ πρύμναν ἔχει χεὶρ θ' ὑποδεξ[αμένη·]
[τὰς δὲ βαθυς τηλεκλε]ῖτας ὑπεδέξατο πόντος
κρυφθείσας, Μήδων συμμαχ[ίδας, πελάγει.]

NOTE ON *Akroteria*.

I asked Prof. Beazley about line 6, which I could not understand, and at the same time about the ακροτερία mentioned in a series of inscriptions which catalogue the separate parts of the Gold Nikai at Athens [*IG.* I². 368, line 20; 369, lines 1, 5, 12, 15; II². 1502 (cf. Ferguson, *Treasurers*, p. 92, Dinsmoor, *AJA.* XXXVI, p. 151), and several fourth-century *Traditiones*, of which the two most complete were recently discovered built into the west end of the Parthenon, and published by N. Kyprissis in *Δελτ.* XI, 1927 '8, pp. 123-134]. The solution which follows I owe almost ¹⁰⁵ entirely to him, though I do not make him responsible. I state the solution in dogmatic form, but of course only intend it as a suggestion.

¹⁰⁵ I think Mr. Blakeway first suggested to me that my attention to the *akroteria* of Artemis in Plut. Nike's *akroteria* were *aphlasta*; Mr. Lobel called *Phokion*, XXVIII.

1. The *Akroteria* of the *Nikai* are the stern ornaments (ἄφλαστα) of enemy ships, kept by the victor as trophies. Such *aphlasta* were dedicated as spoils, along with captured arms, by the Athenians at Delphi (Tod, *Sel. Gk. Hist. Inscr.* 18 = Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 29: possibly for Salamis, but the occasion is uncertain¹⁰⁶):—ἀθηναῖοι ἀνεβέσαν τὸν στοῶν καὶ τὰ ἡοπλ[α] καὶ τακροτέρια ἡλόντες τὸν πολέ[μιο]ν: Aeschylus' brother Kynegeros was killed whilst seizing such an *aphlaston* at Marathon (Hdt. VI. 114). Lysander took many to Sparta after the surrender of Samos (Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 8), Alkibiades brought home 200 from his Hellespontine campaigns (Plut. *Alk.* XXXII. 1). The spoils sent to Delphi from Salamis were converted into 'a statue 12 cubits high having in his hand the *akroterion* of a ship' (Hdt. VIII. 121). Several early classical paintings of about 480-460 show deities carrying such *aphlasta*: (i) Poseidon on a column-crater by the Pan Painter now in Bari (No. 4 in Beazley's *Der Pan-Maler*, who there cites the other paintings): (ii) Athena¹⁰⁸



FIG. 4.—FROM A NOLAN AMPHORA, E 299, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

on a Nolan amphora by the Nikon Painter now in London (No. 1 in Beazley's *Att. I.*), who appears to be chasing a girl (it is not likely that the two figures have no relation to each other), whom we may imagine to be 'Asia' (cf. epigram [R] 31: (iii) a female figure holding *two* *aphlasta*, one in each hand, on a fragment of a clay miniature votive-shield from the Akropolis (Graef and Langlotz, *Akrop. Vasen*, ii. Pl. 83, 1072): and (iv) on an Akropolis skyphos (fragment) of the same period and in a somewhat similar style (*Akrop. Vasen*, ii. Pl. 40, 516), a figure (probably male) holds an *aphlaston*, a figure (probably female) reaches him a wreath: by the male figure an inscription ending ΑΣ: possibly Athena crowning [Α]ἰας (cf. Hdt. VIII. 121).—None of these indeed is Nike; but Nike

¹⁰⁶ Possibly some Aeginetan battle: possibly even the Euripos, where some Chalkidian ships may have been captured. Could τὸν πολέ[μιο]ν refer to Persians?

¹⁰⁸ Fig. 4, for which Prof. Beazley has given me his drawing. Photograph in *C.I.A. London*, III. 1c. Pl. 52, 2.

appears in two paintings of this period with the *aphlaston*, viz. (v) a fragment of another votive-shield from the Akropolis (*Akrop. Vasen*, ii. Pl. 83, 1071), and (vi) rather earlier, a lekythos by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, now in Berlin (No. 57 in Beazley's *Att. V.*).¹⁰⁹

Nike with *aphlaston* occurs also later: a flying Nike with *aphlaston* on a gem of c. 400 (*B.M. Cat.* Pl. 9, 515 = Furtwaengler, *AG.* Pl. 9, 33); and on a number of late Panathenaic amphoras the figure of Nike with *aphlaston* replaces the cock on the top of the pillar: e.g. London, B 607, 608, 609 (*CVA.* London, III. Hf. Pl. 3, 1 and 2, Pl. 4, 21, Louvre, MN 705 (*CVA.* Louvre, III. Hf. Pl. 6, 4-7, 11). The London vases are of 336.5 and 333.2, that is from the period when Lykourgos was making new Gold Nikai: the Paris vase is of 321/0.

It is thus very probable that the *akroterion* which formed part of a gold Nike was an *aphlaston*¹¹⁰ carried in her hand. Against this must be set the opinion of a scholiast on Demosthenes. Demosthenes, XXIV. 121, says his client's enemies shall perish, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Νίκης περικόψαντες ἀπώλουν· αὐτοὶ ὑφ' αὐτῶν; and the scholiast says, ἀκρωτήρια λέγει οἰονεῖ τὰ πτερά· οὕτω γὰρ γράφεται ἡ Νίκη. The plural may seem to favour him, and the fact that the two Nikai of *IG.* I². 368 appear to have α[κ]ρο[τερ]ια τεττα[ρ]α between them (though this is, of course, mostly supplement). On the other hand, no other gold Nike seems to have more than one *akroterion*: and the one fifth-century Nike which survived the melting-pot [which is detailed in *IG.* I². 369, lines 9-13 (and therefore presumably was one of the two in *IG.* I². 368), and again in *Δελτ.* 1927/8, Ἀριθ. 1 (opposite p. 126), lines 27-41, and Ἀριθ. 2 (opposite p. 128), lines 6-21] certainly has only one *akroterion*.¹¹¹—I think the scholiast was merely guessing, and that he has guessed wrong.¹¹²

The Athenians once received an oracle from Dodona commanding them τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος φυλάσσειν (*Plut. Phokion*, XXVIII. 2), and the subsequent occupation by Antipater of 'the headlands of Mounychia' (*ibid.* XXVII. 3, XXVIII. 1) was taken to be the danger against which they had been warned. But, like all riddling oracles, there was presumably some obvious way of complying with it: if they had not protected the 'headlands,' they presumably had protected some other *akroteria*: what? Not wings, certainly: nor, I imagine, an *aphlaston* in her hand; but the goddess of Mounychia may well have had real *aphlasta*, brought home as trophies (*Plut. Alk.* XXXII, *Diod.* XVIII. 75), dedicated in her temple.

2. Maiandrios (that is, his statue) had one *aphlaston* in his (right?) hand;¹¹³ and on his shield an *episemon* composed of eight *aphlasta*, arranged like the legs of a triskeles. The echo of υποδεξ[αμενη] in υπεδεξαιο of the next line cannot be accidental: his hand received the *aphlasta*, the sea received all the rest. Note that the *aphlaston*-bearing deities are especially of the Persian Wars period: Herodotos' *aphlaston*-bearing statue is of 480.

If this charge was placed on his shield because of his deeds in this battle, it does not at all follow that he survived it. Rather the contrary: his monument or his son could receive the blazon without hubris, if that was expiated already by his own death.

V. THE DELPHIC CHARIOTEER.

I take this occasion to justify, and in one point to correct, the account of the *Polyzalos* inscription which I gave in Mr. Bowra's and my translation of Pindar's *Pythian Odes* (Nonesuch Press, 1928), p. 161.

¹⁰⁹ Prof. Beazley also tells me of a goddess with *aphlaston* on a weak-Brygan lekythos in New York, unpublished.

¹¹⁰ Ἀκρωτήριον can also be used of a ship's beak, and these beaks be used as trophies, *Hdt.* III. 59. [Such 'prows like boars' heads' can be seen, e.g., in Pfuhl, *Mal. und Zeichn.* Nos. 231, 233, 259: in 231 and 259 also good *aphlasta*.] But the *akroteria* carried in the hand are always stern-ornaments. [*Cf.* ἀκρωτήρια πρύμνης, *Hymn. Hom.* XXXIII. 10.]

¹¹¹ I note that in Ἀριθ. 1, line 39, and Ἀριθ. 2, line 19,

there should be a comma between ἀκρωτηριον and οπισθιον: they are separate items, the latter is the χρυσιον ἠοπισθιον of *IG.* I². 329, line 12. This χρυσιον ἠοπισθιον I imagine included the wings.

¹¹² The plural might be used of the ornament of a single stern. Herodotos speaks of ἀφλάστα νεός (*VI.* 114).

¹¹³ He is, so far, like the statue of *Hdt.* VIII. 121.—There is some awkwardness in expression, if the shield had eight *aphlasta* and the hand only one; but I think this must be meant.

The inscription stands on the base of the bronze Charioteer of Delphi. The importance of an exact date for this most famous of early classical statues makes it worth while to press the matter: especially since Pomtow in *Sylloge*³ does not mention the fact of the earlier inscription, and Hiller von Gaertringen in *Hist. gr. Epigr.* 44 declines to discuss it, and a wholly impossible restoration is quoted in *SEG.* III. 396.

The extant inscription is inscribed, roughly *stoichedon*, as follows:

ο λ υ ζ α λ ο σ μ α ν ε θ η κ
ο ν α ε ξ ε υ ο ν υ μ α π ο λ

The top line is more regularly spaced, and in rather larger letters, than the second: in the top line the N is vertical, the Y like a Roman Y (but slightly curved), the O is made without a centre-mark; the E is not complete, but it is probable it had three horizontals, not four. In the second line, the N slopes forward, the Y is like a Roman V, the O has a centre-mark,¹¹⁴ the E has four horizontals. Also, H = η in the top line, O = ω in the bottom line.

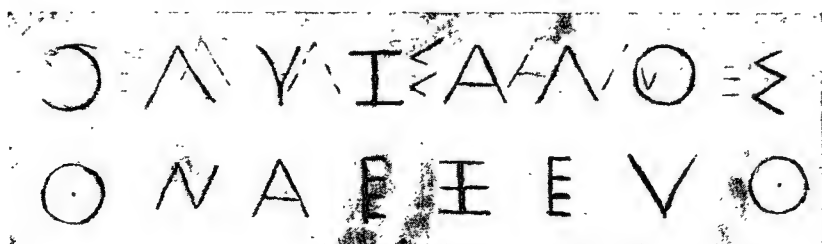


FIG. 5.—THE INSCRIPTION OF

The surface of the top line has, however, been specially treated, and there are still perfectly visible the traces of an earlier line which has been erased. The surface treatment extends exactly to the foot of the later letters and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch below the foot of the earlier letters, which stood that much higher; *i.e.* the letters were erased with the smallest possible margin of surface treatment, and this is one indication that the bottom line already stood there, and the eraser was at pains not to disturb it. Other indications are the more irregular spacing of line 2, and (what is decisive) the differences of script noted above between the later line 1, and line 2.¹¹⁵

The restoration of the extant lines is our first problem. The line endings are certain: the line beginnings cannot be certain, yet it is at least very probable¹¹⁶ that we may restore approximately:

[— — — — —] ο λ υ ζ α λ ο σ μ α ν ε θ η κ [εν]
[υιοσ Δεινομενεος τ] ο ν α ε ξ ε υ ο ν υ μ Α π ο λ [λον]

¹¹⁴ This shows little in the photograph. It is unmistakable on the stone or in a squeeze.

¹¹⁵ The fact that the later line 1 is inscribed *more or less* stoichedon with line 2, misled me (in *Pythian Odes*) into thinking they were inscribed together: it is, however, amply clear that line 2 is original, and the later line 1 has been adapted to it. The earlier line 1

has a four-horizontal E: we must expect its script to be identical with that of line 2.

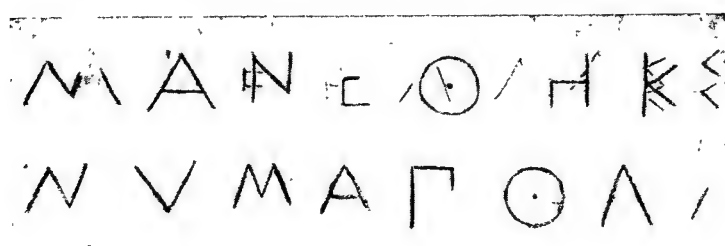
¹¹⁶ Cf. *supra*, note 98, Ἀγλαοφώντος υἱός: and in H. v. Gaertringen's *Hist. gr. Epigr.*, No. 40, Κλεομβρότου υἱός: 38, παῖδας Δεινομενεος; 37, Ηιαρὸν ο Δεινομενεος; 33, lines 3, 6; 8, line 1; 5, line 1: 4, lines 3, 4.

It is not certain whether we should restore strictly *stoichedon*: nor, supposing we should, how (h)υ(ι)οσ Δεινομεν(ε)οσ (τ)ον should be spelt. I suggest:

[ν ι κ α σ α σ (h) ι π π ο ι σ ι π] ο λ υ ζ α λ ο σ etc.
[(h) υ ο σ δ ε ι ν ο μ ε ν ε ο σ τ] ο ν etc.

This then is how the inscription probably looked throughout most of its life. But the original inscription naturally piques our curiosity more. By the courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, I reproduce (Fig. 5) Keramopoullos' photograph from *AM.* 34, pp. 34-5; which has (as he explains) been touched up, so as to make the older inscription more visible, and therefore needs to be controlled. I cannot indeed read all the alleged letters on my squeeze, nor could I verify them all in the short time I spent on it at Delphi. Yet many I did: and the curious Geloan *gamma* (like a Roman C) is perfectly visible both on stone and squeeze (almost coinciding with the first O of Πολυζαλος): and this disposes for ever of all suggestions of Arkesilas, Anaxilas, etc.

The restoration of this line is now defined within narrow limits: for



THE DELPHIC CHARIOTEER.

Polyzalos' name must come in the early part of the line: I suggest [μναμα Πολυζαλος μ (h)ο] Γελασ ανεθεκε Φανασσ[ον]. The two inscriptions will read, then:

[Y] [μναμα Πολυζαλος μ ο] Γελασ ανεθεκε Φανασσ[ον]
[υοσ Δεινομενεοσ τ]ον αξ ευονυμ Απολλ[λον]
Me Polyzalos gave, that keeps In Gela royal state
Son of Deinomenes: whom Thou, Apollo, make more great.

[Z] [νικασασ ιπποισι Π]ολυζαλος μ ανεθηκ[εν]
[υοσ Δεινομενεοσ τ]ον αξ ευονυμ Απολλ[λον]
Me Polyzalos, victor with His team, did dedicate
Son of Deinomenes: whom Thou, Apollo, make more great.

Polyzalos, then, won a chariot-race at Delphi whilst he was 'King of Gela.' [The race was won in 490 by Xenokrates, in 486 by Megakles: so that there is no question (as Keramopoullos suggests) of Gelon having won it whilst King of Gela: ¹¹⁷ yet this is the basis of the restoration printed by

¹¹⁷ I need hardly perhaps discuss here Pareti's strange heresy that Gelon was never (or hardly ever)

King of Gela. Though accepted by Hackforth in the *CAH.*, it is impossible to reconcile it with Herodotos'

H. v. Gaertringen, *Hist. gr. Epigr.* 44.] Since Hieron won the race in 470, and Polyzalos was dead¹¹⁸ before 466, it must be either 478 or 474. Between these two dates we cannot decide with certainty: but I have shown reason in Appendix II to the *Pythian Odes* (pp. 162-3) to think that Polyzalos cannot have enjoyed or claimed the title 'King of Gela' as late as 474/3: in 478/7 (at the very beginning of Hieron's reign), as husband of Gelon's widow, stepfather of his child, and son-in-law of Theron, he well may have. The coalition of Theron and Polyzalos against Hieron will then come in 476, and (by the terms of the settlement then reached) Polyzalos renounced the title.¹¹⁹

It is likely then that *the Charioteer was dedicated in 477 B.C.* for a victory gained in the autumn of 478: its inscription was modified after the convention between Theron and Hieron in 476. Hieron (or a man less jealous than Hieron) might indeed take exception to the former verses: in which his brother, styling himself the King of Gela, prayed Apollo for increase.

H. T. WADE-GERY.

account of Hippokrates' reign. That king spent his reign creating the Geloan Empire (Hdt. VII. 154): so that his appearance before Zankle as its suzerain must come towards the end, and yet not much later than the Battle of Lade.—Yet I would like to express once more the debt I owe to Pareti's *Studi sicelioti ed italoti*, a rich and stimulating book.

¹¹⁸ Almost certainly, since otherwise he would have succeeded to Hieron's throne. In any case, the tone

of the inscription and style of the statue alike put 466 (or later) out of the question.

¹¹⁹ This reconstruction is given in its fuller context in my Appendix II (pp. 161-4, cf. p. 64) to the *Pythian Odes of Pindar*. It is much to ask scholars to look at a book whose edition was limited and where there is no documentation. I hope some day to remedy these things, but this is not the place.

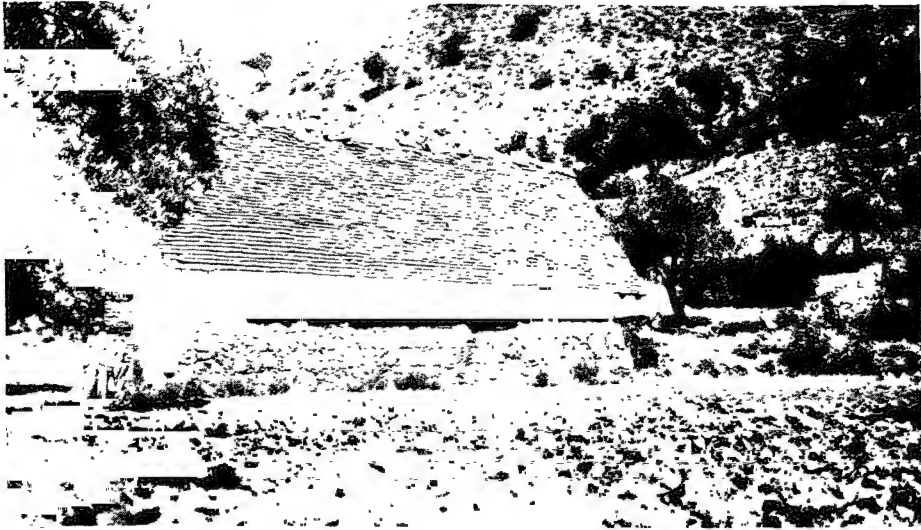


FIG. 1.—EXTERIOR OF THE CHURCH.

FRESCOES AT GALATA, CYPRUS

[PLATES VII, VIII, IX]

CYPRUS has in many ages been famed for artistic achievement of many kinds, but the excellence of its mural painting from the twelfth to the sixteenth century is only now being recognised. The Asinou frescoes, probably the most remarkable of all, have recently been described,¹ and elsewhere in the island are many others deserving attention not merely as documents but as monuments of art. Among them are the paintings here reproduced, about seven-eighths of the collection in the *Theotokos* church near Galata. When visiting it in October 1932 I was unable fully to note all its decoration and other features, but the present incomplete account may perhaps encourage experts to study these well-preserved examples of work in the Byzantine tradition executed by Greek artists during the period of Venetian rule (1489–1570). The church (Fig. 1) stands isolated in a grove of trees beside a mountain brook on the left of the main road leading to Galata about half a mile below that village. No houses or farm buildings are near it, but about eighty yards away is a similar and larger church (*Hagia Paraskeue*) erected in 1502.

The fabric, of rough unhewn stone and sun-dried brick roofed with tiles, is of the barn-like type common in the Troödos district; its plan is a parallelogram about 25 ft. long by 10 wide with rounded apse at the East end.² The walls are about 9 ft. high; the only openings besides a

¹ In a paper by Archdeacon Harold Buxton read last year before the Society of Antiquaries of London. A fuller description appears in the current volume of *Archaeologia*.

² The plan of G. Jeffery (*Hist. Monuments of Cyprus*, p. 285) shows in the S. wall a window of which no trace is now visible.

narrow window in the apse are the two doors, one on the North side, one on the West. The entire inner surface of the walls is decorated, the names of donor and painter being recorded in the fresco over the North door (Fig. 2 and Pl. VII). This shows Christ enthroned, with an open book on the left knee and blessing with the right hand, between the Virgin and the Baptist, both standing. Below kneel the grey-bearded donor, his wife, infant son and three daughters; he holds a model of the church (incorrectly drawn as having a door in the S. wall) and from his right middle finger hangs the key; the wife holds a rosary, the eldest daughter an open book. In front of the donor is a shield, apparently with his arms impaling those of his wife,³ and between this and Christ's footstool the following inscription is painted, with many ligatures and abbreviations, in black on a white ground:

(cross) ἀνηκοδομήθει ὁ πάν(σ)σεπτος ναὸς τῆς
 ἡπεραγίας θ(εοτό)κου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας
 διὰ σηνδρομῆς κ- ἐξόδου μισέρ Στεφάνου (Ζαχαρία) κ- τῆς σι-
 μβύου αὐτοῦ Λουίζας, κ- μακαρίσατε αὐτοὺς ἀμήν· κ- ἀνη-
 5 στορήθι διὰ ἐξόδου τοῦ μισέρ Πόλου Ζαχαρία καὶ τῆς σιμβύου
 αὐτοῦ Μαντελένας καὶ τῶ(ν) τέκνο(ν) αὐτοῦ, <ε>εὔχεστε αὐτοὺς δι-
 ἁ τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν. ἐτεληόθ(η) ἡ αὐτ(ῶν) ζωγραφία εἰς (τάς) 13'
 Δ(εκεμβρί)ου ἰνδι(κτίωνος) 1ε', αφια' Χ(ριστ)οῦ.

Below, near the shield, in black on a red ground:

χεῖρ Συμεῶν
 Ἀξέντη.

'There was erected the sacred church of the most holy God-bearing and ever-virgin Mary by contribution and at cost of Messer Stefano Zacharia and of his wife Luisa, and pray ye for their happiness, amen; and it was painted at cost of Messer Polo Zacharia and of his wife Maddelena and of their children, bless ye them by the Lord.

'Their portrait was completed on the 17th December, indiction 15, 1511 of Christ.'

'Hand of Symeon son of Axentes (= Auxentios).'

Since children are mentioned in the case of Paul Zacharia and not in that of Stephen,⁴ the family here depicted must be Paul's. On completing the interior of the church built by Stephen—who may have been his father or brother—Paul evidently had himself painted as donor of the finished building. The dating and signing of this dedication-scene presumably apply to it only; this panel is by the master Symeon, whereas the other scenes were probably in part executed by his pupils or assistants. The benefactors were probably kinsmen of the Venetian Nicholas Zacharia,

³ The blazon seems to be as follows: *dexter*, gules, a palm-tree (?) argent: *sinister*, bendy of seven argent and azure, a lion rampant gules.

⁴ The verb μακαρίσατε implies that Stephen and his wife were dead.

who is mentioned by Machairas in connexion with the assassination in 1375 of the Prince of Antioch.⁵

On the North wall are represented the following subjects (Fig. 3 and Pl. VII), arranged in two tiers and separated by strips of red with white borders (inscriptions given within brackets):

Upper tier, beginning at W. end:



FIG. 2.—INSCRIBED FRESCO OVER THE NORTH DOOR.

(1) The Mocking (ὁ ἐμπεγμός). Christ, with crown of thorns and reed sceptre, mocked by youths clad in white and kneeling.

(2) The Scourging (ἡ μαστίγωσις). Christ, bound to a pillar and shedding drops of blood, beaten by two men with scourges of knotted rope.

(3) The Mourning (ὁ ἐπιτάφιος θρήνος). In front of the Cross, against which leans a ladder, Christ lying on a black-draped bier covered with a sheet; behind it Joseph, John, the Virgin and the three Maries.

⁵ L. Machairas, *Chronicle* (ed. R. M. Dawkins, 1932), 553, and the note in ii, p. 190.

(4) The Resurrection (ἡ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀνάστασις). Christ stepping up out of the tomb; in front, two soldiers crouching.

(5) The descent into Hades (ἡ κατάβασις). Christ bending forward to greet Adam, who kneels with Eve behind.

(6) The prayer of Joachim (ἡ προσευχὴ τοῦ Εἰσαχίμ). Joachim seated in a grove; in front of him, two shepherds standing; above them a winged angel, seen only above the waist, with right arm outstretched towards Joachim.

(7) The meeting of Joachim and Anna (ὁ ἀσπασμὸς Εἰσαχίμ κ- Ἀννης). Within a porch, above two steps, Joachim embracing Anna.

(8) Dedication and inscription; see above.

(9) Presentation of the Virgin. In background, the Holy of Holies, marked τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. On a platform before the temple gate, the high-priest greeting the Virgin; behind her, Anna and Joachim.

Lower tier, beginning at W. end (Fig. 3):

(10) St. George (ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος), with stirrups and spurs on a white horse, spearing the prostrate dragon. Above, a hand, extended in blessing from the radiated segment of a rainbow, marked χεὶρ Χ(ριστο)ῦ.

(11) Saints Constantine and Helen, both crowned.

(Wooden seats cut off the view below.)

(12) Saint Michael the archangel, with a long wand in his right hand, standing.

(13) The death of the Virgin (ἡ κοίμισις τῆς θ(εοτό)κου). The Virgin lying on a bed, with mourners to right and left. Behind, under a canopy with angels, Christ bearing her soul figured as a swaddled infant.

On the South wall are these scenes (Pl. VIII):

Upper tier, beginning at E. end:

(14) The Presentation in the Temple (ἡ ὑπαπαντή).

(15) The Baptism (ἡ βάπτισις). At the base, a small figure personifying the river Jordan, and in the water many fishes.

(16) The raising of Lazarus (ἡ ἔγερσις τοῦ Λαζάρου).

(17) The triumphal Entry (ἡ βαΐοφόρος).

(18) The Transfiguration (ἡ μεταμόρφωσις).

(19) The Last Supper (ὁ μυστικὸς δεῖπνος).

Lower tier, beginning at E. end:

(20) St. Antony (ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος).

(21) St. Sabas (ὁ ἅγιος Σάβας).

(22) St. Theodosios (ὁ ἅγιος Θεοδοσίος ὁ κυνοβιάρχης).

(23) St. Bichrianos (ὁ ἅγιος Βιχρηανός).

(24) St. Sozomenos (ὁ ἅγιος Σωζόμενος).

(25) St. Barbara (ἡ ἁγία Βαρβάρα).

(26) A woman saint; name not noted.

On the West wall (Pl. IX) are these scenes:

In the pediment a triangular space with three subjects (27-29): the

Bearing of the Cross, the Crucifixion and one other not noted; below, a beam with rich carving.

Upper tier, beginning at S. end :



FIG. 3.—WEST END OF NORTH WALL.

(30) The Washing of the feet (ὁ νιπτήρ). One of the disciples rests his right foot on a raised basin.

(31) The Agony in the garden (ἡ προσευχή). The figure of Christ is represented in three different attitudes.

(32) The Betrayal (ἡ προδοσία). At the base, Peter with a sword above the prostrate Malchus.

(33) Christ before Annas and Caiaphas (ἐνμροσθεν τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα).

(34) Christ before Pilate (ἐνμροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου).

(35) The denial of Peter (ἡ ἄρνησις τοῦ Πέτρου). On the wall a white cock crowing. Behind it the head of Peter twice represented.

Over the West door is painted (36) Christ's head, with inscription τὸ ἱερὸν κεράμεων.⁶

Lower tier, beginning at S. end:

(37) St. Athanasia (ἡ ἁγία Ἀθανασία). Her hands are crossed above the waist.

(38) St. Andronikos (ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνδρόνικος). A small cross is in his right hand, his left is raised.

(39) St. Paraskeue (ἡ ἁγία Παρασκευή). She holds an ikon representing the figure of Christ.

(40) St. Marina (ἡ ἁγία Μαρίνα). Her left hand holds a small cross which she touches with the right.⁷

W. H. BUCKLER.

⁶ The Kerchief (τὸ ἱερὸν μανδήλιον), when buried beside this Tile (τὸ ἱερὸν κεράμιον), was believed to have imparted to it an impress of the face of Christ.

⁷ The photographs of the frescoes are by the brothers Mangoian of Nicosia.

NOTES

The Massacres of Chios.—To the review in the last number of this *Journal* of Mr. Philip Argenti's *The Massacres of Chios, described in contemporary diplomatic reports* I would like to add a note on a little book published at Chios in 1921 by Mr. Stylianos G. Bios, a professor in the gymnasium of Chios. This book is called 'Η σφαγή τῆς Χίου εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Χιακοῦ λαοῦ, ἤτοι διηγήσεις περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς, ἱστορικὰ σημειώσεις καὶ ποιήματα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν, and the title very exactly describes the contents. In the first part we have in ninety-five pages forty-three stories of personal experiences of the massacre. Some few of these stories and anecdotes must have been written down some time before the book was published, because they are taken down from the mouths of very old people, who were children at the time and in one way or another escaped with their lives. The majority of the stories, however, are at second hand, but at good second hand; that is to say, they are the words of people who had themselves heard of the events from actual eye-witnesses. In the second part of the book full details are given of the ages and names of those who told the stories, and for those who were not themselves eye-witnesses the names of their informants. The third part contains a few poems and some popular ballads about the massacre. All the stories are written out in dialect, with explanations of the harder words.

The narrators stick closely to the details of their own experiences and make no attempt to give any general account of the disaster: the reader has no feeling that the tales have been in any way written up. The women's stories especially give this impression of genuineness. The most that can be objected to any of them is that by constant retelling the stories have acquired a certain form and completeness. They have, in fact, gone through much the same shaping process as that to which the Sagas of Iceland were subjected in the period before they were finally written down. But in Chios this interval was not, as in Iceland, close on two centuries, but rather less than one. We are present, so to say, at the formation of a local tradition of a real event.

Not only for the vividness of the stories and

their positive merit, but as historical evidence for what a Turkish massacre on a large scale really was, this little book deserves to be carefully considered.

R. M. DAWKINS.

Letter-writing in verse.—In a review of Mr. M. G. Mikhailidis-Nouaros' Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεκτα Καρπάθου, published in Vol. LII (1932) of this *Journal*, p. 337, I noticed as remarkable and interesting his statement that people in that island, when writing to their friends and relations abroad, will often compose the letter, either entirely or at all events for the most part, in μαντινάδες, those distichs which, half improvised and half traditional, are sung at most of the greater occasions of village life in the Greek islands. That is to say, they avoid prose composition. Such a letter can hardly contain much news in our sense of the word: it serves, however, to transmit the feelings of the writer in the only form in which he or she has learned to express them. Of these letters the author gives a couple of recent examples. The point has a certain interest, because it has been remarked that the most primitive literary composition is apt to be in verse, and that prose is an art coming later. I was speaking of this to my friend Mr. John Mavrogordato, and he told me that Mrs. J. E. Flecker had had a Greek servant who wrote, or rather dictated, her letters in this way in verse. I borrow an account of this girl from a letter which Mrs. Flecker has very kindly put at my disposition. The girl Ελισσάβετ (Elizabeth) was from some mountainous part of Crete. She was about twenty-eight years old when she was in 1910 in the service of Mrs. Flecker's mother in Paris. She was in every way a very primitive character, though she had come to Paris, where her brother was a tailor, to work as a servant because she was tired of τῇ λάτρᾳ τῶν προβάτων, *taking care of the sheep*.¹ Mrs. Flecker continues: 'I only remember one letter dictated to me and it was

¹ Λάτρα is not a form of λατρεία, but is formed from λατρεύω, for which see Χατζιδάκις, Μεσ. καὶ Νέζ. Ἑλληνικά, I, p. 76. The word, Mrs. Flecker remarks, is now becoming rare.

all composed of δίστιχα, of which she seemed to know a very considerable number, though they were not, I believe, out of the ordinary, or at least I don't seem to have been struck by any new note. I remember she began with the known verse:

*Ἀσπρα πουλιά, μαῦρα πουλιά, ποῦ θάλασσα περνᾷτε,

though I don't guarantee it was exactly this, as there are an infinite number of variations, and the second line was the usual "give my greetings to my sister (or mother), when you reach (or pass) my house." The letter must have been about two pages long and was, of course, rather conventional. I meant to have found out what she knew of folk-songs, but I then left for Athens, and when I came back Elisavet had gone, after some disastrous incidents with the tailor-brother. Crete is as well known for its fine folk-poetry as Karpathos has lately become, and men may be found there in the villages who can string together these distichs for hours on end. R. M. DAWKINS.

Again the temples of Ephesus.—Whoever advances a theory in opposition to the common opinion cannot expect to meet at once with consent. Therefore I value it highly that the review of my paper *Die Artemistempel von Ephesos* (*JHS.* 1932, 130) inclines to accept my chronology of the Ephesian archaic finds, this chronology having been the main object of the paper. I would welcome the statement that 'few would nowadays be unwilling to follow Rumpf in bringing the ivory figurines down into the sixth century' (I myself indicated this date in *A.M.* 1925, 30, note 4): but this assertion seems rather optimistic, considering the widespread approval extended to V. Muller's *Frühe Plastik*.

It is in the interpretation of the architectural evidence that the review holds me least convincing, the complex of foundations and walls lending itself 'more naturally' to Hogarth's theory of rebuildings. But is it really natural to build a temple—even if erected in a swamp—in such a manner that for at least part of the year it is inundated and in consequence inaccessible; and that without external support it is continually menaced by ruin—as would happen in the case of the 'Basis,' had it been an independent building? Furthermore, is it natural to construct the two foundation-walls of a temple obliquely to each other—as must have been, according to the theory, the case of B, had it

been a temple? And how could one justify the dating of the 'Basis' far back into the seventh century, if the objects found within were deposited simultaneously with the construction and none of them can be proved to be earlier than 610 B.C. (at most)? All this, I think, recommends my theory of only one archaic temple: this theory does not neglect or contradict any of the facts so scrupulously observed and described by the explorers.

E. LOWY.

The *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.—In a notice of my edition of the *Agamemnon* which appeared in the last number of the *Journal* (1932, 323), the reviewer says: 'As an example (*i.e.* of Lawson's many conjectures) we may mention ὄμβροι δέ in 560, which gives good sense and saves the grammar, but the original error cannot have been palaeographical: ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γάρ of the manuscripts is therefore said to have been a gloss on ὄμβροι. But why should anyone want to tell us that rain comes from the sky?'

The emendation in question is not ὄμβροι δέ, but ὄμβροι δέ δίοι, and here are my own comments thereon: 'I suggest therefore that ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γάρ is a gloss which has ousted ὄμβροι δέ δίοι, and that δίοι was the word to which that marginal note was originally affixed' (Introd. p. xix): and similarly in my note on the passage, p. 126: 'What epithet then could earn such a gloss? One, and perhaps only one—δίοι. I read therefore ὄμβροι δέ δίοι.'

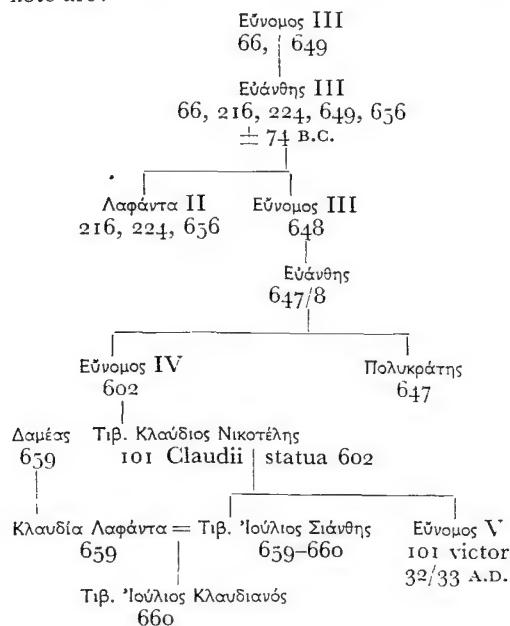
His second example of my conjectures is given thus: 'Lawson takes λαγίαν = λαγίνην as a masculine word (Byzantine λαγίνης), reads γέννας and so explains the gender of βλαβέντα. For the use of a masculine word to denote a female hare he compares ὁ θῆλος ὄρεῦς, where, however, the addition of θῆλος makes all the difference.'

He omits to observe that the epithet attached to λαγίαν is ἐρικύμων: and one would suppose that ἐρικύμων, as an indication of sex, was sufficiently φωνᾷεν συνετρίσι.

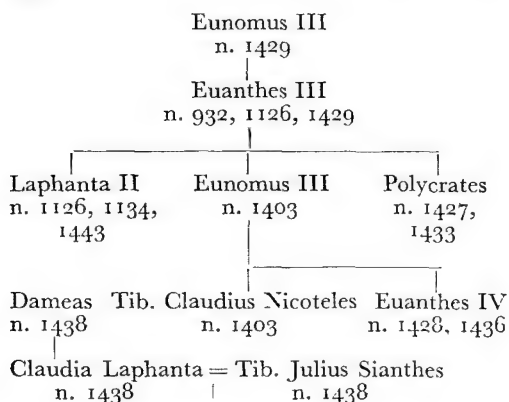
J. C. LAWSON.

An Epidaurian stemma.—In *IG.* iv², fasc. i, which comprises the inscriptions of Epidaurus, H. von Gaertringen published on p. xxv of the *prolegomena* a revised version of the *stemma* published by Fraenkel on p. 264 of *IG.* iv¹.

The names and relationships relevant to this note are:



Fraenkel's *stemma* arranges these generations thus:



Tib. Julius Claudianus n. 1439

Both versions give to two different *Eunomoi*, grandfather and grandson, the numeral III, so that von Gaertringen's contains six, not five, *Eunomoi*. He differs from Fraenkel in interpolating two generations, *Eunomus* III–*Euanthes*, to whom the numeral IV is denied, between *Euanthes* III and *Eunomus* V (= V), father of *Tib. Claudius Nicoteles*. From iv². 66 (= iv¹. 932) we know that *Euanthes* III held the office of *ἀγορανόμος* while M. Antonius held *imperium* to suppress the pirates, c. 74 B.C. *Nikoteles* erected statues in honour of Claudius and Agrippina

(iv². 602), i.e. between 49 and 54 A.D.: 124 years seems too long a period for only one generation to intervene between the *ἀγορανόμος* and Claudius' beneficiary.

A more interesting point in which the later edition differs from the earlier is the assumption of an alliance between the daughter of *Δαμέας*, *Κλαυδία Λαφάντα* (iv². 659 = iv¹. 1438), and the family of *Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Νικοτέλης* by her marriage with *Τιβ. Ἰούλιος Σιάνθης* (*ibid.*). This assumption involves relating *Νικοτέλης* and *Σιάνθης* as father and son. H. von Gaertringen does not refer to the evidence on which he bases this assumed relationship. If he is right, the names afford ground for speculation.

First, the Greek name *Σιάνθης*. No name beginning *Σια* is known to Bechtel-Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen*². *σι-* appears in Laconian = *θε* in *σιός* for *θεός*. But even if Epidaurian names could be connected with Laconian, *Θεάνθης* would be scarcely less strange than *Σιάνθης*. If this word's strange beginning excites suspicion, no less does its familiar end. This man's ancestors include four named *Euanthes*,¹ and this name alternates with *Eunomus* in successive generations. Although *Σιάνθης* occurs on two documents (iv². 659, 660 = iv¹. 1438, 1439), we may reasonably prefer to regard it as a mistake for *Euanthes* to recording a new and improbable name.

Secondly, if *Νικοτέλης* and this man were father and son, we must suppose either that the son received a separate grant of Roman citizenship from Tiberius many years before his father, who undoubtedly received his from Claudius, or that he was adopted by a member of the *gens* Julia who had received Roman citizenship from Tiberius. In the latter case the adoption probably occurred before his father became a Roman citizen, for otherwise we should expect the original *nomen* to appear in the form *Κλαυδιανός*.

The name *Τιβ. Ἰούλιος Κλαυδιανός* borne by the son of this *Τιβ. Ἰούλιος* and *Κλαυδία Λαφάντα* is interesting as being probably the earliest case recorded among Greek bearers of Roman citizenship of the use of gentile adjectives in *-anus* to perpetuate the *nomen* of the mother's family. The most famous example in Roman history is the Emperor Vespasian's name. T. Flavius Vespasianus was the son of Vespasia Polla.

On p. xxv of iv², *Eunomus* V should be

¹ Mr. M. N. Tod drew my attention to the significance of this fact as cumulative evidence reinforced by the prevalence of compounds of *εὐ* in the *stemma*.

Εὐνόμος VI, and a correction should be made at iv². 101, note on ll. 46-7. Εὐνόμος Νικοτέλους Ἐπιδούριος. The note runs: 'eius filius T. Κλαύδιος Εὐνόμου υἱὸς Νικοτέλης Claudii imperatoris statuam curavit 'n. 602.' *Filius* is inconsistent with the *stemma* printed on p. xxv. Read *pater*.
H. Box.

The Gauls at Delphi.—There is a small group of reliefs from late Etruscan urns which are identified as representations of the Gaulish raid upon the sanctuary of Delphi in 279 B.C. The reliefs vary a good deal in detail and no general type for the subject can be traced, but

but the narrow shape indicates Volterra; the material is tufa (Fig. 1).

The new urn once again presents a new version of the subject and shows only a few points of correspondence with the others of the group. The centre is occupied by three barbarians, nude save for fluttering cloaks; one has been beaten to his knees and covers himself with a long Gaulish shield; the other two endeavour to escape with their booty of vases. From right and left bearded men wearing short chitons rush to the attack; these opponents probably represent the Heroes whose appearance in defence of the shrine is noted by Pausanias (x. 23. 3): one of them is represented on the



FIG. 1.—ETRUSCAN URN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

they all agree in showing Gauls engaged in collecting plunder—vases, incense-burners, and in one case a statue—while divine or human figures attempt to repel them. Four examples, one from Chiusi, one from Perugia, and two from Volterra, were known to Biełkowski, who first studied the group in 1908,¹ and to Korte,² who republished the material in 1916: and a fifth came to light a short time ago in the course of excavations at Chiusi.³ A sixth has now been presented to the British Museum by Mr. Sidney Burney; its finding-place is unknown,

Perugia urn and again on the new example from Chiusi.

The urn is the oldest of the three now known from Volterra, and belongs to the rare initial stage of Volterranean sculpture, before the influence of the second Pergamene school had penetrated to Etruria. Characteristic are the violent action and the crude coarse execution, coupled with a lingering respect for the laws of good Hellenic relief-work; the figures are not undercut and do not trespass beyond the relief-field. The date cannot be much later than 200 B.C. and probably lies in the third century; very similar in style is another Volterranean urn with the allied subject of a horseman charging a Gaul.⁴
F. N. PRYCE.

¹ Biełkowski, *Darstellungen der Gallier*, p. 105.

² Korte, *Rilievi delle urne etrusche*, III, cap. xxii, p. 145.

³ Doro Levi in *NdS.* 1931, p. 495, fig. 14.

⁴ Biełkowski, fig. 123; Korte, III, pl. cxv, 1.

The chronological plan of the *Iliad*: a correction. In my paper on *The Last Book of the Iliad*, in *JHS*. 1932, pp. 285-6, I commented on the 'chronological plan' of the poem, and gave the 'programme of days' as follows:—
 1 — 9 — 1 — 12 — 3 — *Embassy* —
 3 — 12 — 1 — 9 — 1, and referred to Mr. J. U. Powell as having called my attention to this 'symmetrical time chart.' But I must have partly misunderstood Mr. Powell, and I certainly misrepresented the facts, as Miss Melian Stawell has been so good as to point out to me; and I have to thank the Editors for giving me the earliest opportunity for correcting my mistake, and commenting on some curious light which the correction itself throws on the composition of Book XXIV.

To facilitate reference to the text, the relevant passages are tabulated on p. 116.

In the first place, I should have made it clear that the 'Embassy' does not occur between two nights, but during the night following the day of the *κόλος μάχη*.

Thus, between the night (I. 605) following the 'twelve days' *ἐκ τοῖο* (493) and the night after the *κόλος μάχη* there are *four* days, not three. In the night after the *κόλος μάχη* occur the *Embassy* and the *Doloneia*. After that central night containing the *Embassy* (not 'one pair [of nights] embracing the *Embassy*,' as I wrote on p. 236) come (i) the day of Patroclus' death, (ii) the day of Hector's death, when his body was first dragged, (iii) the day of Patroclus' burning, the fire lasting all night, (iv) the day of mound-building and funeral-games. For my former reckoning of the central period as seven days (3 — *Embassy* — 3) is therefore to be substituted a period of eight days (4 — the *Embassy-Doloneia* night — 4) ending with the night *after* which the distress of the Gods at Achilles' doings is first mentioned in XXIV. 23.

It was not unnatural to reckon the 'twelve days' in XXIV. 31 from that night, after which the Gods' distress is first mentioned. But in XXIV. 107 Zeus says that the Gods have been in dispute over it for *nine* days, *ἐννῆμαρ*: and if we reckon back nine days from the dawn of the 'twelfth day,' we are still three days short of the first occasion when Achilles dragged Hector's body—*αἰέκεα μῆδετο ἔργα*, XXII. 395, namely (in reverse order), the days (i) of the funeral games, (ii) of the burning of Patroclus, (iii) of the death of Hector. The 'twelve days' of the Gods' distress include, that is, the 'nine days' of their dispute, but also three of the four days following the *Embassy-Doloneia* night.

In XXIV. 31, the 'twelve days' are reckoned *ἐκ τοῖο*, and the poet leaves us to make our own calculations as to this *ἐκ τοῖο* starting-point. Is it accident, or design, that when in I. 493 the other period of 'twelve days,' for the Gods' absence among the Ethiopians, is reckoned likewise *ἐκ τοῖο*, there is a similar overlap of reckonings? On the 'tenth day,' namely, the morrow of the 'nine days' of Apollo's vengeance (I. 53), comes Thetis to Achilles (359) and says (424) that Zeus departed 'yesterday,' *χθιζὸς ἔβη*, and *all* the gods with him, and will not return till the twelfth day, *either* from 'yesterday,' the ninth day of pestilence, *or* from this tenth day on which Thetis is speaking. This accounts for the cessation of Apollo's vengeance, if he too left for the Ethiopian feast after his ninth day's shooting; though it does *not* quite account for his being within prayer-shot of Chrysa (457, 474) or his sending a favourable wind between Chrysa and the Plain of Troy (479). Now the 'tenth day' of I. 54-475 is followed by an eleventh for the return journey from Chrysa, I. 477-487, and at first sight it is only on the 'twelfth day,' *ἐκ τοῖο*—from the return from Chrysa—that Zeus and the Gods returned to Olympus, *Θέτις δ' οὐ λήθεται ἑφετμέων | παίδος εὐού*. But the words of Thetis show clearly that the 'tenth' and 'eleventh' days are included in the 'twelve,' and *ἐκ τοῖο* refers, therefore, as in XXIV. 31, to the first day on which the whole episode began; in I. the visit to the Ethiopians, in XXIV. the daily dragging of Hector's body.

I was therefore mistaken in reckoning a single-day interval between the 'nine days' of Apollo's vengeance and the 'twelve days' of the Gods' visit to the Ethiopians.

This correction in turn bears on Miss Stawell's observation that there is no single-day interval between the 'twelfth day' of XXIV. 31, and the first of the 'nine days' for which Priam asks Achilles in XXIV. 664, as I had wrongly reckoned on p. 285, though the diagram on p. 286 (fig. 8) is correct.

That 'twelfth day' is a long and busy one. At dawn (XXIV. 107) Zeus decides to put an end to the scandal about Hector's body. When Thetis arrives at Achilles' camp, his men were still preparing breakfast (124), *ἐντύνουντο ὄριστον* (ἀμ' ἡοί, cf. *Odyssey* XVI. 2). She has the whole day for her long talk with Achilles (142), before Priam was met by Hermes after dark (351, *δὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλυθε γαίαν*), when the horses had already been watered at the river (350), which also does not happen in Greece till nightfall. That the 'twelve days' are reckoned from the death of Hector is now

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE *ILLIAD*.

IX DAYS	I.	12.	[<i>One Day</i>] Chryses arrives at the Achaean Camp: repelled by Agamemnon (24).
		34.	Chryses retires and prays to Apollo.
		53.	<i>Nine Days'</i> vengeance of Apollo.
		54.	[<i>Dawn</i>] of 'tenth day': assembly: quarrel.
NIGHT {		308.	Odysseus sets sail for Chrysa.
		424.	The Gods went 'yesterday' to the Ethiopian feast.
		472.	πανημέριοι: worship and feasting at Chrysa.
		475.	<i>Sunset</i> at Chrysa.
NIGHT {		477.	<i>Dawn</i> : Odysseus returns from Chrysa.
			[<i>Twelve Days</i>] from I. 424, after the 'ninth day' of vengeance.
XII DAYS		488.	Achilles πωλέσκειτο (imperfect tense) during the remainder of the 'twelve days.'
		493.	<i>Dawn</i> of the 'twelfth day,' ἐκ τοῦτο, referring back to 425.
NIGHT {	II.	605.	<i>Sunset</i> of the 'twelfth day.'
		2.	Agamemnon's dream: παννύχιοι.
NIGHT {	VII.	48.	<i>Dawn</i> of the first of the 'three days.'
		293.	<i>Evening</i> : 313 meal: 331. νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσες proposed for the morning ἀμ' ἡρι.
NIGHT {	(i)	372.	Proposal to send herald ἠῶθεν.
		381.	<i>Dawn</i> : herald goes and returns: 421. <i>sunrise</i> of the second day.
NIGHT {	(ii)	432.	<i>Evening</i> : dispersal to tents after the burning.
		433.	<i>Dawn</i> (ἀμφιλύκη νύξ) of the third of the 'three days.'
NIGHT {	(iii)	465.	<i>Sunset</i> , after building of wall:
		476.	παννύχιοι δαίνυντο.
NIGHT {	VIII.	1.	<i>Dawn</i> of day of κόλος μάχη, followed by night of 'Embassy' and 'Doloneia.'
		485.	<i>Sunset</i> : 488. νύξ ἐρεβεννή: 554. παννύχιοι.
NIGHT {	IX.	1.	Τρῶες . . . φυλακὰς ἔχον: 9. 'Embassy' proposed.
		206.	At the tent of Achilles it is night: ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ.
NIGHT {	X.	662.	Phoenix lies down <i>till dawn</i> : 663-8: 713 other sleepers.
			παννύχιοι: the 'Doloneia' takes place at night.
NIGHT {	XI.	1.	<i>Dawn</i> of the day on which Patroclus is killed.
		241.	<i>Sunset</i> of the day on which Patroclus is killed.
NIGHT {	XVIII.	255.	Polydamas' advice, μὴ μῖναιεν ἢ ὧ διαν.
		315.	Achaean, παννύχιοι (also 354).
NIGHT {	XIX.	1.	<i>Dawn</i> of the day on which Hector is killed,
		395.	and first insulted after death, αἰκέα μήδετο ἔργα: this went on for twelve days, so Hermes says, XXIV. 413.
NIGHT {	XXIII.	55.	[<i>Sunset</i>]: evening meal: 58. κακείοντες ἔξαν.
		62.	Achilles sleeps: 65. the ghost of Patroclus.
NIGHT {	(iii)	109.	<i>Dawn</i> of the building of the pyre for Patroclus.
		154.	Afternoon: the Achaeans disperse.
NIGHT {	(iv)	192.	[<i>Evening</i>]: winds summoned to <i>hasten</i> the burning.
		217.	παννύχιοι: 218. πάννυχος.
NIGHT {	XXIV.	226.	<i>Dawn</i> : ἑωσφόρος: 227. ἡώς: the fire dies out.
		232.	Achilles sleeps, but is roused 234.
NIGHT {	(iv)	250.	Day of mound-building and funeral-games.
		1-3.	[<i>Evening</i>]: λῦτο δ' ἄγων . . . τοὶ μὲν δόρποιο μέδοντο, ὕπνου τε.
NIGHT {	XXIV.	12.	<i>Dawn</i> : Achilles still drags Hector's body <i>daily</i> : 13. λήθεσκε. 16. ἔασκεν:
			imperfect tenses, as in I. 490-2.
XII DAYS		23.	The Gods saw, and were distressed [during eleven days].
		31.	<i>Dawn</i> of the 'twelfth day,' ἐκ τοῦτο: including days (ii), (iii), (iv).
NIGHT {		107.	The dispute of the Gods ἐννῆμαρ is reckoned from XXIV. 23, when their distress is first mentioned, but Hector's body had then already been dragged on three days reckoned from XXII. 395.
		124.	Achilles' men ἐντύνοντο ἀριστον (cf. <i>Od.</i> xvi. 2, ἀμ' ἡρι).
NIGHT {		351.	<i>Evening</i> : Priam meets Hermes, δὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἤλυθε γαῖαν.
		647.	Torch light in Achilles' camp.
NIGHT {		678.	Achilles and his men sleep, παννύχιοι.
		695.	<i>Dawn</i> of the thirteenth day from Hector's death: Priam returns to Troy (719): this is the first of the 'nine days' of mourning (664):
IX DAYS		777.	αἴψα δ' ἔπειτα, the building of the pyre begins: and lasts 'nine days' (784).
		784.	<i>Nine Days</i> end.
NIGHT {	(x)	785.	<i>Dawn</i> of the 'tenth day':
		786.	Burning of Hector, lasting (as usual) overnight.
NIGHT {	(xi)	788.	<i>Dawn</i> of the 'eleventh day': the pyre, still burning, is quenched:
		799.	Mound-building: funeral-feast (802).
NIGHT {		781.	<i>Dawn</i> of the 'twelfth day' (anticipated) when fighting will begin again.

stated explicitly by Hermes (413), who is supposed to have left camp during this 'twelfth day.' We note that there was another reason why Zeus had intervened that morning, because Hermes also knows that Achilles' period of mourning is over and that ἡῶθεν, *i.e.* on the thirteenth day, fighting will begin again. This is what made necessary some fresh provision for an armistice for the burial of Hector.

The 'twelfth' night is also a busy one. When Priam arrives at Achilles' camp, dinner is over (475); Achilles proposes to show him the body ἅμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι (600); torches are brought later (647), and Achilles and his men sleep παννύχιοι (678). But Priam, aroused by Hermes, reaches Troy at dawn (695) on the thirteenth day.

This thirteenth day is, however, the first of the 'nine days' for which Priam had asked (664). For if Priam had not hastened the Trojans (713), they 'would have' spent a whole day in tumultuary wailing outside the town before the formal obsequies began. But Priam knew what he had bargained with Achilles (664) and that there was no time to lose (781), πρὶν δωδεκάτῃ μὲν ἡώς, when fighting was to be resumed (667). And forthwith (718) the body was taken into the city and the formal obsequies began.

Finally, whereas I reckoned only *one* day after the 'nine days,' balancing one day before the 'nine days' in I. 53,¹ Miss Stawell observes that there are *two*; the *tenth* day is occupied by the burning of Hector (785); and on the

eleventh the burial mound is built (797-800) and the funeral feast closes that day (802-3). On the *twelfth* day, as Priam had bargained, fighting was to begin again; but our *Iliad* ends, ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζών.

There is, however, here a curious anomaly. If the fighting was not to begin till the *twelfth* day, why were scouts posted (799-800) for fear of an Achaean attack while the mound was being built? Schol Ven A. (Dindorf, 1877, IV, p. 361) merely notes that it was στρατηγικόν . . . καὶ νουνεχέας πολλῆς.¹ But why only on this *eleventh* day? or did they not trust Achaeans to count correctly?

It looks, nevertheless, as if there had been some change of plan; as if once-upon-a-time there had been only a nine-days mourning and one day, without formal truce, for the burial outside the walls; and as if Priam's bargain with its recurrence of the twofold rhythm ($9 \div 3 = 12$) had been superimposed on less symmetrical material; not, of course, necessarily by any subsequent poet, but in the course of one man's πείησις.

J. L. MYRES.

¹ The initial episode of the *Iliad* is so close-knit that it is not clear whether it requires more than one day. As we do not know how long was the journey from Chrysa to the Plain of Troy, we cannot postulate a whole day for the coming of Chryses, before that on which he met the Achaeans, and we are precluded from reckoning the duration of his return journey because he prayed to Apollo from the beach, παρὰ θίνα . . . ἀπάνευθε κιών (34, 35).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Katalog der Bibliothek des deutsch. archäolog. Instituts in Rom. By A. MAU. **Neue Bearbeitung. Vol. II. Second Edition in 2 Parts.** By F. MATZ. Pp. xxxv — 1706. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1932. 54 and 41·50 m.

I repeat the bird's-eye view of this catalogue from *JHS*. 1932, 166:—

- 1900. Vol. I out of print.
- 1902. Vol. II out of print.
- 1913-14. Vol. I new edition, in two halves. 40 m.
- 1930. Supplement to this. 30 m. (reviewed, *JHS*. 1932, 165).
- 1932. Vol. II in two parts. 54 and 45·50 m.

It is on this last item that the following remarks are offered:—

You cannot have everything. To work accurately and on a vast scale you must be content to be behind the times. The reader will find in these two magnificent volumes the literature on the remains of classical antiquity, classified firstly under material and secondly under content, *up to the year 1925* and no further. The editors add the formal limitation, 'so far as it was in our possession in April 1928.' They need hardly have troubled. No formal limitation ever excluded less.

The arrangement of this two-part re-issue of Mau's Vol. II (1902) follows its predecessor as closely as possible. But pre-history has been confined to pre-historic Greece and Italy, Egypt and the East appear only as contributory to these. Cretan and Mycenaean archaeology have been brought together under one section (pp. 17-30). *Staataltümer* have been in large measure replaced by a section entitled *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* (pp. 1540-1598), and Numismatics are to have a supplementary volume to themselves.

The first volume, of 950 pp., deals with antiquities classified by their material. The preliminary general section, occupying the first fifty pages of the book, shows clearly how intensive has been the study of the earliest and latest phases of antiquity in comparison with the 'Classical Age.'

The section on *Architecture* which follows includes a thirty-pages list of books on alpha-

betised classes of monuments as amphitheatres, aqueducts, basilicas, etc.

Under *Sculpture* the more important sections are 39 pp. devoted to alphabetised sculptors and 74 pp. to alphabetised sculptures. Immense and, I think, successful pains have been given to this difficult chapter, in which of course the alphabetising of the unnamed is the crux. *Apolines, Athleten, Epheboi, Frauenstatuen, Kinder, Köpfe* may sound too comprehensive headings, but the copious flow of cross-references to these brings the explorer to port. It is only on this point of the cross-reference that the non-German searcher is at some disadvantage in using this catalogue. But the German authors have at least given us a liberal choice of likely headings.

Reliefs have a section to themselves. The work of sub-division here seems very well done. Books on Greek and Roman gravestones occupy ten pages each.

Bronzes are treated separately. In this catalogue, which repeats the bronzes (a) under sculptors, (b) under museums, and (c) under their mythological content, no one can complain of the divorce of bronze from marble.

But this brings to mind a point of view perhaps worth placing on record. It concerns the way in which expert museum knowledge is presented to the general public. Our experts on sculpture are, naturally, museum officials. It comes their way to know by practical experience where the monuments are and what they are made of, aspects which change seldom or are unchangeable. But their labours are used by a very large class of readers whose interest is more in the subject and the treatment. Take the great portrait of the prize-fighter waiting his turn in the ring. To most of us this is first of all a bloodstained page of Roman life and then a superb design. That it is made of bronze comes next, while we only know where it is by 'general knowledge' or a chance visit to the Terme. A better instance might be found in the marvels of Minoan art. The first interest is their subject and design. Whether they are of stone, steatite, bronze, ivory, stucco or china comes later, if at all. The Hellenic Society owns a brilliant little photograph of a young Minoan officer at drill—a low relief from H. Triada. I wonder how many of our experts

themselves could say from the photograph what the material is. Yet he will tend to be catalogued under steatite. This is no question of popularising archaeology in the invidious sense: it is a question of presenting authoritative knowledge in the way most comprehensible to busy men working in allied fields.

The material in the sections on bronzes and terra-cottas is set out with great exactitude. The scale can be judged from the fact that the books on primitive Sardinian bronzes take a whole page, those on forged terra-cottas another.

The section on *Gems* covers 27 pp., and is a mine of learning in itself. A catalogue must keep its rules, but the 5 pp. on individual gems would be more useful in alphabetical than in chronological order.

In the section on *Painting* the 35 pp. devoted to books on wall-painting alone show the intensive study that has been given to a subject of which the interest is, after all, in the main second-hand. But to the mythologist the alphabetical list of subjects is particularly valuable.

There are 29 pp. devoted to works on *Mosaic*. Without controverting Mr. Hinks's picture of mosaic-study as the Cinderella of archaeology, it would seem that a beginning has been made.

For the 72 pp. of books on ancient *Vase-painting* the compilers are indebted to Fraulein Elizabeth Rastrow. The most important sections are 18 pp. devoted to individual black-figured vases and 49 pp. to red-figured. These are impressive figures, but it is the fact that it is no light task to find an individual vase in these sections. One has first to be sure to which of the thirty shapes enumerated the vase belongs. Then the entries under the alphabetised shapes are (for accession purposes) given in chronological sequence, an arrangement which, unhelped by dates in clarendon type, does not leap to the eye. But it is fair to say that the greater part of the vases reappear according to their subject matter in Part 2, pp. 1007-1102. It should be noted that Roman pottery is not included in this section, which is confined to vase-painting. It is treated separately under *Handwerk* on pp. 834-839.

Throughout these sections on art frequent references will be found to the individual plates of Brunn-Bruckmann, Furtwangler-Reichhold and Herrmann. This, owing to the excellence of the reproductions given in these works, is to take the reader straight to the monuments. The Hellenic Library will shortly possess separate indices to these works, but to include them in the main library catalogues, as has been done here, is at present beyond our resources.

The second half of the catalogue deals mainly

with antiquities classified according to their content. Under the heading of *Religion and Mythology* is included a noteworthy section running into nearly a hundred pages of books on alphabetised cults. Mithras alone occupies 6 pp.

Portraiture, which in this catalogue is dissociated from sculpture, covers 50 pp., of which alphabetised Greek and Roman portraits each receive 13 pp.

The massive section on *Epigraphy* is worthy of the countrymen of the progenitors of the great Corpora which are followed in the geographical arrangement. But we are given in addition useful classifications according to their content and material. Of these, Greek inscriptions take eight headings and Latin twenty-three. Christian epigraphy (Greek and Latin together) is treated separately at the end of this section.

In the section dealing with *Antiquities* in the more restricted sense, the compilers have been able, owing to the mass of material available, to use a chronological treatment, *e.g.* there are separate sections for the republican and imperial armies of Rome. It should be noted that Worship appears in this section and not under Religion and Mythology. The erudition covered by the 12 pp. of books on metrology is impressive. The heading *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* contains an alphabetised list of books on antiquities, in which a greater part of those given in the earlier edition under the heading of *Staatsaltertümer* have been included. This is a most interesting section, and should be widely read. It tends to obscure the old division between Public and Private Antiquities, long in use and never satisfactory. This section, and the catalogue, concludes with 47 pp. on Christian antiquities.

It has not been found possible to repeat the admirably printed authors' index which made Mau's earlier edition at once a subject and an authors' catalogue. This, we are glad to hear, will form a subsequent separate volume. In the meantime, Dr. Gerhard Reincke gives us a Schlagwortregister of 57 double-columned pp. These contain perhaps 6000 alphabetised references (each with a bracketed explanation of the character of the entry) to the principal subjects in the catalogue. Anyone who has followed these notes will have seen that it necessarily takes a little time to familiarise oneself with the lay-out of this great work. Dr. Reincke gives us an admirable short cut.

In the last number of the *Journal* I made out a list of the points on which I thought the typography of the catalogue was susceptible of improvement, especially for the help of non-German users. These criticisms stand, but the

scale and date of the new volumes precluded alteration.

A foreign user is diffident of apportioning praise in the case of a work of many hands. Perhaps Dr. Matz will kindly accept for himself and pass on to his fellow-workers the Societies' appreciative thanks for this catalogue. We expected a landmark in bibliography, and are not disappointed.

J. P.

Beiträge zur Morphologie Griechenlands.

By ALFRED PHILIPPSON. (*Geogr. Abhandlungen*, III. 3.) Pp. 96; map and 8 photographic plates. Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachfolger, 1930.

Forty-five years ago Dr. Philippson began those journeys in Greece which made him the acknowledged authority on the geological structure of the country. His *Peloponnes* (1892), and subsequent *Memoirs on Northern Greece and the Cyclades*, have become classical, and his brilliant survey of Mediterranean conditions of life generally (*Das Mittelmeergebiet*, 1905) has done more than any other book to give ancient history its due foundation in modern geography. Now he has found occasion to revisit Greece, and review his own work in the light of subsequent progress in tectonic studies, and especially of Déperet's *Observations sur l'histoire géologique . . . de Corinthe* (1913) and Maull's *Beitrag zur Morphologie des Peloponnes* (1921) in the same series as the present memoir.

About half of this is devoted to the Peloponnese, or rather to the special problems of certain districts therein, coastal and inland, with a summary review of its tectonic history, the sequence of upfolding, levelling by marine action, the collapse and subsidence of troughs and basins, and the deposition of more recent sediments in and over this older scenery, in intervals of quiescence. Then follow shorter sections on Attica and on the traces of former coast-lines and terraces, on the inland basins of Boeotia and Phocis, on the shaping of Parnassus, on eastern Thessaly, Olympus, and the Salonica lowland. A concluding chapter assesses the parts played respectively by crust-folding, denudation, upheaval, and collapse, in creating the peculiar land-forms and scenery of Greece. In the light of geological experience elsewhere, and especially of Penck's interpretation of subsided basins as due rather to flexure than to fracture and faulting, Dr. Philippson is inclined to attribute much less to effects of the great crust-movements of oligocene times, and much more to gentler changes of sea and land levels and subsequent oscillations and collapses within the folded-

mountain region. Even the comparatively recent fillings of subsided troughs are not necessarily deposits within them, but are sometimes demonstrably contemporary with outliers capping the ridges which bound them.

A word of admiration must be added for Mrs. Philippson's eloquent photographs of characteristic landscapes and formations.

J. L. M.

Early Civilisation in Thessaly. By H. D.

HANSEN. (*Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology*, No. 15.) Pp. xix + 203; 4 maps, 85 figures. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. 24s.

Miss Hansen in this unpretentious book endeavours to give a straightforward summary of the culture of prehistoric Thessaly together with brief accounts of the parallel archaeological evidence from Macedonia and the Danube, from Southern Greece, and from Troy. She epitomises too the opinions of other writers who have sought various points of contact. Her knowledge of the question is not derived from books alone, but she has travelled widely in Thessaly and herself collected on the mounds potsherds some of which she illustrates. Her work is planned as an introduction to the subject, for which purpose it is well suited. In particular she has simplified the classification of the pottery, and by placing in the Second Period the Third Period wares which mark the transition from the Neolithic Period to the Bronze Age has reduced the number of periods. There are a few errors which will be obvious to the expert and the serious student should still refer in all cases to the original reports of the excavations.

In a subject of this kind, especially since no prehistoric excavations of any importance have been undertaken in Thessaly itself since the publication of *Prehistoric Thessaly* in 1912 till Béquignon's recent work in the Pharsalus district, there is much material for argument, but little chance of arriving at certainty. Mr. Heurtley's excavation of the prehistoric mound on the south Bank of the Haliacmon near Serfije (*Antiquaries' Journal*, XII, pp. 227 ff.) has thrown fresh light on the northern limit of the Thessalian culture and incidentally satisfactorily defined the position of the Grey on Grey ware (r1β) which Mr. Thompson and I noted as occurring at the transition from the First to the Second Periods (*Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 22), a point apparently overlooked by the author. The other work of Mr. Heurtley and his colleagues in Macedonia, especially the recognition of the character of the Macedonian Neolithic culture, is extremely important and might have

been described in more detail, for the evidence of excavations in questions like this is of more value than the opinions of handbooks. The statement that the connexion of Dimeni ware and the pottery of the Black Earth Region is established seems premature. There is a distinct likeness between the two as far as patterns are concerned, but there are marked differences too. Further in the intervening area, in Macedonia and Thrace, there is practically no sign, except for Dikeli Tash, of the extension of the Dimeni culture northwards nor of the Black Earth culture southwards. Again, in Corinthia and in Argolis pottery of the Second Period and of a Dimeni type has been found. It is better for the present to consider the identity of the Dimeni and the Black Earth cultures as not proven. The recent discoveries of Neolithic wares in the Peloponnese make one incline to regard the whole of Greece, Thessaly included, as one Neolithic province with a great number of local variations. This Neolithic culture has, of course, nothing to do with that of the islands and Crete. The dating of the Second Period cannot yet be fixed, but the evidence of Lianokladi where some Second Period ware was found in the first stratum suggests that the Second Period began about the same time as the Early Helladic Period in the south. Further excavation at Lianokladi and at Hagia Marina should throw more light on such chronological problems. The Third Thessalian Period, which to some extent overlaps the Second, introduces other complications and questions of Danubian and Anatolian connexions and influences arise. Here again no definite conclusion can be reached because the material is still too scanty. It is always a fascinating task to attempt to trace things to one central source, but experience shows that multiple independent sources are more likely and that therefore the pursuit of likenesses should be cautiously followed. The reconstruction of prehistoric migration or trade from ceramic resemblances is at times apt to be carried too far. Sicily should certainly now not be regarded as connected with Thessaly, but the case of Apulia still remains open.

Miss Hansen rightly adopts Professor Blegen's suggestion that the Thessalian Bronze Age should be considered as parallel to that of the south and divided according to the corresponding Helladic periods. The Urfinis ware from Lianokladi and Tsani Magula, the cist tombs and Minyan and matt-painted ware from Dimeni and Sesklo all support this. The black on red matt-painted ware of Lianokladi III, which is contemporary with Minyan, should probably be considered as the local variety of matt-painted ware.

The origin of the Neolithic culture of Thessalian I is still obscure and the suggestions given on p. 148 f. are not convincing. At all events makers of the early wares of the First Neolithic Period were in a comparatively high state of culture and so far no gradual development from earlier times up to this standard has been discovered in Thessaly itself. Further scientific excavation is undoubtedly needed and one could indicate half a dozen sites in different districts which might well give valuable information.

In her account of the roads into Thessaly Miss Hansen overlooks the direct road from Grevena via Velemisti to Kalabaka and the route through Othrys by way of Narthakion. It is unfortunate for her that several important publications should have appeared too late for her use in the present book, such as Mr. Heurtley's reports of his latest excavations in Macedonia, the paper by him and Mr. Skeat on the Marmariæ pottery, Dr. Hubert Schmidt's book on Cucuteni, and Professor Vassits' recent work on Vinça.

A. J. B. W.

A Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos. By J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, with a foreword by SIR ARTHUR EVANS. Pp. 63: 15 plates, 9 plans. London: Macmillan & Co., 1933. 4s.

Such a handbook as this was badly wanted, and Mr. Pendlebury's work could hardly be bettered. Into his preface he has worked a sketch of the excavations and restorations, a table of Minoan chronology, and some hints on bibliography. Then comes a brief account of the history of the buildings and rebuildings of the Palace, after which the tour round the Palace begins. At the end we are taken rapidly round the other Knossian sites—the Little Palace, the Villa, the houses at the South-East, the South House, Viaduct and Caravanserai, the Temple Tomb, and the Royal Tomb at Isopata. Plans of several of these are included, while of the Palace itself we are given not only a large folding map, but plans of the restored first floor and of the earlier palace. There is, very properly, a portrait of Sir Arthur Evans by way of frontispiece, and other plates illustrate particular sites or restorations.

Kretische Bronzereliefs. By EMIL KUNZE. Vol. i, pp. 1-290; vol. ii, Pls. 1-56, with 7 additional pls. Stuttgart: W. H. Kohlhammer, 1931.

The Cretan bronze reliefs dealt with by Kunze have long formed an isolated and neglected group. Their place of origin and their date have always been matter for debate, and

the whole complex of problems which confront any attempt to analyse their style has never previously been faced. Kunze has made a clean sweep of all problems of this kind, and from being one of the most obscure and difficult of all groups of works of the early archaic period, they are now both easily accessible, and in most respects intelligible to anyone who will apply himself to Kunze's monograph.

It need hardly be said that the principal reason for the obscurity in which the Cretan Bronzes have lain so long is that a satisfactory study of them implies not simply a minute knowledge of early Greek art, but also a mastery of the relevant departments of Oriental and Eastern archaeology. Kunze's ability to cover the whole of this ground is demonstrated throughout his book, and the result is a contribution of first-rate importance to our knowledge, not only of early Cretan art, but of the late geometric and early orientalising styles in Greece. The book has other excellent qualities: it is unusually clear, both in thought and expression, and it is pleasantly free from the tendency to exaggeration which uncertainty and over-confidence in the presentation of theories are alike apt to produce. The photographs, almost all of which are the author's, are quite astonishingly good, and it should be added that in addition to his written study of the bronzes, Kunze has greatly increased the material by making up whole groups of fragments which had never previously been joined together.

The arguments for the Cretan origin of the bronzes are unanswerable, and though in some cases the style, *regarded as a whole*, has little of what is normally called archaic Greek character, the unrelenting analysis to which Kunze has subjected them leaves no room for further argument on the subject. The result of this analysis is an accumulation of specifically Greek and non-oriental detail which excludes any alternative theory; moreover, apart from details of subject matter and rendering, there emerge, in the composition also, certain Greek features—and this, surprisingly, even in cases like the Hunting Shield where at first sight we seem to be confronted with the most unpromising material. In speaking of this aspect of the style (which, to the less accustomed eye, seems to present the strongest obstacle to the connection of the Cretan Bronzes with archaic Greek work) Kunze even says (p. 86) that, among others, the shield from Palaikastro, the Tympanon, and the Hunting Shield show a sure sense for decorative composition which places them on a level with the best decorative metal work of the period—with works such as the

Olympia corselets (cf. pp. 87, 108). This, I must confess, I cannot follow—but fortunately a difference of opinion in a matter of this kind does not affect one's view of the arguments of the book, or of the soundness of the judgment which it displays.

As to the chronology, Kunze holds that many of the Cretan Bronzes were made at a time when the geometric style was still unchallenged in the greater part of Greece. Though at first difficult to accept, this view is probably fully justified, though I doubt whether we can maintain that any of them are as early as the ninth century. Kunze uses two principal arguments for establishing this chronology: first, comparison with a series of gold reliefs, some of which have been found in graves with Attic vases of pure geometric style—and secondly the evidence of tomb-groups at Arkades, in Crete. He obviously has an exceptional understanding of geometric art, and I should be the last to assert that his attribution of the Attic vases in question to the ninth century is impossible. On the other hand, I think it is possible to maintain that this date may be too early (and I should add that Kunze wisely does not insist on the exactitude of the absolute chronology of this early period): and this seems to me to be indicated by the evidence for the date of later examples of the group. For the Rhodian vases which were found with these are surely not, as is stated, early examples of the Rhodian series; they belong to the later phase of the pre-incision style—to the period of the Lévy-vase in the Louvre, for example, which can hardly be earlier than the middle of the seventh century. If the lower date is brought down so far into the seventh century, the upper can scarcely be over a hundred and fifty years earlier. Now we have specific evidence that in Crete 'early' orientalising styles did persist, as they seem not to have persisted elsewhere, far into the seventh century; this is clear from the pithos-burials at Arkades, where very primitive Cretan vases are found with Corinthian (for example, *Annuario*, X-XII, p. 151, Figs. 152-4; p. 104, Figs. 78, 80), and equally from a chamber-tomb at Knossos which contained late Protocorinthian, and Cretan vases of various dates, but none of a style which would otherwise have been attributed to the middle of the seventh century. It is possible therefore that an independent fabric, like that of the Cretan Bronzes, also continued to a relatively late date in that century.

The bronzes dealt with in this book are subjected, as I have said, to an exhaustive and convincing analysis. It is impossible in the course of a brief review to give an idea of the

thoroughness with which this formidable undertaking has been carried out, and it would be absurd to pretend that even after a careful study I could do it full justice. From a general point of view the most remarkable chapter is the last, in which the earliest evidences of oriental influence on geometric Greece are admirably summarised; an authoritative statement on this subject has long been overdue. The last sections deal with two groups of works which are of particular importance on this connexion—the bronze sirens (some oriental, some Greek) which were attached to large dinoi, and the very early gold reliefs, already mentioned, some of which have been found in geometric graves.

It seems ungrateful, when one has learnt so much from a book, to draw attention to points of detail in which there seems to be room for a difference of opinion. But in a book in which the treatment of detail plays so important a part it is perhaps not out of place to do so. I append therefore a few comments of this nature, none of which, as will be seen, is of any real significance.

On p. 62 it is said that there is no certain example in Greece of the plastic decoration of a shield outside Crete. True, but it would have been worth while to mention that shields of this type are very common on black-figured vases, and are not infrequent on red-figured also, and must therefore have been made at a fairly late date.

P. 157, note 22. The stylisation of the shoulder on the Protocorinthian aryballos in the Louvre is not modern. For this, compare further the lion on the New York Nessos amphora. Complete encircling of the shoulder is further very common at Corinth from the early Corinthian period onwards, a fact which supports Kunze's theory that this detail is oriental in origin.

P. 169. Grazing griffons or griffon birds: add an aryballos from Messina (*Vds.* 1929, 43) and a sherd recently found at Perachora.

Pp. 173-4. The bronze reliefs in Berlin are surely not Greek, but Etruscan, both in style, and in spirit, and are further not earlier than the second quarter of the sixth century.

P. 258. The comments on the ivory priestess from Ephesus raise the whole question of the chronology of early Ionian art. Kunze says that the priestess cannot be later than 550, implying that this is the lowest possible limit. Though 700 is no doubt too early a date, I do not know what is to become of Ionian works such as the Berlin head of a woman with a scarf over her hair, if the ivory is as late as 550. And surely it is strange to object to a date

in the second half of the seventh century on the ground that the ivory is 'pure Ionian Greek': it seems to me still to have a certain trace of oriental character (as has some later Ionian sculpture, like the so-called 'Sleeping Head', though obviously much less than several of the earliest Ephesus ivories; and conversely cannot a figure so 'purely Greek' as this have been made in Ionia in the seventh century? Is not the sphinx from Ephesus, despite the oriental hair, equally purely Greek in style?

P. 262, note 58. Export of Cycladic geometric pottery: there are other Thera, and some Siphnian, geometric or probably geometric sherds from the Acropolis (unpublished), and Thera and other Cycladic from Perachora.

Finally, add to the index an important reference to the Nessos amphora in New York (p. 254, note 23).

H. G. G. P.

Corinth, I: Introduction, Topography, Architecture. By H. N. FOWLER and R. STILLWELL. Pp. xvii + 239: frontispiece and 154 illustrations; separate portfolio of 21 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932.

A warm welcome is assured for this volume, which sums up in concise and convenient form the historical and architectural discoveries made during twenty years of excavation between 1896 and 1916 (the recent excavations are being published in separate volumes of the series). Although reports appeared at the time in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, it was not easy from these to grasp the full extent of work accomplished, but this book sets the whole story before us briefly and clearly. Each of the authors contributes about one-half to the volume. Professor Fowler begins with the history of the excavation, follows it up with a brief summary of the history of Corinth, and then plunges into a detailed geographical survey of Corinth and the Corinthia, incorporating at length the accounts of Strabo and of Pausanias. Here Dr. Blegen adds a list of prehistoric sites, reprinted from his paper in *AJ.A.*: and Prof. C. A. Robinson contributes an account of the Perachora area, written before the English excavations, to which, however, references are added in a footnote. The remainder of the book is the work of Professor Stillwell and is devoted to the architectural remains.

The first place is very properly taken by the archaic Doric temple, the only monument visible when the digging began. Then follow accounts of the Lechaem Road, which ap-

parently provides an antique example of false perspective, the width diminishing as it nears the Propylaea; its market, colonnades, and vaulted shops, the Propylaea, the Basilica and behind it a stoa with shops; this seems to have been a fish-market, as the shops are fitted with tanks. This building is Greek, the others all belong to the Roman period and yielded little of Hellenic date: Professor Stillwell ruefully comments on the disconcerting ease with which the Corinthian stone lent itself to reworking. For this reason also their complicated history throughout Imperial times was hard to disentangle; in the Propylaea no less than five building periods are recognised. It is no small feat to have set out in little more than a hundred pages the story of these fragmentary and superimposed structures with such completeness of detail and such lucidity of expression. The portfolio of plates is of convenient form; particularly useful are the comparative plans of the excavation field at different stages of the work.

Kos: Vol. I. Asklepieion. By PAUL SCHAZMANN, with introduction by RUDOLF HERZOG. Pp. 78; 40 figs, 57 plates, 1 map. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1932. 62 m.

Παναγία Τάρσου is really Παναγία τοῦ Ἄλσους, and the Ἄλσος was the grove of cypresses which later developed into the Asklepieion. This identification of Herzog supported the view which he shared with Paton that the famous sanctuary was to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the monastery of the Παναγία and not, as had been conjectured by less adventurous minds, close to the town of Kos. The excavations, inaugurated and conducted by Herzog in the face of innumerable difficulties between the years 1897 and 1907, proved the choice of a site to be a correct one. Beneath sloping ground lay a series of terraces, with the foundations of buildings devoted to cult and cure, erected between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D. Various obstacles delayed the final publication, and when it became once more possible after the war, fresh excavations by Schazmann combined with final revision of the previous results by Herzog were found to be a necessary prelude to this book. The task of writing has, therefore, been divided, Herzog being responsible for the history of the site and its literary references, Schazmann for the description of architectural details. This division has one drawback: that the reader tends to conceive the buildings apart from their functions. In other ways it is satisfactory. Her-

zog's useful study contains, besides classical references, some early travellers' tales worth preserving. Schazmann meanwhile deals thoroughly and efficiently with the mass of architectural detail. Much to be commended is the arrangement in paragraphs which makes the confusing material accessible for study or reference: still more commendable are the chronological tables and summary of dating evidence in Chap. XIX, where literary, epigraphic and architectural evidence contribute to set in order a series of buildings, some interesting, some featureless. The Byzantine church, on the other hand, remains undated, though our rapid progress in this branch of study may soon enable experts to place the remains of its decoration in their proper context.

Drawings, plans and reconstructions are carried out with great accuracy and completeness. They are, however, unnecessarily complicated: irrelevant formulae, like the hatching used to indicate the earth, distract attention from what is important: the tone is often too dark; the reduction sometimes too great. Moreover, it is difficult, owing to insufficient lettering, to refer from text to general plans and vice versa. The photographs, on the other hand, are perfect.

Two more volumes are promised, which will deal with finds, the minor excavations on the island, and the monuments left by the Knights of St John.

W. L.

Municipalité d'Alexandrie : le musée gréco-romain, 1925-1931. By E. BRECCIA. Pp. 102; 63 plates, 17 figures. Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1932.

After a prolonged interval the issue of the valuable reports of the Museum of Alexandria has been resumed and the accumulated results of the intervening years provide material for a handsome and valuable volume which includes not only many important accessions to the Museum, but a long list of excavation reports in and around the city. The most thrilling chapter is the story of the attempt to find the tomb of Alexander the Great under the Mosque of Nebi Daniel; as is known, the excavation proved a failure, but Dr. Breccia remains firm in his belief that the Tomb was situated in this area. Amongst other discoveries we note a tomb in the Western Necropolis which contained a sarcophagus in the form of a bed, set in a niche bordered by sculptured columns and richly decorated with paintings (Pl. XXV). Additions to the Museum include a number

of fine mosaics, which will be the subject of a separate publication; one signed by Sophilus represents a city (?Alexandria) wearing a helmet in the form of a warship. There are also good sculptures, notably a bronze head of Hadrian, and interesting vases. Altogether a worthy record of Dr. Breccia's efforts to recover and to preserve what remains of ancient Alexandria.

Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon, 1928-1932: das Asklepieion.

By THEODOR WIEGAND. (*Abh. Berl.* 1932, no. 5.) Pp. 95; 1 plan, 10 plates, 18 illustrations in the text. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1932. 21.50 m.

This excavation report deals with the sanctuary of Asklepios at Pergamon, founded in the fourth century before Christ, destroyed by Prusias II of Bithynia in 156 B.C., rebuilt and destined to become in the second century of our era one of the famous shrines of the ancient world. To this period of prosperity belong the buildings now described, though traces of older structures were encountered. The sanctuary consists of a large courtyard containing the holy well, surrounded by colonnades and approached through a forecourt and a monumental gateway. Attached were a small but richly adorned theatre and a hall devoted to the cult of the Emperor Hadrian; more unusual is the Temple of Asklepios, a circular domed building with a portico, which instantly recalls the Pantheon of Rome; this seems to be the earliest instance of the circular domed type so far encountered in Asia Minor. All these buildings were erected shortly before the visit of Aelius Aristides in 146 A.D.; somewhat later is a second circular building, in two stories with a tiled roof, which probably served as a hospital. The numerous inscriptions found are remarkable in being all of honorary character with no reference to the cult; wondercures recorded by grateful patients are conspicuously absent. First among them ranks the astonishing *cursus honorum* of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, who is identified with the previously-known C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, one of the earliest Asiatics to become consul at Rome; it is now further shown that he was commander in the Second Dacian War and governor of Dacia until his death in the reign of Hadrian, who ordered his body to be returned to Pergamon. The whole of the second half of the *Report* is devoted to the discussion, by Prof. W. Weber, of this most important document; it is strange that a man so outstanding throughout Trajan's reign should have entirely disappeared from written history.

Caravan Cities. By M. ROSTOVITZ. Translated by D. and T. TALBOT RICE. Pp. xiv + 232; 25 plates, 5 maps and plans. Oxford: Clarendon Press, and London: H. Milford, 1932. 15s.

The title of Professor Rostovtzeff's latest book fails to explain itself readily to the uninitiated. Professor Rostovtzeff has with it coined a new term to describe a particular type of ancient community called into existence by the life of the immemorial desert trade-routes on the frontier between the Greco-Roman and the Oriental worlds. On this loose thread the book is constructed. Introduced via an able and stimulating sketch of the historical significance of those routes, which linked India with the West, we make the acquaintance in turn of Petra, Jerash, Palmyra and Dura, in lucid and readable chapters which summarise provisionally what latter-day research has made of them. This at first sight arbitrary selection represents those which offer most remains for study; Seleucia, *e.g.*, has only begun to be excavated, ancient Damascus and Aleppo have scarcely been mapped. An additional justification lies in that the author describes all from autopsy, indeed speaks of Dura with especial competence as its excavator. These essays were based on light travel-sketches published elsewhere; the occasional conversational manner resulting from that fact leads at times to levels of the poorest taste when a Mesopotamian cella is said to have been surrounded 'to its great surprise' with a Greek colonnade; or when Zenobia is labelled with the caption of the 'caravan queen.' Further, when we are told on p. 77 of the caravanserais at the gates of Jerash, that 'it was only after assuming clean, elegant and civilised attire that the visitor made his way into the clean and elegant city,' we excuse the author's *ipse dixit* in allowance for his warm imagination. But the statement on p. 64, how 'Rome permitted these barbarians [the Jews] to destroy everybody and everything Hellenistic with the greatest steadfastness and cruelty,' is a caricature of the facts.

Nevertheless, the book is stimulating and valuable to the scholar, the general reader and the traveller in the East. Passing over much, with the American discovery at Dura of a frescoed church datable to before 250 A.D. we rise to a subject of the most unbounded interest and importance. The queer blends of various pagan cults receive merited attention; of the names of two of the queerest, Aphlad and Azzanathkona from Dura, we await explanations from the Orientalists. Professor Rostovtzeff's view that the Khasne at Petra is

a Temple of the Tyche of the city deserves notice.

There are a few misprints; the map of Palmyra is unsatisfactory, that of Dura lacks a compass mark. The translation is adequate, the photographs well-chosen and good, and the admirably arranged bibliography most useful.

R. D. B.

Das Theater in Megalopolis. By E. FIECHTER (*Forschungsinstitut für klassische Philologie und Archäologie in Leipzig: Antike griechische Theaterbauten*, Heft 4). Pp. 30; 6 plates and 23 illustrations. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931. 6 m.

This excellent and well-illustrated study is based on two short visits by Fiechter and Finck, in 1925 and 1929, for the purpose of checking earlier publications and adding detail about important features. Digging was confined to a little clearance and exposure of doubtful elements. Fiechter pays a warm tribute to Schultz and to the Hellenic Society's publication of 1892, but accepts some important corrections made by Bulle in his *Untersuchungen on Griechischen Theatern*, 1928, especially with regard to the skanotheka. Fiechter did not examine any part of the Thersilion except the south porch and the wall behind it, on which he throws new light. An interesting and convincing section establishes certain geometric figures used in laying out the theatre in relation to the earlier Thersilion, especially the square inscribed in the semicircle.

Fiechter's final conclusions may be thus summarised. (1) The Thersilion was built c. 360-350, probably without a porch, the porch being added a few years later, and the south wall modified. (2) The theatre was laid out c. 350-330, with orchestra, but without proskenion or stage buildings, being designed only for dancing and choral performances. (3) Between c. 330 and the destruction of 222, and probably in the first half of the third century, the skanotheka was built in the west parodos, in order to accommodate a solid wooden stage-building on wheels, which could be quickly hauled out and replaced. Fiechter holds that the older line of stone blocks, with holes for wooden posts, which lies under the later line that carried the stone proskenion, supported a low wooden screen to hide the unsightly lower part of this movable stage-building while it was in use. (4) The destruction of 222 ruined the skanotheka, and the permanent stone proskenion was built several years later, perhaps in the middle of the second century: the stage buildings probably stood on the

substructure of the ruined Thersilion porch. (5) A Roman stage was introduced at a later period impossible to define.

These results agree with Bulle's, except for the following points. In Bulle's view (*op. cit.*, pp. 97 to 108) the older blocks under the proskenion are later than the destruction of 222, and were probably laid shortly after 200, to carry a low wooden stage of the phlyax type: and the stone proskenion cannot be earlier than the second half of the second century, and may be as late as Domitian. Bulle also holds that the Thersilion porch was rebuilt after 222, though it was down again before the stone proskenion was constructed.

D. S. R.

Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis. By HANS HORMANN. (*Denkmäler Antiker Architektur*, Band I.) Pp. 124; frontispiece, 60 figs., 52 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1932. 77.85 m.

This admirable monograph is the first of a series of studies of particular monuments undertaken by the German Archaeological Institute. Fresh accounts of the Theseum and of the temples of Angora and Aizanoi are promised, and also the first real publication of the Gorgon temple of Corfu.

The Inner Propylaea of Eleusis have a peculiar interest for Englishmen, since they once embodied the famous 'Ceres' of the Fitzwilliam Museum, which Clarke tore from a lamenting populace, to be honoured by Porson with both a Greek and a Latin inscription. They are also very important as one of the most perfect dateable monuments of the last days of the Republic. They were begun in the year before Pharsalus by Appius Claudius Pulcher.

It is impossible to attempt here to describe Hormann's minutely detailed investigations, but his main conclusions may be roughly indicated. He differs from Libertini (*Ann. R. Scuol. At.* ii, 1916, 201 ff.) in many points, and above all in this, that he distinguishes from the original design two drastic remodellings, which chiefly affected the inner side, where the Caryatids stood. These statues were at first close to the cross-wall, on each side of the single door, but about the time of Antoninus Pius, shortly before the large Outer Propylaea were built, they were moved forward. They now carried a flat roof, and were flanked by ceremonial tanks. This second stage has a general resemblance to Libertini's restoration. Finally, perhaps in the third century, the tanks were removed, and two side-doors were roughly knocked through the cross-wall. The outer side,

with its projecting Corinthian-Doric porch, suffered much less change.

The book contains many valuable general discussions, and forms a welcome and important contribution to our knowledge of this type of building.

D. S. R.

Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5 und 4 Jahrhunderts v. Chr. By HANS DIEPOLDER. Pp. 64; 54 plates and 12 figs. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1931. 50 m.

The limits of Dr. Diepolder's admirable book are prescribed, on the one hand by the revival of figured gravestones after the repeal of a decree (perhaps a decree of Cleisthenes), which seems to have prohibited them for a while; on the other by the decree of Demetrius in 317, which prohibited them for good. The stele of Aristion, for example, belongs to the time before the first decree, and there is nothing for fifty years after that.

The revival seems, on grounds of style, to have begun in the 'forties: it takes its cue from the flourishing island school of the time, several of whose works have survived—the form usually a single figure of the dead in a tall narrow panel. But the Attic sculptors soon developed this into a two-figure relief, the dead grasping the hand of a relative, a motive destined to be dominant for more than a hundred years. There is a prototype, the lovely archaic fragment at Aegina; but for Diepolder this is hero-worship still, on the Laconian model, even if softened by the hand-clasp. The hand-clasp, in its later appearances at least, is surely to be interpreted as a gesture of farewell; and many of the actions on grave-reliefs, Athenian and otherwise, have, as Forsdyke remarks, a like meaning: the girl from Paros in New York says good-bye to her pigeons; Hegeso puts away her jewels, they are of no use to her now.

The revival of grave-reliefs in Athens must almost have coincided with the artistic expansion under Pericles, and in the British Museum relief of Xanthippos holding a foot we already see the age of the Parthenon and the manner of the frieze; in the exquisite girl holding a lekythos, in New York—rare example of the dead with an object of funerary cult, rare in its plasticity and warmth—the spirit of some of the figures in the east pediment. With Hegeso we have reached the time of the Nike Balustrade.

It seems a mistake to divide the book neatly at the end of the fifth century, as if fashions changed with the imaginary first of January in the imaginary year three hundred and ninety-nine; but it is a mistake shared by hundreds of

archaeologists and historians, and now, alas, inveterate: and it is here rendered less vicious than usual because of the careful documentation by treaty-headings and other dated monuments which ought to blur this unreal method of reckoning. How much of the Pheidonian age is there not in the magnificent relief of Sostrate: how much that is timeless? Its archaeological date, if we must date it, cannot be far off 375. The reliefs of this time, many of them now showing three people before a deep porch, have still that unity, both plastic and spiritual, which results from the organic growth of a single idea. But the tendency in the last three decades of their existence is for this unity to be loosened: the groups come to be made up of separate concepts assembled for their value as masses in the composition. The figures are not only more strongly individualised but more emotional, as in the relief from the Ilissus, where the sentiment is restrained, or in the Aristonantes, where it is rampant; and this growth of emotional expression is one of the factors in the break-up of the classical relief style. The decree of Demetrius did not in reality put an end to the Greek grave-relief altogether as it did to the Attic; some later ones have character; but the statement may be forgiven in a peroration.

The excellent illustrations, which contain many familiar and necessary pieces, contain also many that are not so familiar but equally good, and by their careful choice not only consolidate the scientific results, but also make the book very attractive, and convenient for study.

B. A.

Brunn-Bruckmann's Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur: Text und Register zu den Tafeln 501–750. München: Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1902–1932.

A review of a book which contains 250 detached essays by various hands and which has taken thirty years to complete is out of the question. But it would be a great pity not to bring to the Society's notice the fact that this milestone in Messrs. Bruckmann's great undertaking has now been passed. For this text to the last 250 plates, now that it is bound up, is the largest and most sumptuous work on ancient sculpture of the century. Many of the articles are unsigned: many bear the names and initials of those to whom we are accustomed to look for patient research and clear statement; all repay reading. The text illustrations, especially in the more recent numbers, are of the utmost clarity and beauty. As they frequently give details of the main plates on a larger scale,

or complete pictures of the main subject taken from different points of view, their value to the student is very great. The following figures give some idea of the scale of the work. No. 601, the 'Perseus' head in the British Museum, has 24 pp. text and 23 illustrations; No. 631/2, the Terme copy of the discobolos (one of several articles on the Myronian figure), 11 pp. with 15 figs.; No. 649, the young wounded warrior of the Ny Carlsberg Museum, 19 pp. with 13 figs.; and No. 731, the Dresden Silenus group, 9 pp. and 10 figs.

The work as now bound up is not very easy to consult, as the triple index provided [(a) numerical sequence of plates as issued, (b) museum index, (c) chronological and stylistic arrangement] is divided into five portions, one for every 50 plates. But, with the help of the general alphabetical index of the whole series of 750 plates, which has been recently made on cards for the Hellenic Library, any one of the articles in the book becomes immediately accessible. Probably all owners of the *Denkmäler* have provided themselves with something of the kind.

As to the selection of subjects, no criticism is valid, as no one knows what the ultimate scope of the collection will be. But the impression does arise in working through the plates that only a very large collection would justify the inclusion of some of the objects figured. But this is all to the good if it means that the series, as we all hope, will be continued indefinitely.

The great plates are doubtless worth a commentary of dignified proportions, but the format chosen does seem unduly large. We are confronted with a book of reference measuring 17½ by 10¾ inches and containing perhaps 300 pp. (there is no serial numbering). This makes a heavy work to handle, and makes one think that the margins (top, side and bottom, 3½, 2¾, and 4½ inches respectively) are excessive. But if a librarian is privileged to grumble over the make-up of the book, lovers of sculpture will have nothing but praise for its contents. J. P.

Greek Sculpture and Painting. By J. D. BEAZLEY and B. ASHMOLE. Pp. xviii + 107; 248 illustrations. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 10s. 6d.

This book is a reprint of articles which appeared in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. As these articles have since their appearance been regarded in this country as the ultimate authority on Greek sculpture and painting to the end of the Hellenistic period, so far as this was possible for works of such small compass, there is no need to criticise the text in detail. Yet I find it increasingly hard to believe that there is any connexion

between the dedication of Cheramyes and the Naxian sphinx, when I am confronted with a new plate of her side by side with a Samian terracotta and a marble head from Ephesus. There are a number of excellent new pictures, including two plates of coins and a plate of gems. The new (and doubtful) Attic kouros in New York is set beside the kouros from Sunium. I have counted twenty-four new pictures in Professor Beazley's section and none in Professor Ashmole's: this is a pity; it is not pleasant to meet again the blurred outlines and black backgrounds of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. The bibliography has been remodelled and brought up to date. Lovers of ancient art will be grateful for an attractive and brilliant book. T. B. L. W.

Pontische Vasen. By PERICLE DUCATI. Pp. 25; 27 plates. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1932. 25 m.

This is the latest publication in the Beazley-Jacobsthal series, *Bilder griechischer Vasen*. The pictures are clear and beautifully produced. The author describes these rather unpleasing vases sympathetically, and divides them into six groups, the first nearest to Ionian and the sixth nearest to Etruscan art. The groups are loosely connected together; there is no question of all the vases of one group being by the same hand, nor can I find any chronological sequence. Group 2 is said to have a descendant group 3, and groups 4 and 5 a descendant group 6. But whereas no. 3 of group 2 has a highly developed system of folds, no. 7 of group 3 has no folds at all, nor has no. 5 of group 6. The whole question of dating is very difficult; but there is no reason to suppose that in the rendering of drapery these painters were ahead of their contemporaries in Athens, any more than the painter of the Caeretan hydriae was. Therefore, although the earliest Pontic vases may go back to 550 B.C., the latest, e.g. no. 4 of group 6, may well be later than 500 B.C., but this would have to be worked out carefully in comparison with the Caeretan hydriae and the Andocides painter. P. 18, there is no useful comparison between the decorative griffin of the Pontic vase and the pursuant griffin of the Caeretan hydria; p. 22, 96(e) 'Früher Sammlung Hauser' is now Leipzig T.329; this list could be lengthened. T. B. L. W.

Greek Coins: a history of metallic currency and coinage down to the fall of the Hellenistic kingdoms. By CHARLES SELTMAN. Pp. xix + 311; 64 collotype plates, 13 maps and diagrams. London: Methuen & Co., 1933. 25s.

There was certainly room for the general introduction to Greek coins, intermediate in

size and intention between slighter works such as Milne's *Greek Coinage* and Head's encyclopaedic *Historia*, which is here provided in the sixth of Messrs. Methuen's useful series of Handbooks of Archaeology. After a chapter (which would have been the better for judicious pruning) on currency and money in prehistoric times, the author proceeds to the discussion of the principal coinages. The arrangement adopted is a combined geographical and chronological one, which has the advantage of presenting successive cross-sections of the coinage in the main areas. The treatment of the earlier periods down to Alexander the Great is rightly far more detailed than that of the Hellenistic age though these later sections might have been made as short and less sketchy: Egypt in particular is summarily dealt with, no mention being made of the effect of the shifting ratios of the precious metals on the currency nor of the deeply interesting problems involved in the bronze coinage, for which at least a reference might have been given to T. Reinach's magisterial essay (in *REG.* 1928). Metrology provides the skeleton of Greek numismatics and it is impossible to avoid touching on the relative articulation of the different issues however much, in our present uncertainties, we might wish to bolt the cupboard door. Here we may applaud the clean break which is made away from the intricacies of the Babylonian school without necessarily accepting the ingenious reconstructions offered in their place. S., elaborating theories already advanced in his *Athens, its History and Coinage*, postulates (1) a copper talent of the value of an ox as the currency unit of the Aegean basin in prehistoric times, which survived as the Euboic talent, and which, in the weight of its gold or electrum equivalents respectively, provided the standards known to us as the Euboic-Attic and the Milesian; (2) an iron bar (obelus), in the Peloponnesus (six to the handful, drachma), which, in its silver equivalent, provided the weight for the obol and drachma of the standard introduced by Pheidon at Aegina. These important theories offer simple and attractive explanations for the two principal weight standards, especially for the Aeginetic, which has always obstinately refused to fit into any general scheme. At the same time the evidence on which they rest at present is too slender to admit of certainty, and for the copper talent the wide variation in the weights of existing ingots is an added difficulty. As for other standards, e.g. those of Thraco-Macedonian districts, until accurate data of the normal weights have been obtained by means of the frequency table it would perhaps have been better to treat them

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

as he treats the Chian-Rhodian—to state the range of weights and to avoid speculation as to their origin. The account of the early electrum coinage of Asia Minor is interesting. S. further expands Babelon's view that most of the staters of Milesian weight, apart from those of the Lydian kings, came from the mint of Miletus, the varying types being the badges of successive 'magistrates'; this may well be right, for constant change of type is characteristic of later Asiatic electrum coinages—Cyzicus, Phocaea, and Mytilene.

Several notable departures from orthodoxy call for mention. Following his previous published work, S. assigns important series of archaic coins of Aeginetic standard to Megara and to pre-Solonian Athens. The coins assigned to Megara are of three quite different types—goat with dolphin, dolphin rider, and pair of dolphins. In view of its early importance Megara is very likely to have had an archaic coinage; but one on this scale is out of proportion, apart from the unlikelihood of a constant change of type. Such change is an Asiatic practice, followed it is true in pre-Pisistratid Athens, but alien to the group of mints to which these coins belong. One of them may well belong to Megara, perhaps the goat and dolphin formerly considered Parian, but not three—Thera has a good claim to the pair of dolphins on several grounds, and most of the extant coins with this type come from the Santorin Find. The stater assigned to Athens, the type of which is an amphora, is usually thought to be of Andros. The transference to Athens is based on the alleged correspondence of the amphora type and its incuse reverse with those of an undoubted Solonian didrachm. But the two amphoras differ in shape, the Solonian having a bigger belly, shorter neck with collar, and slighter lip with the handles set higher up; while the incuse presents as many points of difference as of likeness. To make the argument valid the correspondences (especially of the amphora) should be exact. It would be most interesting to find an Attic stater of Aeginetic weight struck before Solon (we know that Aeginetan staters circulated there freely), but the evidence for this one is not satisfactory. For the famous Athenian decadrachms which most numismatists regard as pieces struck in commemoration of the Persian wars, S. again advances the explanation offered in his work on Athens—that they were struck in the three or four years before 483 B.C. for convenience in distributing the proceeds of the mines of Laurium among the citizens. The point is of considerable interest, and the explanation, if correct, gives support to his view that

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other decadrachms, *e.g.* the Demareteion, the Porus decadrachm of Alexander, etc., were struck primarily for currency and not as commemorative pieces. The evidence adduced is numismatic and literary. The decadrachms are accompanied by an exceptional issue of didrachms: this denomination, otherwise unknown at Athens, is here held to have been issued in order to facilitate the distribution of sums of ten drachms—two tetradrachms and one didrachm making up the required amount. But if, exceptionally, decadrachms are issued, where tetradrachms are the normal currency, it is only natural to strike didrachms in order to facilitate exchange between single pieces of ten drachms and sums composed of multiples of four drachms. Thus Alexander's other decadrachm from the Babylonian mint, a quite exceptional piece, is accompanied by an equally exceptional didrachm with the same monograms. Here there is no question of special payments of ten drachms, nor is there more reason why there should be at Athens. The literary evidence shows that during the period in question the Athenians divided up among themselves the profits of their mines from time to time, though there is nothing to show that they did so annually like the Siphnians (not Seriphians as is stated on p. 92). Further, there is nothing to show that the dividend was regularly ten drachms; on the contrary, it is only reasonable to suppose that it fluctuated with the output of the mines, as may be inferred from the words of Herodotus describing the last distribution [the Athenians], ἐμελλον λάξεσθαι, ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμᾶς (not τὰς δέκα δρ.). But if the amount was not regularly ten drachms there is no point in a special issue of decadrachms extending over three or more years. Most numismatists will still prefer to regard the decadrachm, as well as the Demareteion and Alexander medallions, as primarily commemorative in intention.

The fourth-century coinage of Sicily has long been a problem. In the fifth century money poured from various mints and notably from Syracuse in great abundance. In the fourth century the stream dried up except for the Carthaginian camp and local coinage and the tail-end of the decadrachm issue of Syracuse. It offers a remarkable problem that we can point to practically no money, apart from the decadrachms just mentioned, as struck by Dionysius I to meet the enormous military expenditure which he must have incurred in the Carthaginian wars. It is not till the time of Agathocles that we get a plentiful silver coinage again issuing from Syracuse. To the older numismatists who placed the bulk of the decadrachms and signed

tetradrachms of the fine period in the first half of the fourth century there was no difficulty. Now that we know that these should be pushed back into the last quarter of the fifth, there is a gap covering the reign of Dionysius I which it is difficult to account for. S. would fill the gap in three ways: (1) By antedating the plentiful electrum coinage with Apolline types now given to Dionysius II or Dion: this may possibly be correct, though in style these coins have more in common with the Corinthian staters of Timoleon than with anything earlier. (2) By assigning to the Syracusan mint some of the finest uninscribed Siculo-Punic tetradrachms with horse and palm-tree types, which are explained as being struck for the benefit of renegade Carthaginian mercenaries. This, which is *a priori* very unlikely, seems definitely ruled out by the fact that one at least of the finest obverse dies is combined with a later reverse bearing the normal Punic camp legend *Am machanat*. (3) By pushing back to Dionysius I the series of chariot tetradrachms which, though they do not bear his name, are currently regarded as the first coinage of Agathocles. It is true that these coins correspond closely in their types to the latest decadrachms, and especially to the tetradrachm from the school of Evaenetos with which the earlier coinage closes; but fabric and style are very different. In this connexion the beautiful tetradrachm of Morgantina with exactly the same detailed correspondence of types should be considered. It must be placed well into the fourth century if indeed it be not the fruit of Agathocles' activity in that city at the opening of his career, but style and fabric mark it as earlier than the coins now proposed for Dionysius. Finally, precisely the same moneyer's monogram, coupled with the triskeles, which is found regularly on the reverses of these coins, occurs on one issue of the Victory coinage of Agathocles which bears his name. There cannot be a gap of half a century or anything like it between two issues thus linked, and the virtual intermission of Sicilian coinage in the first half of the fourth century must still await an explanation.

Apart from the continued attribution of early coins of Chalcis in Euboea to the Philaids of the Chersonese in spite of Gaebler's convincing demonstration to the contrary (which is dismissed in a mere footnote), these are the main deviations from accepted tradition, and attention has necessarily been concentrated on them here. For the rest, the book, which is lively and easily written, if rather too positive in statement from time to time, gives a clear account of the results of modern research. It is well calculated to

interest those who realise the possibilities of numismatics and desire to begin a serious study of the subject, and the numerous plates, which, with few exceptions, are excellent, add greatly to its value from this point of view.

Corolla archaeologica, principi hereditario regni Sueciae Gustavo Adolpho dedicata. (*Acta instituti romani regni Sueciae*, II.) Pp. 276, with portrait frontispiece, 30 plates and 43 figures in the text. Lund: C. W. K. Glérup, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1932.

This collection of essays by Swedish scholars is handsomely produced with abundant illustration and contains important material of varied interest; the German, French, Italian and English languages are used, our tongue being the medium chosen by the majority of the writers on Hellenic subjects. About half the volume deals with Roman history or monuments of Rome; these papers it is not necessary to enumerate here, with the exception perhaps of Andren's publication of terracottas from Ardea and Fagerlind's study of the Corinthian capital and of its Greek prototypes in the late Republican period.

Among the Hellenic papers we mention first Persson's republication and amended translation of the late Mycenaean inscription on a jar-rim found at Asine in 1926; using the Cypriote syllabary as a basis of decipherment, he supposes the inscription to be a metrical dedication, the earliest Greek inscription known. Another debatable ground of prehistory is covered by Valmin, who asserts the continuity of tradition from the Mycenaean *tholos*-tomb to the Homeric tumulus and to later hero-cults. The recent Swedish activity in Cyprus is naturally well represented, by three papers, of which Gjerstad's lengthy comparative study of the planning of the palace at Vouni (see *JHS.* 1929, p. 236) calls for first mention; the earlier phase of the palace is Cypriote based on Anatolian precedents, the second presents Hellenic traits. Sjoquist publishes tombs of the Iron Age; the pottery shews the familiar medley, but he attempts to differentiate successive burials on the basis of Gjerstad's recent type-series of Cypriote pottery. It is a pity that single burial-groups which would confirm this classification seem so hard to obtain in Cyprus. Sculptures from a series of temples at Soli are published by Westholm; they include several types of unfamiliar character.

Four papers deal with historic Greece; Hansell studies the history of the temple-court, Kjellberg an Aeolic capital from Larissa, the latest example of this interesting architectural form. Seitz analyses the statue of a kneeling

youth from Subiaco (now in the Terme Museum at Rome); he concludes that it is a fragment from a group of Lycaon supplicating Achilles and assigns it to the age of Hadrian. Finally, Wiken discusses the position of Kerke, mentioned as a transport-point on the mummy tickets of the Fayûm.

Mélanges Gustave Glotz. Vol. I, pp. xxvii + 459; Vol. II, pp. 480; portrait frontispiece, 21 plates and many illustrations in the text. Paris: Les presses universitaires de France, 1932.

With their eighty-one contributors and nearly a thousand pages of text, these two fine volumes contain material which will interest specialists in almost every branch of classical studies. The following list may serve to call attention to the subjects treated: space compels us reluctantly to omit many important discussions which do not come within the province of this *Journal*.

Prehistoric Archaeology. In point of date the first place is occupied by E. Pottier's discussion of the pictographic value of the designs on Susian pottery. F. Chapouthier studies three engraved gems from Mallia, of M.M. I. date; on one of them he finds a prototype for the classical Gorgoneion. From Mallia also come two clay vases published by P. Demargne: one is a rhyton in the form of a woman with hands below the breasts, closely resembling a well-known vase from Mochlos; the other is a jug on which a similar design is incised; this recalls the later type of Baubo. R. Dussaud publishes Mycenaean ivory fragments from Egypt, now in the Louvre; the chief piece is a relief showing a combat between a bull and a griffin. J. Sundwall identifies the Minoan sign for 'talent,' or some similar unit of value.

Architecture and Sculpture. R. Vallois analyses the earliest stratum of remains of the Artemision of Ephesus, finding a similar arrangement of altar and base on the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada; he further proposes to place the architect Paeonius of Ephesus in the sixth century. R. Demangel discusses the influence of vase-painting on architecture, and J. Charbonneaux the influence of masks upon sculptural types. É. Michon publishes a grave-relief in the Louvre, inscribed ΕΥΘΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ: ΦΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΕΡΧΙΕΥΣ. F. Poulsen identifies a head in Athens and a second in Copenhagen as portraits of Attalos II and Attalos III of Pergamon. A hunting scene with a representative of the Thracian Horseman, who, exceptionally, is winged, on a frieze found recently at Constantza is discussed by G. Cantacuzene. A. Salač compares the seated Boxer of the Terme with a statue at Constanti-

nople described in an epigram of Christodoros. Finally, two curious Iberian sculptures, one 'a frieze of metopes,' the other a quadruped doubtfully identified as a bear, are contributed by the late Pierre Paris.

Vases, etc. H. Jeanmaire considers that the design on a Dipylon vase at Copenhagen represents an initiatory scene. C. Dugas points out that ΑΜΑΞΙΞ on certain vases is not a true signature, but merely a fancy name for an Ethiopian. A bf. vase in the Louvre with Perseus fleeing from the Gorgons, Pegasus and Chrysaor, is described by A. Merlin.

Inscriptions. F. E. Adcock discusses *IG. V. 1.1*, an account of a Lacedaemonian tribute-levying expedition of 427 B.C. A. B. West makes additions to a Parthenon Treasure-Record, *IG. 1². 287*. N. Vulić publishes two new records of bequests to Alkomene in Macedonia. A. Wilhelm reconsiders the inscription from Iasos, *BCH. VIII. 455*, no. 2. H. T. Wade-Gery examines boundary stones, *ἄροι*. G. Daux publishes a new and lengthy inscription from Delphi in honour of an embassy from Sardis. A. Plassart edits the fragments of a long inscription from Thespieae, relating to a local volunteer corps of 170 A.D. M. Rostovtzeff studies the caravan-inscriptions of Palmyra.

Papyri. P. Collart supplies the beginning to P. Ryland 178, from a fragment in the Reinach collection. P. Geneva 125, studied by V. Martin, gives the names of Roman landed proprietors in Egypt in the Flavian period. G. de Sanctis discusses the fragment at Vienna containing a record of the capitulation of Olympias.

Literature. L. Bodin finds in the Panegyric of Isocrates traces of borrowing from the speech of the Athenian delegates to Sparta of Thucydides, I, 73. E. Legrand examines Plutarch's reasons for attacking Herodotus. G. Mathieu studies the reasons for the hostility between Plato and Isocrates manifested in the *Euthydemus*, which he assigns to the end of the year 380. L. Méridier considers problems of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides; the reason for Theseus's absence, the relation of the play to that of Sophocles. Another Euripidean subject is treated by G. Murray, who reconstructs the missing plays of the Trojan trilogy.

Philology. P. Chantraine studies Greek words grouped around *μηρύσμαι*, *μήρινθος*, etc., and *κόρυς*, of prehellenic origin; with this may be grouped the paper by A. Meillet, dealing with the Greek names for king or chief. O. Navarre denies that the particle *δή* is used by Homer in a temporal sense and J. Vendryes examines the adverbial form *πρόχυν*. T. Zielinski explains

the resemblances between Achilles and Jason by propounding new derivations; Achilles is the hero of the Achaeans, Jason of the Ionians.

Religion and Philosophy. F. Cumont finds that the opening of the Sothic year was observed in Syria as well as in Egypt. G. Méautis studies the traces in Plutarch of survivals of the Orphic tradition and of Orphic communities. C. Picard derives the *mitra* sometimes worn by Dionysos from Minoan times. A. Rivaud denies Pythagorean influence in Plato's *Republic*.

Law. Here are two studies of Athenian legal problems; by P. Mazon on the procedure adopted by Demosthenes in the case of the Embassy, and P. Roussel's analysis of Antiphon *περί τοῦ Ἡρώδου φόνου*; also C. Lécivain's notes on *βούλευσις* and *ἀμβλῶσις*.

History. A. Aymard examines at length the constitution of the Achaean assembly held at Argos, 188 B.C. V. Chapot suggests that our ideas of the colonising activities of Alexander the Great are greatly exaggerated. P. Cloché studies the relations between Athens and the Thracian king Kersebleptes in the years 357—352 B.C. R. Cohen finds an explanation for the failure of Nikias before Syracuse in the fact that he was unable to forget that he was the author of the peace of 421. W. S. Ferguson restates the case for placing the condemnation of Antiphon at the fall of the Four Hundred. M. Holleaux distinguishes between Perseus the general and Perseus the son of Philip V of Macedonia. J. L. Myres studies the account of the reforms of Cleisthenes as found in Herodotus. A. Puech compares the three versions of the battle of Salamis to be found in Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Diodorus. G. Radet follows in detail the final campaign of Alexander in pursuit of Darius. W. W. Tarn explains the passage in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* which cites Tiridates and the younger Phraates as fugitive kings of Parthia.

Economic History. A. Andréades emphasises the importance of customs duties in the budgets of Ptolemaic history. M. Cary examines the sources whence Greece obtained silver: Asia Minor from prehistoric days, then Spain, later Siphnos and Laurium. M. Lacroix presents a long study of foreigners at Delos, and E. Ziebarth reviews the commercial history of Rhodes.

Greek Byways. By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. viii + 319. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 12s. 6d.

This is a collection of miscellaneous essays which not only hover round the outskirts of Greek life but sometimes come very near to the centre of things. Some deal mainly with the material side of Greek civilisation ('The Greek

on the Sea; 'Diet in History; 'Metallurgy and Democracy; 'The Wandering Greek'. Others excerpt less widely-read authors such as Strabo and 'The Antiquaries.' Others discuss Greek social life and education ('The Manners of a Gentleman; 'The Boy and the Theorist'). Others, again, take a glance at Greek religion ('Foreign Gods; 'The Daemon Environment'). The two concluding chapters proffer advice on 'The Study of Ancient History' and explain 'The Vitality of Greece.'

Within this wide range of subjects Mr. Glover moves with a studied inconsequence, which may at times bewilder the staid of his readers, but will leave on all a final impression of an exhilarating joy-ride. Yet alongside of entertaining stories about elephants that could write (like a certain famous horse 'Hans'), his book contains much serious teaching after the fashion of an ancient 'satira' at its best. As an example of Mr. Glover's flashes of searching truth we might quote from p. 113:— 'Is it not true that genius does best in an oldish but not too old community, where things are set and established, but not so set that the young mind cannot revolt, where he is controlled by tradition but inspired by Nature, where, like the best Greeks, he can make a blend of law and liberty, obey and revolt in the same moment, use and transcend the great tradition?' Or from p. 119:— 'The only dangerous heresy is orthodoxy.' But the whole chapter on Greek education, and the chapters on Greek Sea-life, on Greek Vitality and on Foreign Gods, will repay a more careful reading.

In a work that positively discourages meticulous precision the searcher for small errors of fact will naturally come by his own. The source of prehistoric amber was in Jutland rather than in the Baltic (p. 9). The statement that the Greeks made no improvement in agricultural technique (p. 54) is hardly fair to Theophrastus and the Hellenistic practitioners of scientific farming. Alexander's haul of treasure in the East did not amount to 'hundreds of millions' of pounds (p. 74): recent estimates fix it at 170–180,000 talents, say forty million pounds. The statement that Caesar was 'the foster-child of Greece' and derived his political ideas from that quarter (p. 299) is not easy to square with the known facts of his career. Lastly, the theory that coinage caused the industrial revolution of early Greece (pp. 66 ff.) will not bear close examination. The characteristic symptoms of a capitalist economy are equally to be found in ancient Carthage or Judaea or Babylon, which had little or no coinage.

But criticism of this kind is no more damaging to Mr. Glover than to Herodotus or Plutarch. His book may not add much to our permanent

store of knowledge; but it will open new windows in our minds and give them a thorough ventilation.

M. C.

Everyday Things in Classical Greece. By MARJORIE and C. H. B. QUENNEL. Pp. xii + 144; 83 figs. London: Batsford, 1932. 8s.

In a period as brilliant as the fifth century, 'Everyday Things' might seem less easy to find than in the archaic period. This may be the reason why our authors have not adhered strictly to their time limit. Nevertheless, their new book is in many ways a great improvement on its predecessor, and they have made excellent use of the more homely passages in authors such as Plato and Xenophon.

Much space is devoted to public buildings, in particular those on the Acropolis and at Delphi. A section follows on town planning and private houses, represented by Priene: here a strong warning should have been given that the fifth century could not have produced anything equally sumptuous. Other sections include a variety of attractive subjects, such as furniture, vase painting, shipping, farming and daily life, though there is no reference to education. A few errors should be noted: Hegesa for Hegeso on p. 79, and 'black and white' for 'black and red' on p. 80: moreover, the fifth-century Greek did not travel by chariot (p. 104). Finally comes a résumé of Thucydides, who suffers less under this treatment than Herodotus did in the previous book.

Like the subject-matter, the illustrations have improved. Free adaptations from Greek vases are now omitted, and the sketch of the Acropolis is charming. A good map, however, is needed, since the one on the frontispiece ornaments the sea but gives no idea of the main features of Greek topography.

If another volume follows, it will find in the Hellenistic age a quantity of material suitable for studies of daily life. In view of this, may we beg the authors to improve their style? It is sometimes curiously facetious, even cheap: and it always gives the impression of having been intended for very small children: yet 'boys and girls,' so often apostrophised, should appreciate sound English if they are to understand the beauty of Greek art.

Child Life in Greek Art. By ANITA E. KLEIN. Pp. xix + 55; 40 plates. New York: Columbia University Press, and London: H. Milford, 1932. 22s.

A very pleasant little book: and, let it be added, a most useful collection of material. Miss

Klein has visited most of the principal museums of Europe and America, noting several hundreds of objects which illustrate child-life in ancient Greece: she has strung these together under appropriate headings to make a connected history of the Greek child: and she gives us over a hundred and fifty pictures, the most complete series that we possess. It begins with a terracotta at Athens, showing twins lying side by side in their cradle, quaint cones protecting their heads: then we are taken through play-times and schooldays down to the last scene, where on a beautiful white lekythos in New York we see a little urchin bravely stepping into Charon's boat, trundling his go-cart beside him. The book will be indispensable to students of ancient life, and it deserves reading for its own sake. That at more than one point some intensive investigation might yield interesting results is obvious, but it is a merit, not a fault, of Miss Klein's unpretentious text to have suggested these possibilities for future research.

Daedalus and Thespis. By WALTER MILLER. Vol. II: pt. 1, pp. xv + 111; pt. 2, pp. 154; 45 plates. (*University of Missouri Studies*, VI, 3 and 4.) Columbia: University of Missouri, 1931. \$2.50.

The first volume of this work was reviewed in *JHS.* 49, 289. The book is a collection of those passages from the Greek dramatists which happen in some way to mention an object of art, or even of everyday life. The present volume is devoted to sculpture, which is interpreted in a very wide sense; part one deals mainly with formal sculpture, but part two ranges from gems down to kitchen pots and pans. On the literary side the author gives proof of enthusiasm and energy, and it is a pity that he did not invoke the assistance of an archaeologist to save him from many wild statements; for instance, on the first page of part two—'In Italy, as far as our knowledge extends, the first metal workers were the Etruscans . . . the people that put their stamp most completely on the arts and crafts of the Orient (and the rest of the world) were the Phoenicians.' After this Etruscophilia it is disconcerting to see a mirror inscribed with the names of Aplun, Semla, Phuphluns (fig. 38) assigned to 'Corinth or Sicyon' on p. 534.

The Treasurers of Athena. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON. Pp. ix + 198. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932. \$4.

Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. Pp. xiv + 192; 17 plates, 24 figures in text. (*University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, Vol. xxvii.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932.

A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C. Edited by MARCUS N. TOD. Pp. xx + 256. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 12s. 6d.

'The Science of architectural epigraphy' has been, Prof. Ferguson observes with just pride (Preface, p. viii), perfected in the main by American scholars. Himself, working 'without the privilege of sorting stones in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens,' he modestly disclaims this science: too modestly, for his work has the scientific rigour, the scrupulous exactness, the constructive grasp, which we have come to expect from American epigraphists. But he is more than a scientist whose laboratory technique it is a privilege to watch: he is also an historian of the first order. This makes the strength, and at the same time the weakness, of his book. The scientist-plus-interpreter runs two dangers, that he *sees* his facts wrong, that he *interprets* them wrong. He can but arm himself against the first by scientific candour, against the second by imagination and a sense of the actual: for to decline such inquiry is to shut his eyes on life. Prof. Ferguson is armed against both dangers exceptionally well, and whatever detailed adjustments he may have to make (for some, see the current number of the *AJ.A.*), I believe his main account of the successive financial shifts of Athens during the Ionian War will stand.

The Panathenaic period 410-406 stands out as vital: in 412 the Iron Reserve was still available, but exhausted before 410. At the beginning of the vital quadriennium, the victory of Kyzikos repaired the empire's fortunes: not only was there money for current expenses, but the reserve of Sacred Money was reconstituted (*IG.* I², 109) and can be drawn on in the following year (*IG.* I², 301) for a great military effort, which unhappily was not decisive. By 407/6, operations of war demand support from the Sacred Money, which is now revenue only, the reserve is exhausted: at the Panathenaic stocktaking of 406, they resolved at last to mint the Nikai and the sacred vessels. The hopes raised by Kyzikos have slowly evaporated; the agony has begun.

This new clarity is due, chiefly, to Prof. Ferguson's brilliant placing of *IG.* I², 301 in the year 409/8. This document contains almost

certainly the name of Perikles as general, it speaks of an expedition to Peloponnese, and of gold received that year from Skapte Hyle exactly equivalent to the Thasian quota. These data led me (*Num. Chron.* 1930, p. 17, *JHS.* 1930, pp. 292 seq.) to date it to the early years of the Archidamian War: Prof. Ferguson points out that in 409/8, young Perikles is in public life, an expedition was sent to relieve Pylos, and Athens was recovering the Thasian *peraia*. The recognition of these things enables him to put the document into what I am convinced is its right financial context, and to draw the important historical conclusions of his third and fourth chapters.

His treatment of the Kallias Decrees is interesting, but I think less convincing. The 'crucial lines' (p. 155) are lines 50-52 (=19-21 of Face B) which order the creation of a 'reserve on which the state could draw without borrowing and paying interest': 'this purely secular reserve, created by decree in 434 B.C., was created in fact after the Peace of Nikias.' The Hellenotamiai, in fact, are to deposit (and after 421 did deposit) a παρακαταθήκη with the Tamiai. Can the active κατατίθεναι bear this sense? Certainly, if the money is to remain the property of the depositor, the middle is more natural and more usual. [My statement in *JHS.* LI, p. 72 top, 'the money will not belong to Athena,' is too dogmatic: Kolbe, in *SB. Berlin*, 1933, II, p. 5, discusses the use of κατατίθεναι, παρακατατίθεσθαι, etc., with a far more adequate range of illustration; yet he quotes no instance, and I can find none, where the deposit remains the property (not τοῦ καταθεμένου but) τοῦ καταθέντος.] I fancy that lines 20-21 of Kallias' Second Decree have not yet been correctly restored: it is hard anyway to believe that so drastic a change of financial policy as Prof. Ferguson reads in them was stowed so inconspicuously away. I take this opportunity to retract my plea (*JHS.* LI) that the year 422 should be preferred to (the only other possibility) 434. The arguments adduced by Ferguson in 'Athenian War Finance' (*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 64, February 1932), p. 10, have convinced me that the State cannot easily have put some thousands of talents out to ordinary commerce, in time of war, nor realised so large a sum rapidly after the Peace.

There is no need to praise Prof. Meritt's 'laboratory work,' which, at once brilliant and sober, is a pattern for all workers in this field. The richness of his new book is astonishing.

The Attic financial documents of the fifth century are laid before us in admirable large-scale photographs and 'red and black' facsimiles (showing the extant letters black, the supplements red): on this basis almost all of the dozen large texts he chiefly deals with receive a form which makes earlier publications obsolete. The purpose of the book is to present the material: the historical conclusions are incidental, but this incidental wealth is extraordinary. I note, for example, the dating of *IG.* I², 105 [the decree in honour of Archelaos] to 407/6 (p. 114), the mention of Konon in *IG.* I², 304 B (p. 127): historical constata-tions of similar value abound throughout the book.

I note a few particular points. The new text of the Samian war accounts (*IG.* I², 293) given on page 47 is clearly right in principle; that is, in referring the first sum to Byzantion, the next two to the two years of Samian war, and the last to the Byzantion-Samos total: yet the stoichedon line of 93 letters is improbably, almost incredibly, long, nor is the phrasing of most of the supplements at all inevitable. Line 13 is the hardest to reduce: the omission of the demotic Χουπεταίων is, however, just possible and would reduce the line to 83 letters: Αθηναιοῖσι could then be omitted in line 6. In the inscription recording the Samian settlement (p. 51, fig. 7 = *IG.* I², 50) I would like to record a convincing suggestion made to me by Prof. Woodward for the difficult fourth line of the list of generals, viz. [Καλλί]στρατος Οἰ[υ]ειδης. In the accounts for 432/1 (*IG.* I², 296: see pages 71 sqq. and Plate I), in line 5, we should, I think, read (after στρατηγοῖσι) [τοῖσι ἐς Μακ]εδονίαν Εὐκρατ[εῖ demoticum *nomen demoticum* Ἀρχεστρατοὶ demoticum ἐπὶ τεσ—6—ιδος, etc.]; that is to say, we should identify this first payment of 432/1 with the sailing of Ἀρχέστρατος μετ' ἄλλων ὅδοσ', Thuc. I, 57, § 6. None of the objections to this simple solution of a famous *crux* appears to me valid. The figure δέκα in Thucydides is certainly wrong and δύο almost the easiest correction. This does not give us too many generals of 432/1 serving in the northern area; only five: since Καλλίας πέμπτος αὐτός in Thuc. I, 61, § 1 means 'Kallias as commander over four colleagues': Kallias brought one colleague with him and took command over the three already there. [Δέκατος αὐτός in Thuc. II, 13, § 1 clearly does not imply that Perikles had his nine subordinate colleagues *in company*: nor, I think, does the same phrase in Thuc. I, 116, § 1.] The destination of Eukrates and the other generals in line 5 is [ἐς Μακ]εδονίαν: if

the absence of the name Poteidaia from this phrase means anything, it means surely [not, as Kolbe suggests and Meritt, p. 68, accepts, that the battle of Poteidaia has not yet been fought, but] that Poteidaia is not yet a military objective, *i.e. has not yet revolted*. Poteidaia revolted about the same day that Arcestratos sailed (Thuc. I. 58, § 1): no one who sailed *later* than Arcestratos should be still designated *εσ Μακεδονίαν*, and it cannot be suggested that Eukrates sailed *earlier* than Arcestratos [since eventually there are no ships in the north beyond Arcestratos' 30 and Kallias' 40, Thuc. I. 61, § 4]: *ergo*, they sailed in company. It is the usage of this document to put the leading general's name last: in line 31 Karkinos stands last, while in line 36 we read *Καρκίνο[ι] Θορικοί[οι] καὶ χσυν[α]ρχοσ[ι]*, and in Thuc. II. 23, § 2 Karkinos stands first. For the dates: since Aristeus reached Poteidaia 40 days after the Revolt (I. 60, § 3), and Arcestratos sailed about the same time as the Revolt (I. 58, § 1) and Kallias about the same time as Aristeus (I. 61, § 1-3), we may suppose Arcestratos sailed some time in August, Kallias in September, and the battle was fought in October. The important result of this dating, if it be correct, is that the northern campaign of 432 did not begin till after mid-summer.

On p. 96 note the exceedingly interesting text in *IG. I², 304 A*, line 34: *τα εχ Σαμο ανομολογεςα[ν]το οι συμμαχ[οι]*: I am not quite easy about the stop which this requires at the beginning of line 35. In Mustoxydis' unintelligible transcript of *IG. I², 300*, line 9 (p. 64), I would like to suggest that the *M* is misread for *[E]Λ*, and that we restore *[σ]ρατ[ε]γοι*, and after it possibly *Χαροι(αδ)ε[ι]*. Charoiades was killed in Sicily in 427/6 (Thuc. III, 90, § 2), and this fits with Meritt's dating of the account (p. 68) to the quadriennium 430/426.

These two books bring us so near to a complete picture of the inscribed accounts of the *Tamiai* during the Peloponnesian War, that it is worth while taking stock of what we now know: especially since some of the suggestions offered by Ferguson p. 26, note 1, and p. 75, note 3, differ from those of Meritt, p. 64. The great stele, *IG. I², 296-7-8* (Meritt, Plate I), certainly contained the expenses of 432/1 on the front, 414/3 on the back, and the first two months of 411/0 on the side. Ferguson suggests that *IG. I², 307* belongs to 413/2 and stood below 297 on the back of this stele: Meritt suggests 307 may be from the back of 301. Prof. Meritt has since called my attention

to the fact that 307 has letters on its (right hand) side face, which on Ferguson's hypothesis will belong to the same face as 298: the spacing of the letters is almost identical with those of 298, but the character (especially of *sigma*) seems to me rather different. I think on the whole it slightly strengthens Ferguson's case. I would ascribe another fragment to this stele, namely, *IG. I², 309*: whose spacing and character is identical with 296, but since it contains the demotic *Κυδατ[ε]βαι* it cannot well belong to 432/1. It comes, I suggest, from an account inscribed below 296, on the same face, presumably for the year 431/0. [It is, I believe, from the right-hand edge of the stone, a very small portion of the margin being, I think, intact.]

431/0 will then no longer be available for *IG. I², 294 + 299 + 308*, and we must accept Meritt's second alternative (p. 86) and date this account in 428/7 (siege of Mytilene). Another fragment from the quadriennium 430-426 is *IG. I², 300* (pp. 66-68). It is unfortunate this stone is lost and we cannot compare the scripts: but I suggest the quadriennium had a quadriennial account (like 324 and 302), and I strongly suspect that *IG. I², 634* is from its top right-hand corner [*Αθεναι*][*αι οφελ[ο]μενα*]: the rather poor photograph in *JHS. L.*, p. 289, fig. 3, shows how identical it is in script with 294 + 299 + 308. The main obstacle (not perhaps fatal) is that *οφελομενα* sounds like a statement of Logistai, whereas the word *παρεδομεν* in 300 and 294 + 299 + 308 clearly points to a statement of *Tamiai*.

The statement of the Logistai of 422 (*IG. I², 324*, Meritt, Plate xii) probably took the place of a *Tamiai*'s statement for the quadriennium 426-422. The accounts for the quadriennium 422-418 (if any) are quite lost: 418-414 is *IG. I², 302*: 414/3 certainly, and perhaps the rest of the quadriennium 414-410, is on the great stele *IG. I², 296-7-8* [+ 307 + 309?]. The next quadriennium 410-406 was on the two stones 304 (410/9 and 407/6) and 301 (409/8 and probably 408/7: Ferguson, pp. 28 seq., Meritt, p. 116). There remain only 303, 305 and the fragments published as *IG. II², 1686* and 1687. Ferguson confirms the date 406/5 for 305 (pp. 75 seq.) and fixes part at least of 1686 to 405/4 (*i.e.* the Siege: he brilliantly interprets the distributions of grain there mentioned, as the siege-time substitute for the *diobelia*); and I believe, after examining the stones, that *IG. II², 1686*, 1687 and *IG. I², 303* are all from the same stele. We thus get the following very tentative table:

433/2	Stele I	IG. I ² , 295
432/1	Stele II	296
431/0	"	309
430-426	Stele III	300 -- 294 -- 299 -- 303) ÷ 634
426-422	Stele IV	324
422-418		<i>not published?</i>
418-414	Stele V	302
414[?]-410]	Stele II	297 ÷ 307 ÷ 298
410-406	Stele VI and VII	304 and 301
406/5	Stele VIII	305
405/4	Stele IX	303 ÷ II ² , 1686 -- 1687

Mr. Tod's eagerly expected *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* more than fulfils our expectations. It is in every way a new book, inheriting from its predecessor 'Hicks and Hill' no more than the plan and much of the selection. By this inheritance, the book is in the nature of a 'show-case': the exhibits are (or deserve to be) famous, as mentioning great names (a large proportion, especially of the archaic inscriptions, do this) or raising great issues. It is no easy matter to display such pieces adequately, without burdensome pedantry on the one hand or irritating dogma on the other: few indeed are the living scholars who could have done what Mr. Tod has done. His style has a firm clarity which neither fogs the beginner's mind nor disguises the complexity of the questions: and *le style c'est l'homme*, it represents Mr. Tod's unsurpassed command of the literature and neat precision of mind. Especially admirable are the beautifully articulated triple *lemmata*, whereby the history, the appearance, the bibliography of each stone is made at once accessible: users of the book who use these *lemmata* freely will have been liberally introduced to the science of epigraphy.

The progress of epigraphic studies is, as Mr. Tod observes, unrelenting: and the pieces he deals with are full in the mid-stream of this progress, so that the literature continues to accumulate. I note, for instance, on No. 14 Audiat in *BCH.* 54, 1930, pp. 315 sqq., on No. 51 Kolbe in *SB. Berlin*, 1933, II. Mr. Tod's knowledge of this *mouvement scientifique* is unrivalled, but his two-yearly bibliographies are addressed to users of the *Corpus* rather than of this book. It would increase our great debt to his unselfish labours if he could find space and time, in his future surveys, for a special section that should keep up to date the *lemmata* of this book. They are too good to be allowed to take on the inevitable rust of time. H. T. W.-G.

Sardis VII: Part I, Greek and Latin Inscriptions. By W. H. BUCKLER and DAVID M. ROBINSON. Pp. 198; 13 plates, 212 illustrations in the text. Leyden: American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, 1932. This volume continues the series of publica-

tions of the American society for the excavation of Sardis, to which we are already indebted for a definitive edition of the Lydian inscriptions. Professor Robinson and Mr. Buckler have wisely decided to include not merely the inscriptions, published and unpublished, of which records were made by the American expeditions, but also those which were copied by earlier travellers. In view of the enormous number of books and periodicals in which, in default of a *Corpus*, the inscriptions of Asia Minor are scattered, this is a boon for which we cannot be too grateful. Wherever possible a photograph of the stone or of an impression is given: where the text depends on an old copy the original copy itself is photographed so that in all cases the reader has before him the materials on which the printed text is based. In the interpretation of the texts the editors have avoided the temptation which tends to beset epigraphists, of transferring information from one place to another, and have contented themselves in the main with referring to previous publications; in dealing with unpublished inscriptions they have confined themselves to the essentials.

The texts are classified under the following heads: I. Documents and Public Records; II. Honorific Texts; III. Religious Texts and Dedications; IV. Sepulchral Inscriptions; V. Miscellaneous Texts and Fragments. Within the various classes a chronological order is maintained as far as possible, and the editors have rendered a service to historical students in stating regularly the period to which undated inscriptions are to be assigned on epigraphic grounds. Full indices make consultation easy. In establishing the texts of the inscriptions so far as they are preserved the writers appear to have left little if anything for their successors to do. In restoration they have in one or two cases, which will be mentioned below, gone rather further than the evidence warrants. They have done so, however, out of set purpose in dealing with puzzling texts in which any suggestion is better than none. The following points in matters of detail occurred to the reviewer in the course of reading the book. N. 1, Col. II, l. 19: The inscription concludes with the phrase *καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις*,

τέως ἂν ἐξ ἡμῶν μήπω γένηται, ἐξεῖναι which the editors p. 5 and note 2) suggest is a confusion of ἡ πρᾶξις ἐξέσται and τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐξεῖναι. It seems more likely that ἐξεῖναι is as normally impersonal and that it is the regular imperatival infinitive of laws and regulations. In that case ἡ πρᾶξις is a *nominali.us pendens*: the anacoluthon is not a particularly shocking one. N. 4, l. 1: Some punctuation mark seems to be wanted after δῆμωι, since γνώμη can hardly be the subject of ἐδοξεν. στρατηγῶν γνώμη is a heading and needs no verb. P. 26, l. 19 from foot: Read 27 B.C. N. 16, l. col. II, 2 f.: The translation 'A certain kind of gladiators—"trinci" they call them—is in our judgment guilty of inhumanity,' hardly conveys the sense, which is that a certain kind of gladiatorial show is inhuman. N. 18, l. 45: The restoration seems uncertain and the translation, 'If, when the man undertaking the work declines it, some one of us be found neither doing anything nor performing work in accordance with the provisions herein written, etc.,' seems very doubtful. The meaning seems to be, 'If, when the man undertaking the work declines it, it is found that nothing is being done in accordance with the above regulations and that none of us is working (i.e. in his place), etc.' This might be expressed by restoring γιγνόμενον or πραττόμενον instead of μήτε πράττων in l. 45. N. 47, l. 7: The editors are no doubt right in accepting διὰ βίου on the evidence of Cyriac's διαρίου: it will be noted, however, that Pickering's διαρίων makes perfectly good sense with ἐνδείας if taken as the Latin *diana*. Cyriac's authority is not above suspicion (v. p. 72). N. 80: The editors make an ingenious suggestion on this inscription which seems to clear up difficulties in Cyriac's copy. Ns. 86 and 90-93: In view of the use of stone balls as weights (noted by the editors) it would have been useful to give the weight of these balls. N. 94: Some remark is wanted on the syntax of this inscription. Are we to take ὁλοκληρία as a causal dative? N. 111: The punctuation of the first line ought perhaps to be altered in the light of Wilhelm's remarks on the dialogue form in *Griechische Grabinschriften aus Kleinasien*, p. 20 ff. On this view punctuate with a question mark after ἐντι and take l. 1 as question from the bystander answered in l. 2 by the stele. N. 103: The restoration goes beyond the evidence. N. 182: The *graffito* ΜΕΣΚΕΑΣ which appears twice on a plinth can hardly be μέ σκιᾶς. Even if that could naturally mean 'Mayst thou shade me,' the equivalence of ε for ι would be unusual. Nothing better suggests itself.

In form this book is a worthy successor to its predecessors. Apart from a few minor errors

noted in the *corrigenda*, it is printed and produced in a way that makes it a pleasure to consult. The editors are to be congratulated on the manner in which they have accomplished this part of their task, and readers will look forward to seeing the next volume, which is to contain the *testimonia* and the *Diaries of Robert Wood and his friends*. When that has appeared Sardis will be better cared for than most cities of Asia Minor.

A. C.

Griechische Grabinschriften aus Kleinasien.

By A. WILHELM. (*Sitzungsb. der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1932, XXVII.) Pp. 76. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1932. 5 m.

In this paper Professor Wilhelm's keen critical insight and wide learning are applied to the consideration of a number of important Christian inscriptions from Asia Minor, most of which have been dealt with by British scholars. In the course of his discussion he takes the opportunity, as usual, of explaining and correcting a large number of texts adduced by way of illustration. A list of these will be found in the index. One or two points may be noted in regard to the major inscriptions. I. *JRS*. XIV (1924), p. 54, n. 57: Wilhelm correctly removes the proper name πανκρατής (l. 6), but his restoration πατρικός hardly does justice to the copy and introduces a stylistic finesse that seems absent from the rest of the poem, i.e. a short carry-over from one line to another. It will be noted that W. introduces this three times by conjecture, ll. 6, 7, 9. In l. 15 Wilhelm rejects Τηλεφίδην (the reading is certain) on the ground that patronymics of this form are only masculine and assumes that τῆδε φίλην was intended. So also (p. 29) he hesitates to accept Ἀμμία on the ground that transference of the form appropriate to the masculine to a feminine stem is incredible. It seems to the reviewer that in both cases the composers were using epic forms which they understood only imperfectly. In l. 18 there seems to be something at fault in the metrical notation of the missing syllables. II. This section deals with a number of inscriptions which have the dialogue form as introduction. III. *JRS*. XVII, 49 ff., n. 230. Although the bomos at Kurd Koi which bears this inscription had been seen by Perrot Ramsay and Anderson, it was not until 1926, when Cox made a masterly impression of the lines formerly despaired of, that it was possible to restore the second half of the fourth inscription, which was then definitely proved to be Christian. It has been generally assumed, and the assumption is accepted by W. (p. 27), that this stone bears the record of a

family at first heathen, then, in the later generations, Christian. The basis of this assumption is the language of the first inscription, which is the conventional pagan style with references to the house of Hades, etc. Such language, however, is found in definitely Christian inscriptions and cannot be accepted as conclusive proof of paganism. It had become mere literary convention. With regard to the general sense of the inscription Wilhelm appears to be right. Ammia had died before marriage, and her death in conventional style is attributed to a desire to depart from this world. In l. 29 Wilhelm suggests ἀπ[ι]ν(ῆς) ο[ῦ]σα for the inexplicable ἀπ[ι]νο[ῦ]σα. It is unsatisfactory to assume a corruption in an obscure passage, but if corrections are to be made, ἀποδοῦσα might be preferable. According to W. the difficult lines 32 ff. are 'missverstanden,' but here again he only finds his way out by an alteration of the only letters that seem clear and an interpretation that is somewhat prosaic. The father is πολύοκνος because he was too slow in going for the doctor! It seems better to interpret πολύοκνος and ἀργή in relation to the complaints of the parents about the haste of their daughter to die. They are sluggards because they wished to detain her. The verb νεικοῦσι, if retained with ἄτην, means 'They upbraid my infatuation in hastening to die.' This reading, however, makes it difficult to restore γάρ in the third place in the next sentence; hence the reviewer's former suggestion, τὴν ἐμὴν νεικοῦσι (?) παρθενίην, i.e. 'Complain (?) of my dying a virgin,' which is a repetition of what appears in l. 8 ff. in a slightly different form. κλήμ . . . τῇ(ν) σῇ[ν] ἄωρότηταν κε ἀθαλάμει[τον] ἡλικίην. If νεικοῦσι is impossible one would expect on this view some verb meaning 'to complain of' or 'bewail.' Παρθενίην would then be easily understood in a slightly different sense with ἐκδοῦσα IV. Wilhelm here has some good remarks on the necessity for caution in the interpretation of Christian inscriptions, but his suggestions are not always entirely convincing. On *M.A.M.A.* I, n. 157, he accepts Grégoire's correction θροτροφίην for θηροτροφίην, and comparing it with *IGR.* iv, 826, interprets the word to mean 'the occupation of a θηροτρόφος,' i.e. a hunter and keeper of wild beasts. This suggestion removes the inscription from the sphere of Christianity entirely, but introduces a strange inconsequence. If violent measures are to be taken, ὀρειτραφείην or ὀριτραφείην may be suggested to mean 'For he endured a life in the mountains,' which gives a parenthetical clause explanatory of ποιμέν' ὄντ' ἐπ' ὄρεσσιν. On *M.A.M.A.* I, n. 170, the well-known inscription of Eugenius, Wilhelm

suggests that βασάνους l. 71 may have the weak meaning of 'trouble,' for which he brings forward evidence. It is true that the tenor of the inscription (*W.* p. 48) does not suggest that Eugenius was tortured as a criminal, since if that were so we should find it difficult to understand the phrase σπουδάσας τε απαλλαγῆναι τῆς στρατείας, but it seems natural to suppose that he meant something more than mere annoyance. *JRS.* XV, 144 is rightly removed from the list of persecution-inscriptions, and doubt is justly cast on *CIG.* 9266. V. The fifth section is one of the most interesting and convincing in the paper and is of considerable importance for the interpretation of a number of so-called crypto-Christian inscriptions. Wilhelm collects the inscriptions which bear the formula τὸν θεόν σοι μὴ ἐδικήσης (in various forms), and proves conclusively that σοι is the dative and that the phrase τὸν θεόν σοι is a formula of adjuration independent of the prohibition which follows. Going further he makes it highly probable that σοι has a possessive meaning such as often belongs to μοι in classical Greek with words of relationship in address (Ionic οἱ in its possessive usage may have a different origin, from the dative of indirect object). He then connects this usage with that in which the word θεός is used with the genitive of a proper name, e.g. μέγας ὁ θεός Ἀνδρεῶν. To the examples of this interesting usage which he quotes we ought perhaps to add certain Anatolian place-names which have the name of a god followed by what may be a proper name in the genitive, as e.g. Μῆν Φαρνάκου. The pagan parallels for this usage raise a further question with which W. does not specifically deal, that is, the question whether this and similar formulae are to be regarded as specifically Christian at all. The adjuration and the threat of divine sanction seem to be pagan, cf. e.g. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, 3, ἂν δε τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει, so that it seems very probable that here as elsewhere we must regard religious terminology as common to both Christians and pagans of the same period, and must be careful to reckon monuments as definitely Christian only where the evidence is unequivocal.

It is hardly necessary to say in conclusion that these studies should be read by all who are interested in the epigraphy, particularly the Christian epigraphy, of Asia Minor. Even where Professor Wilhelm disclaims any special competence it will be understood that his ignorance would be the learning of a lesser man.

A. C.

Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde, V. By ADOLF WILHELM. (*Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsab.* 214. Band. 4 Abh.) Pp. 51. Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1932.

In this fifth part of his series of contributions to Greek epigraphy Professor Wilhelm offers new restorations of a number of inscriptions. Though the restorations are not always certain the author is able by careful analysis and apposite illustration to further the interpretation of the documents and in some instances to correct the errors of other scholars. One or two points of general interest arise in the course of discussion. On *Inscriptions of Pergamon* 18 the author deals with the practice of granting to a person honoured a sacrificial animal or a sum to indemnify him for its purchase. The occurrence of this practice elsewhere proves that the sacrifice ἐν τοῖς Εὐμενείοις by the στρατηγοί honoured in this decree is not, as Laqueur had suggested, an indication that the royal cult was kept in the hands of royal nominees. In this connexion a number of suggestions are made on *IG. XII, 2, 527*. The second section of the paper deals with a number of Pergamene decrees in honour of Diodorus Metrodorus and Athenaeus. In *AM. XXXII, 245, l. 7*, Wilhelm with probability restores the name of Quintus Caepio, whom he also finds in *IGR. IV, 272* in the unusual form Κιντωί. If this suggestion is accepted the inscription, as he points out, gives evidence of the participation of Galatians in the revolt of Aristonikos. On p. 34 f. there are some interesting remarks on ἀπογράφειν as a technical term in building which support the restoration τῆς ὀροφῆς in *AM. XXXII, 259, l. 39*. With reference to *AM. XXXV, 401 ff. l. 37*, there is an excursus on the use of δίσκος as 'gong' which Wilhelm notes in Maccabees II, 14. The last section contains a number of suggestions on *AM. LIV, 29*, a decree of the Samians in honour of an unknown doctor. A. C.

Ancient Writing and its Influence. By B. L. ULLMAN. Pp. vii + 234; 16 plates. London: Harrap & Co., 1932. 5s.

Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome. By F. G. KENYON. Pp. vii + 136. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932. 5s.

Professor Ullman's book belongs to the series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*. Its title hardly prepares us for what is in effect an excellent survey of Western alphabetic forms from their obscure origins through Greek and Latin hands and their offshoots down to the age of printing and the modern period. Not only the layman but the professional palaeographer will welcome

such a convenient and comprehensive summary, to which an appropriate selection of plates gives an added value. One statement needs correction. It is misleading to speak of a Coptic text (p. 9) on the Rosetta stone.

Sir Frederic Kenyon deals primarily with the material aspect of ancient books, and aims at making available the new knowledge which has been accumulating for the past two generations. In particular, problems connected with the transition from the roll to the codex form have had a sensational light thrown on them by the discovery of the Chester Beatty papyri, which Sir Frederic is engaged in editing, and pp. 94-110, where these are described and appraised, will be read with particular avidity by palaeographers and biblical students alike.

Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia. By W. L. WESTERMANN and C. W. KEYES. (*Columbia Papyri, Greek, II.*) Pp. xi + 219; 2 plates. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 40s.

This volume contains six long texts from a group of documents assembled in the tax-office of Theadelphia in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and the editors have succeeded in extracting a good deal of useful information from the monotonous records of receipts and payments. In particular, it is interesting to see how they have been able to trace the intricacies of office procedure and to elucidate the checks on the entries relating to individual taxpayers: as a result of this they show that in the village of Theadelphia the year 128 g was apparently a prosperous one, as less than 5½ per cent. of the poll-tax was in arrear at the end of the year; while in another year, the exact date of which is lost, conditions were much worse, as only half the inhabitants liable to a tax in kind had paid in full, about 30 per cent. were partially in arrear, and about 20 per cent. had paid nothing. These and similar conclusions have involved a vast amount of spade-work in the decipherment and tabulation of the details, and the editors deserve grateful recognition of their services.

J. G. M.

Mittheilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer). Neue Serie, I: **Griechische literarische Papyri, I.** By H. GERSTINGER, H. OELLACHER, and K. VOGEL. Pp. 170; 1 plate. Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1932. 12 m.

The revival of the systematic publication of the papyri in the great Rainer collection at Vienna

is very welcome, and it may be hoped that the undertaking will prosper. The most extensive of the texts included in this volume, which takes up more than a third of it, is a mathematical papyrus, presumably for use in schools, in which some (unfortunately fragmentary) introductory definitions are followed by thirty-eight geometrical exercises. The more strictly literary pieces number twenty-four, amongst which may be noted a page from an epic poem concerning Pan, two leaves of a codex inscribed respectively with hexameters and iambs, the former of which comes from a panegyric of a certain Maximus, and several fragments of a βασιλικὸς λόγος: there are also some interesting puzzles in bits of a treatise on the dithyramb. Two astrological pieces, three magical papyri, and half-a-dozen miscellaneous fragments complete the volume.

J. G. M.

Berliner Leihgabe griechischer Papyri, I.

By T. KALÉN. Pp. viii + 363: 3 plates. Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandel, 1932. 12 kr.

A collection of papyri was lent by the Berlin Museum to the University of Uppsala for study by the Greek Seminar of the University, and in this volume we have the texts of twenty-five documents out of the collection, with ample notes and commentaries. Four of the longest, which deal with the administration of the taxes in kind, were published in 1924 by K. Thunell, but revised texts and a long discussion of the contents by Dr. Kalén are now given: the other papyri have been deciphered by various scholars, but the whole work has been edited by Dr. Kalén, who is also responsible for most of the notes and for an exhaustive appendix on προσμετρούμενα.

The documents are mainly of familiar types: the student, however, will find that they have been rendered much more valuable by the wealth of parallels cited in the notes. A departure from normal procedure may be found in no. 10, which shows Roman citizens having recourse to Egyptian law: no. 18, which contains a proposal to convert olive-yards into arable land, is of a class of which few examples are known: and no. 24 throws new light on the working of the system of liturgies. There are also minor items of interest to reward the reader—for instance, the archaistic use of the Macedonian month side by side with the Egyptian in no. 10, written in A.D. 120, and the exceptional mention of Marcus Aurelius as Imperator III in the dating of no. 25.

J. G. M.

Publications de la Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie: I. 'Εντεύξεις. By O. GUÉRAUD. Fasc. i: pp. xc + 128: 13 plates. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931.

The mummy-cartonnages found by Jouguet and Lefebvre at Magdôla and Ghorân proved to contain a substantial number of petitions addressed to the King, mainly dated in the last years of Euergetes and the early ones of Philopator. Forty of the documents from Magdôla were published by the finders: but several years of research among the fragments of papyrus used to form the cartonnage have enabled M. Guéraud to make additions to many of these documents, with important results for the elucidation of their meaning. He has now undertaken the publication of a complete collection of these petitions from the two sites, the total number of which is 113: and in this first part there are 52 texts, with a general introduction.

The introduction summarises the evidence available as to the form and drafting of the petitions, the procedure involved in their presentation to the local strategos, and the nature of the action taken upon them. The treatment is exhaustive and clear, and gives a good idea of the administration of justice in the villages of the Fayûm in the latter half of the third century B.C. The texts are carefully edited, with translations (except in the cases of one or two very fragmentary pieces) and very full commentaries: though a few doubtful passages remain to be explained, the work as a whole appears most satisfactory.

Incidentally, these papyri furnish a good deal of material for the investigator of the social and economic life of the villagers, and when the publication is complete it is to be hoped that this part of their contents will be abstracted and discussed as thoroughly as has been done for the more formal and legal side.

J. G. M.

Papyri graecae magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri. Edited and translated by KARL PREISENDANZ. Band II. Pp. xv + 216: 3 plates. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1932. 18 m. (bound 20 m.).

The text of the G.Z.P. is now complete, and the third and concluding volume of Preisendanz's Corpus will contain only the full indices, with certain addenda, such as the London bilingual papyrus recently edited by Bell, Nock and Thompson, the magical texts from the new volume of Rainer papyri, and further documents from Michigan. The present volume includes three very long texts: the great roll in the British

Museum, a magical miscellany headed by the interesting 'Ομηρομαντεῖον; and the two Leiden papyri, discovered at Memphis in 1828, the second of which contains the remarkable 'Gnostic' cosmogony. Among shorter pieces are such familiar items as the 'Curse of Artemisia,' the 'Rhodian Sea-Song,' and the pseudo-Homeric incantation from the *Κεστοί*; here too are the extensive Oslo papyri. In the section headed 'Christliches' the author breaks new ground, though he emphasises that it is only to be regarded as experimental. The fusion of Christian forms and pagan practice in these curious documents will undoubtedly repay closer study. In conclusion it need only be said that in text, translation, and commentary the high standard of Vol. I is fully maintained.

Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs :

Tome VIII: Alchemistica signa : digessit et explanavit C. O. ZURETTI. Pp. viii + 84; 17 plates. Bruxelles: Union Académique Internationale, 1932.

The last of the late Prof. Zuretti's contributions to the *Catalogue des MSS. Alchimiques Grecs* contains seven separate tables of signs and abbreviations reproduced from mediaeval alchemistic manuscripts. For convenience, the signs are arranged in columns and numbered consecutively 1-1322, but as the same sign may recur ten or a dozen times the net repertory is very much smaller. The chaotic spelling and accentuation of the originals is reproduced throughout, and though perhaps confusing at first this course was no doubt the right one, since the same errors constantly occur in the compendia themselves; in any case, this difficulty has been largely overcome by listing all abnormal spellings in the index, with cross-references to the correct form. The text is followed by a commentary restricted to points of palaeography, students of which will find much to interest them here. The index has perhaps suffered from lack of final revision; thus, references to signs nos. 68, 199, 236, 279, 387, 435, 1209, 1220, 1320 are wrongly given, while nos. 31, 241, 367, 636, 664 and 1309 (under *κεκαυμένος*) seem to be omitted altogether. There is continual discrepancy between text and index in matters of spelling and accentuation, owing partly to misprints, partly to a half-hearted attempt at normalisation the principles of which are not obvious. These are, however, only minor blemishes which can always be controlled by the excellent plates, covering the whole of the text, and these can also be referred to for the actual form of the signs, which are not always reproduced in the printed text as accurately as might be wished.

Epirus. By G. N. CROSS. Pp. 137; 1 table. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 6s.

This volume, which reproduces a recent Prince Consort essay, has special reference to the constitutional development of Epirus; but it also gives a brief survey of its political history in those rare periods at which it emerges from obscurity. Its chief merit is to fit the history of Epirus more closely into the context of general Greek history, and to define more sharply the curiously limited powers of the Epirote kings. Incidentally it also corrects or amplifies current views on many small details of Hellenistic history. Some of the more contentious problems arising out of the narrative are more fully discussed in appendices, of which those on King Neoptolemus, on the Epirote constitution, on the relations between Epirus and Acarnania, and on the peace negotiations between Pyrrhus and the Romans, will particularly repay study.

On the constitutional side Mr. Cross aptly observes that the Epirote federation of the late fourth century was modelled on the Hellenic League of Philip. May we assume that the subsequent republican *κοινόν*, in which the canton of the Molossi lost its long ascendancy, shows the influence of the Aetolian League, where all constituent states were reduced to a level? The author also makes a good point in tracing back the limitations of Epirote monarchy to Homeric times; and he is no doubt right in denying Justin's assertion that King Tharypas was the author of the constitutional checks upon the monarchy. Yet there is no need to dismiss all of Tharypas' reforms as legendary, *more Lycu geo*. Plutarch's statement that he introduced written laws into Epirus may be allowed to stand. Mr. Cross further makes an ingenious suggestion that King Alcetas was an adoptive son of Leptines, brother of Dionysius I of Syracuse. In that case Alcetas' year of birth had better be dated later than 420 B.C.

In the historical narrative the reign of Pyrrhus I naturally forms the centre-piece. The initial negotiations between the king and the Tarentines are here discussed with good judgment, and it is plausibly argued that the sudden appearance of a certain Roman fleet off Tarentum was by arrangement with an oligarchic party in the city. But it is scarcely credible that the oligarchs intended to 'hand over' Tarentum to the Romans. By the later terms of capitulation the Tarentines did not become 'dediticii' but received a treaty.

Nobody will cavil at Mr. Cross for not discussing military details in a volume of narrow compass. On the other hand, an introductory sketch of the geography of Epirus would have

thrown light on its political history. Nature destined Epirus to be an inland country (unlike Illyria), despite its long coast: and to be a pastoral region (unlike Macedon). It therefore had a relatively sparse population and was even more townless than Macedon. These features help to explain why its kings were never able to establish a Macedonian type of monarchy.

This is a very promising first work, in which the author has made considerable improvements in our knowledge of Epirus.

M. C.

Alexander the Great. By ULRICH WILCKEN.

Translated by G. C. RICHARDS. Pp. viii — 337: 1 plate, 1 map. London: Chatto and Windus, 1932. 15s.

This translation of Professor Wilcken's masterly study of Alexander is very welcome, as the admirable plan and balance of the sections, the accuracy of the historical presentment, and the sober and judicious nature of the comments, make it a model which might well be followed. It is, of course, hardly to be expected that all will agree on the interpretation of Alexander's character and actions, but at any rate Professor Wilcken has given one which is clear and logical. Some slight inconsistency may perhaps be found in his estimation of the military motives underlying some of Alexander's more spectacular exploits: he appreciates that, in leading his troops to the attack in person, as for instance at the Granicus and the chief town of the Malli, Alexander was fulfilling the recognised duty of a general, and that the stubborn struggles at Tyre and Aornos were strategically imperative: but he seems to regard certain other moves, such as the crossing of the Danube and the visit to Ilium, as inspired by Alexander's romantic feelings. There were surely sound military reasons for both: in the first case Alexander, unable to dislodge the enemy from an island in the Danube by direct attack, took a substantial force over the river and occupied both banks, which naturally led to surrender of the enveloped position: the second suggests a preparation for a turning movement in case the Persians opposed the crossing of the Hellespont by the main Macedonian army at Abydos, though it was not necessary to develop the movement. That Alexander announced other reasons for these actions is probable enough: as Professor Wilcken remarks, a Macedonian king could form and carry out his own plans: but Alexander, though the initiative lay absolutely with him, evidently realised the moral value of an appeal to sentiment, and used this again and again to cloak his real military objects. If possible, Heracles, Achilles, or some other

Greek hero was called into service: but where no hero was available, as at the Danube, Alexander's personal 'longing' served the purpose. The same 'longing' comes out in the story of the expedition to the oasis of Ammon, where, just as previously at the Danube and later at the Jaxartes, Alexander had reached the point which he had determined for his frontier, but wished to make his power known to the tribes beyond that point: a reconnaissance might have been misinterpreted in a military sense as an unsuccessful advance and withdrawal, so another motive was invented. It is not necessary to suppose that camouflage is a purely modern device.

While the actual translation by Canon Richards is good and pleasant to read, the notes are rather scrappy: it would have been better, if they could not be made more complete, to omit them altogether.

J. G. M.

Alexandre le Grand. By GEORGES RADET.

Pp. 447: 1 map. Paris: L'artisan du livre, 1931. 40 fr.

The story told by M. Radet is so dramatically presented and so attractively worded that it is well worth reading, although we may differ from him in the interpretation which he puts on certain of the acts of Alexander, and feel some doubt concerning the trustworthiness of some of his sources. If strict logical tests are applied, some of his comparisons seem rather strained—for instance, on p. 106 Alexander's present of incense from the booty taken at Gaza to his old tutor, following on his savage treatment of Batis, is likened to the anointing of the feet of Jesus by Mary: and, just before this, he does not appear to realise that the two explanations suggested for this treatment of Batis are in conflict—if Alexander had felt a 'Greek' disgust at the appearance of a negro eunuch, he would not have exalted this creature to epic glory as a second Hector. Other inconsistencies may be noted: on p. 41 Alexander's charge at the battle of the Granicus is regarded 'non comme l'émanation d'une haute pensée militaire, mais comme une poussée de l'héroïsme atavique,' while eleven pages later we find it stated that in Alexander's mind 'la fascination du passé n'oblitére jamais le sens des nécessités militaires.' But, as the whole of the limelight is concentrated on the one figure of Alexander, these minor defects in the staging may pass unnoticed, and do not detract from the general charm of the panegyric. It may indeed be described as a modern version of the Romance of Alexander, with a tendency to psychological analysis in place of the chivalric fervour of the Middle Ages.

J. G. M.

Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON. (*Harvard Historical Monographs*, I.) Pp. xiv + 197. Harvard University Press, 1932. \$1.50.

This book, though not large, is of vital importance for Athenian chronology. It has all the characteristics one expects from Professor Ferguson's work—great learning, acute reasoning, a minute and exhaustive knowledge of the inscriptions; but there is more than that. Ferguson has made a new discovery; its full value I do not pretend to estimate offhand, but conceivably it may be only second in importance to his discovery in 1898 of 'Ferguson's law.' That showed that the prytany secretaries rotated according to a fixed order of the tribes; and this rotation has since been established for the priests of Asklepios and other offices (list on p. 48). Ferguson now puts forward a *second* method of rotation: within a tribal cycle the officials in question may not follow the fixed tribal order but may be placed by sortition, so that the tribes come in any order but no tribe more than once within the cycle. This method, he says (p. 49), 'must be thought of as substitutable at any moment for rotation in the fixed order': he finds, *e.g.*, that in the cycle 157/6–146/5 it applies to the secretaries and the Asklepios priests at Athens and to various priesthoods in Athenian Delos, where it was perhaps the normal method of rotation for the priesthood of Hagne Aphrodite. Here indeed is a new tool for the historian to play with.

The book itself has seemingly been evoked by Dinsmoor's *Archons of Athens*. Ferguson pays a high and well-deserved tribute to this great work: but as regards the Athenian archon-list he only accepts Dinsmoor's results for the periods 295/4–263/2 and 145/4–88/7, while (though he emphasises that he is dealing with cycles rather than archons) for the long intermediate period he produces a revised and attractive chronology of his own (Table II, Scheme A) with which much of the book is concerned, and for which he has been able to use some unpublished inscriptions. In reviewing Dinsmoor's book (*CR.* 1932, p. 123) I indicated some difficulties in his archon-list in the middle of the third century, and pointed out that his dates for Diomedon and for Polyeuktos (the invitations to the Aetolian Soteria) were historically meaningless, and that Flacelière's dates, 253/2 and 255/4, *ought* to be right. Since then two fresh examinations of the stone on which *IG*². II, 791 is written have been made, one by Roussel and Robert (*REA.* 1932, p. 199) and another which Ferguson uses, and both examinations agree that the disputed

letter is delta and not lambda, as Dinsmoor took it to be. Helped by this examination, Ferguson starts his book by assigning Diomedon to 253/2 and thus gets firm ground: in his view (p. 75) this date is fixed both by carrying back the secretary cycles from Thrasyphron in 221/0 and carrying forward the priestly cycles of Asklepios from 322/1, the two cycles thus vouching for each other. Diomedon in 253/2 entails Polyeuktos in 255/4, where he ought to be because of the peace of 255 (unlike Dinsmoor, Ferguson gives full value to the peaces of 261 and 255, and I trust they are now established past serious questioning); but meanwhile a new difficulty has arisen, a decree of Smyrna (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, 483) which *prima facie* puts Polyeuktos after 247. One of the best chapters in the book is the long examination and resolution of this difficulty; I think Ferguson has proved his point, that Smyrna's answer to the Aetolian invitation was long delayed, and that, moreover, it was normal, when a general request for asyilia was sent out, for a block of acceptances to come in at once and then for others to straggle in at intervals: he gives instances of some long intervals. With these two archons established, things go pretty well, though I must make one reservation: when he claims (p. 177) that he is unaware of any historical data to which his present system does injustice, I feel very doubtful (as does Kirchner, *Gnomon*, 1932, p. 453) of his and Dinsmoor's new dating of the Chremonidean war; but this cannot be examined in a review.

I cannot notice half of the important points in this close-packed volume, but one or two must be indicated. Ferguson now accepts 288/7 for Diokles I (the fall of Demetrius), thus ending a long debate in the only way possible; and for a single crisis at Athens *circa* 103 he now substitutes a series of crises in the time before Sulla. His detection of certain archon-names as significant for the circumstances of the moment is delightful, and points to skilful management of the elections: and he brings out the importance of the tribal cycles as 'punctuation points' for public records and inventories. One strange question seems to arise out of Diomedon's date. Ferguson puts the Asklepios priest Boiskos of Phlya, who has to precede Diomedon, as late as he can (254/3), but nevertheless, rotating backwards, finds that the known tribe of the priest Phyleus of Eleusis, whose date is fixed *aliunde* to 286/5, will not fit that year; his deduction that in the priestly cycle 288/7–277/6 his second method (sortition) was used seems (at present) the only possible one. The innovation, he says (p. 54), 'is well motivated by the

new democratic régime established 'in 288: and one asks at once—if the democrats dealt thus with the politically unimportant priestly cycle, what about the overlapping secretary cycle which started in the strongly democratic year 279/8? Shall we hope that sortition will one day solve that problem?

W. W. T.

The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic

Age. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. Pp. xviii + 367; 4 illustrations. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931.

His own accidental discovery, while engaged in a re-examination of the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis in 1928, of an inscribed fragment fitting on to IG. II², 649, prompted Prof. Dinsmoor to a detailed re-examination of Attic chronology during Hellenistic times, with the result, as is now widely known, that he proposes a shift in the date of several important events of third-century history. On the epigraphical side this closely-documented work has already engaged the close scrutiny of specialists (*vide* the preceding review) and it will doubtless continue to do so for some time to come: but the astronomical theories and the views of the Attic calendar it embodies will probably take readers on to less familiar ground, and to them the following observations may be of service.

'Throughout the centuries with which we are concerned'—that is, from the fifth to the second century B.C.—'the Greek astronomers were still engaged in their vain effort to discover the ideal luni-solar year.' There is indeed nothing original in this pronouncement of Prof. Dinsmoor, but the very abundant, and often very original, evidence with which he supports it is well worth the consideration of those who in recent years have been led to believe that the Greeks, in such matters, were merely copyists of contemporary Babylonian astronomers. While fully accepting the modern view that 'the State,' at Athens, 'soon assumed the right to decide the month which should be Hecatombaeon and which year intercalary,' he maintains not merely that Meton's scheme was 'an index by which the irregularity of the public calendar could be measured,' but that its improved version, the Callippic cycle, besides being 'employed by astronomers for dating their observations,' did also 'come into practical use.' Furthermore, he asserts, on epigraphical grounds, that the 304-years cycle of Hipparchus, more exact than any of its predecessors, so far from having been thrown out as a mere suggestion,

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

can be shown to have been actually brought into use at the very precise date of July 21, 145 B.C. It is certainly interesting to be told that when, in inscriptions of that time, a distinction is drawn between dates κατ' ἀρχοντα and κατὰ θεόν—phrases which Prof. Dinsmoor translates as 'Old Style' and 'New Style' respectively—the scheme thus dignified as divine is really that of the great astronomer whom Pliny was afterwards to extol as *consiliorum naturae particeps*. And another remarkable assertion is that the 16-year cycle, described by Geminus as an improvement on the octaeteris, can be proved to have been in actual use at Delos. On a still earlier and more famous cycle, the alleged Sothic period of the Egyptians, Prof. Dinsmoor has found it possible to say something original. And of the lately-discovered solar prytany year at Athens, he brings evidence to show that it came to an end in 411, yet that Aristotle, born a quarter of a century later, had forgotten, or never heard of, its existence.

His book indeed abounds in surprises. Did Meton really discover for himself that he had been a day out in his famous observation of the solstice in 432? If so, it is strange that we have no record of the discovery, any more than of the 'numerous earlier observations' of the equinoxes by which Prof. Dinsmoor supposes it to have been made. One thing which the inscriptions certainly seem to make clear is that those chronologists were mistaken who supposed that, even after Meton's time, the Athenian νομηνία, or first day of the month, continued to begin with the first appearance of the crescent moon, as of course it must originally have done. It really began on the day of the conjunction, and possibly therefore the Aristophanic complaints of the moon against the calendar may be merely an exaggerated conservative protest against celebrating the new moon one, two, or three days before the new moon was seen. But it is a little difficult thus to explain the remark of Thucydides, that an eclipse took place on the νομηνία κατὰ σελήνην, 'the only day, it is supposed, upon which such a thing can happen,' on Prof. Dinsmoor's view that the civil νομηνία was then always the same as the day of 'true' new moon.

His opinion that 'a judicious combination of all the available astronomical evidence and of the literary and epigraphic records should enable us to form as definite an idea of the flexible Athenian calendar as of the mechanical Egyptian,' is optimistic, but without optimism such labour as this work implies could hardly be undertaken.

E. J. W.

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The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol IX: The Roman Republic, 133-44 B.C. Edited by S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK, M. P. CHARLESWORTH. Pp. xxi + 1022: 22 maps, etc. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 37s. 6d.

This stately volume of over one thousand pages, with its customary equipment of maps, bibliographies, dynastic lists and indices, is devoted mainly to Rome, which now, almost without a rival, holds the centre of the stage. There remain, however, three non-Roman countries which still demand individual treatment—Pontus (Ch. III), Judaea (Ch. IX) and Parthia (Ch. XIV). In Chapter III Professor Rostovtzeff firmly characterises the civilisation of Pontus and does all that can be done to extract a reliable historical record from the scanty remains of the earlier period. The attempt to define the relations of the kings of Pontus to Greeks within their borders is of great importance in view of the rôle played later by Mithridates the Great. Professor Ormerod rounds off the chapter with a very vivid account of the great war in Asia and Greece from 91 to 85 B.C. In Chapter IX Dr. Bevan deals in a few clear pages with the political history and then paves the way for the coming world-importance of the Jews by a careful account of their religious and social conditions both at home and in the Diaspora. In Chapter XIV Mr. Tarn grapples with the difficult—perhaps hardly soluble—problems of early Parthian chronology and registers some definite advances on the results as yet obtained in the British Museum Catalogue of Parthian coins. He then surveys the curiously mixed civilisation of Parthia and the special military institutions of the Parthians—their mailed horsemen on their great horses and their light horse-archers. The inspired use of horse-archers by Surenas in the campaign of Carrhae makes a great story. Review of the main Roman section of the book must be left to other periodicals. It is enough to say here that this volume lives well up to the highest standard yet attained in the History.

H. M.

Fonti per la storia della religione cyrenaica.

By LUISA VITALI. (*R. Università di Padova; Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, Vol. I.) Pp. xix + 165. Padua: Casa editrice dott. Antonio, 1932. 20 l.

Dr. Vitali has brought together in a compendious volume most of the available material (literary, epigraphic, numismatic, etc.) for a study of the cults of the Cyrenaica, though it is unfortunate, in view of their great importance, that some of the most recent discoveries are

barely touched on. The book is divided into two parts, the first containing the sources (with an Italian translation) arranged alphabetically under the names of the deities to which they refer, the second a full commentary. The work of compilation has been carefully done and the commentary is full and on the whole judicious. The latter begins with a discussion of the fundamental question, was the nymph Cyrene Thessalian or Libyan in origin? Dr. Vitali reverts to the view, prevalent before Malten's brilliant study, that her real home is Thessaly. For the author the lion, indigenous in both places, was the link which enabled the poet of the Ehoie, at the behest of an early Battiad, to transfer the nymph to Libya and to develop her story there. But while it is very difficult to see how the Thessalian part of the story could arise if we regard it as secondary, it is no less difficult, on the other view, to abandon the local tradition preserved, e.g. by Callimachus, himself a Cyrenaean, and such evidence as is afforded by the name of the brook Cyre, etc.—incidentally no numismatist would agree that the common coin inscription ΚΥΡΑ , quoted in support of the view that Cyre is a short form for Cyrene, can be anything but the initial letters of the usual ethnic. The problem still awaits a satisfactory solution. This monograph is the first of a series and it may be hoped that it will shortly be followed by others of equal merit.

Attische Feste. By LUDWIG DEUBNER. Pp. 267; 40 plates and folding calendar. Berlin: H. Keller, 1932. 50 m.

This handsome volume is one of the most important and welcome contributions to scholarship that have been made for some years. August Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen* was and is a most useful collection of material, and is not wholly displaced even now; but it had no illustrations, its explanations of the meaning of the ritual described were out of date already when it was written and are much more so now, and its arrangement according to the calendar, while in some ways convenient, had the disadvantage that in order to study the cult of any one deity it was necessary to look up half a dozen separate passages. Deubner arranges the festivals under the names of the gods, with a short section at the end on commemorative feasts, and adds a good ecclesiastical calendar, so to call it, which sets down the festivals on their proper days, when these are known, and groups the rest under their months with the rubric 'unbestimmter Tag.' Furthermore, and this is of great value, he gives an excellent selection of pictorial material, mostly from vases and

above all from the *Choenkannen*, concerning which he has an appendix containing a hint to archaeologists. The late A. Frickenhaus meant to publish an exhaustive work on the subject of these most interesting vases: Deubner has his material, on which his own descriptions are founded, and offers it to anyone who has the knowledge and industry to complete Frickenhaus's task. Another appendix gives the latest information concerning the pictorial calendar preserved in the church of S. Eleutherios.

The discussion of the festivals is characterised by acuteness, good sense and abundant scholarship, such as we have long ago learned to expect from Deubner. It is throughout brief, as befits the moderate size of the book, and saves space by omitting such matters as are of no religious interest, for example, details of the external arrangements of processions and so forth and of the athletic programmes connected with the Panathenaia and other great feasts. No point of the slightest importance to the understanding of Athenian, or Greek, religious life is shirked, however, and all material relevant to the solution of the numerous difficulties is drawn upon. To what purpose the author has wrestled with the problems that arise may be judged from the following examples.

On p. 9 *sqq.*, speaking of the Arrhephoroi (= ἀρρηφοροί; he compares ἀκμοῖνοῖς τέτης, τετράδραχμος and adduces the full form of the name of the festival, Ἀρρηφορία, from schol. Lucian., p. 276, 13 Rabe), he connects their ritual with the autumn sowing and (p. 13) distinguishes them from the ἐρρηφοροί, whose independent existence he proves fully. On p. 22 he gives the right reason for the Plynteria being an ἀποφράς, 'weil bei der Reinigung des Bildes (of Athena) Unrat in Bewegung kommt, der die ganze Luft erfüllen und überall Schaden stiften kann,' and rightly compares the *dies nefasti*, June 7-15, at Rome, with the note which the calendars give us on the last day, Q.S.D.F. He does not, however, make it clear that πλύνειν does not mean λούειν, a point of some little importance for the ritual. With regard to the ciresione, he refuses (p. 29, note 8) to be misled by the confusions of late authors into giving it a place in the Panathenaia; it belongs to the Pyanopsia and nowhere else (cf. pp. 191-21). This is but one of many places in which his common sense and critical ability save him from being misled by blunders ancient and modern. On the vexed question of the Panathenaic car, he sides (p. 33) with Pfuhl and Frickenhaus in supposing that it was always naval and that it was derived from the similar vehicle used at the Anthesteria, where it probably indicates the

overseas origin of the Dionysiac cult. On p. 40 *sqq.* he makes a diligent and ingenious, but in the reviewer's opinion not quite convincing attempt to extract consistent sense from the very puzzling scholion on Lucian, pp. 275-6 Rabe: his whole account of the Thesmophoria is most reasonable and at many points clearly right. His interpretation (p. 35) of the Νηστεία is simply that the women fasted lest any profane food should interfere with the *mana* they were to receive from the next day's ceremony, and sat χαμαί, which does not necessarily mean on the bare ground, because their tents or booths were very simple affairs with no furniture in them to sit upon except the litter on which they slept.

His treatment of the Mysteries (p. 69 *sqq.*) is very sensible and generally very plausible. I am somewhat doubtful of his statement (p. 71) that they bear 'den Stempel des weiblichen Empfindungslebens' or that their secrecy has anything to do with the oppression of one race by another; not all may be convinced by his denial (p. 73) that the γεφυρισμός had any magico-religious significance, or that the veiling of the initiates' heads served purely as 'ein Mittel der seelischen Konzentration' (p. 78). When he identifies the Anaktoron with the Telesterion, taking the former to mean the old Mycenaean palace at Eleusis, he has yet to show how he reconciles this with the fact (see Payne in *JHS*, lii, p. 239) that the Mycenaean megaron had already been built over before the end of the Mycenaean period (see p. 89).

As regards the Anthesteria, he disposes successfully of the suggestion that the Pithoigia had anything to do with grave-pithoi, p. 95. The αἰώρα he would place on the day of the Chytrai, p. 118: with regard to the whole story of Erigone, he produces good reasons for doubting whether, in its most familiar form, it goes further back than Eratosthenes. More important, and I think quite right, are his denial (p. 122) that Dionysos had anything to do with ghosts until he took over the ghost-ritual connected with the Anthesteria, and his argument that, since all Ionian cities seem to have Anthesteria, all must have made the acquaintance of Dionysos, whose feast it always is, before the Ionian migration to Asia Minor. I would merely add, that until a much later date than that his cult remained purely the affair of the lower orders. Of the dramatic festivals as such he has not much to say, since this is not a work on the history of literature; what he does say is good. When speaking of the Oschophoroi, he suggests (p. 143) that their 'female' clothing was nothing but the old Ionian dress. In this connexion he is a little

too elaborate on a small grammatical point, p. 144. In Proclus, as cited by Photios, *Biblioth.*, p. 322, Bekker, there is no real difficulty about the use of πρότερος for the winner of a race; in such late Greek it can simply mean πρώτος.

Those who wish to read a genuinely critical account of the Buphonia are recommended to consult the section dealing with it, pp. 159-74; there is no space here to criticise it in detail. A little further on, p. 178, he refers Zeus' title Ἡραῖος to the ἱερός γάμος.

Matters about which the last word has not been said, but at least the ground is cleared by Deubner, are the complicated business of the φαρμακοί, p. 179 *sqq.*, whom he considers scapegoats pure and simple, with no trace of human sacrifice, so far as Athens is concerned, and, to mention smaller matters, the ritual of Enyalios in Plutarch, *Solom.* 9, which he accounts for as Plutarch does (p. 2181): the question, which he answers in the affirmative, p. 227, whether Herakles Μήλων has really absorbed an old apple-spirit: and the exact meaning of Γενέσις, which, with W. Schmidt, he derives (p. 229) from γενέτης and parallels with Lat. Parentalia. When he interprets Schol. Pind., N. ii. 19 as referring to an armed statue of Aias, I cannot agree with him. On the other hand, I do not remember any account of the Apaturia so good as that which he gives on pp. 232-4.

H. J. R.

Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im Griechischen Hymnus. By KARL KEYSNER. (*Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, zweites Heft.*) Pp. xvi + 172. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932.

This is a compilation of use to any who are studying Greek hymnology, including the beginnings of Christian poetry of this kind and the use of hymns in magic, and also to any who engage in that fascinating game, the pursuit of a literary formula throughout its history. After a short introduction dealing with the hymn as a religious and literary form, the author groups the ideas found in his material, which ranges from pseudo-Homer to Synesios, under a succession of heads, divided into two parts, 1. *Die Gottesvorstellung* and 2. *Die Lebensauffassung*. The former of these includes the formula ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεθα and others like it; the use of hyperbole; the acknowledgment of divine power, as by the emphasis laid on δύναμις (τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τις ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατὰσχοι; Soph. *Ant.*, 604; σὺ [the Virgin Mary] εἰ ἡ τῇ σῇ δυνάμει καὶ τοῦ σκότους δυναστεύσασα, Ox. pap. 2074, 34, and many passages between these), on ἀρετή and so forth; the declaration of man's dependence

upon deity: expressions of the attitude of the gods towards men and their activities regarding them: anthropomorphism. The latter is divided into the following sections: *Leben, Glück und Freude*; *Familie und Staat*; *Ethisch-geistige Werte*; *Göttliches Dasein und menschliches Lebensideal*.

It is thus clear that the book forms a sort of subject-index (and, so far as the reviewer has tested it, an accurate one) to these hymns. It is therefore a work to be rather consulted than read through. The weak point is the somewhat unhandy arrangement of the whole. If the user of it wants to know all that ancient hymn-writers have to say, for instance, on the honour (τιμή) due to and enjoyed by the gods, he will find it, scattered up and down some half-dozen passages to which the too short index will guide him, with some good exegesis, e.g. of the phrase τὸν ἀπότιμον ἐν θεοῖς θεόν, Soph., *O.T.*, 215 (p. 65); but his task might easily have been made less troublesome by various quite simple devices, as marginal catch-words, cross-references, more elaborate subdivision with corresponding headings, and so forth, which would not have greatly increased the cost of printing and would have made the book more manageable. But at least the material is there, and for that the diligent author may be thanked.

H. J. R.

Before and After Socrates. By F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. x + 103. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 4s. 6d.

A survey of Greek philosophy within the compass of four lectures given to a popular audience might well be expected to have only a popular value and importance. But Professor Cornford's small book is not only a masterly piece of condensation, nor only a delightful introduction to further reading; it is more, and it claims the attention of every serious student of the subject. The title indicates the author's main point. Pre-Socratic thought (and we have it here traced back, thoroughly indeed, to its antecedents in the mind of pre-scientific man) is naturalistic, and hence inevitably becomes materialistic: Socrates discovers the soul, and henceforth the philosophy of causes must be a philosophy of ends. It is Plato (Professor Cornford is definite on this point) who, under Pythagorean influence, makes of the moral ideal of Socrates a Form with 'substantial reality.' With Plato the 'morality of aspiration' is paramount: with Aristotle, rationalism returns. The book is full of suggestive ideas and arresting phrases: thus the Sophistic movement is termed a 'philosophy of adolescence.' The summary of Pythagoreanism (pp. 65-69) is admirable. Possibly

the best page of all is that (p. 44) which describes Socrates as the guide and teacher of youth. Refreshing and stimulating, this is a great little book.

D. T.

Socrates. By A. E. TAYLOR. Pp. 182; 1 plate. London: Peter Davies, 1932. 5s.

This notable little book embodies, in the form of a connected biography, Professor Taylor's known views upon the activities and the thought of Socrates. The life itself occupies the greater part of the book: a last chapter briefly summarises the doctrine. The author states at the outset his position with regard to the Socrates of Aristophanes, of Xenophon and of Plato, and argues his case throughout with the utmost clearness and persuasiveness. The discussion of the accusation and trial is particularly valuable: the summary (pp. 127-8) of the death-scene is not unworthy of its original. In expounding the evolution of the Idea from the method of hypothesis, Professor Taylor does full justice to the παρουσία doctrine of the *Phaedo*; but the παράδειγμα view, also clearly indicated in the earlier part of that dialogue, seems to be here passed over, and the whole question of the nature of the Idea is left somewhat vague. He makes a strong case for the historicity of the Socrates of the *Phaedo*, but he is doubtful about the Socrates of the *Republic*. So the problem of discrimination is not yet solved. The pages on Socrates' view of the soul as the 'conscious personality,' and on the ethical position which this view entails, are admirably done. The book is framed for the general reader: none the less, and for all its brevity (the print is large and the page small), it is a challenge to serious study by all those of us who still hold to the errors of the 'nineteenth century' condemned by Professor Taylor, and are not even yet prepared to cry 'ἡὺρον ἄμεινον.'

D. T.

Die Phronesis in der Philosophie Platons vor dem Staate. By JOHANNES HIRSCHBERGER. (*Philologus, Supplementband XXV, Heft I.*) Pp. vi + 200. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1932. 12.80 m.

This book examines those theories of knowledge, being and value which are developed in Plato's earlier dialogues, taken in the usual order up to and including the *Phaedo*. The main thesis is that φρόνησις means to Plato, from the first, more than purely intellectual knowledge, and that his conception of an ἐπιστήμη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ is directly traceable to the influence of Socrates. The 'utilitarianism' of Socrates is admirably interpreted in the light of his in-

tuitive sense of moral values. It is this element of value, the author shows, that Plato discovers as the essential object of true knowledge. The gradual development of this theory, by way of criticism of the 'virtue is knowledge' formula and the advance towards a transcendent object of thought and goal of action, is worked out in detail through the successive dialogues of the group; *Ion*, the two *Hippias* dialogues and *Menexenus* are included. The exposition of the *Phaedo* is especially full and valuable, though in his enthusiasm for the 'transcendent' idea the author somewhat ignores the problem of the 'immanent' form in 100 c ff. He points out that the *Phaedo* combines theoretical and practical motives in a manner true to the spirit of Socrates himself. The book is an important contribution to the study of the earlier Platonism.

D. T.

Greek Astronomy. By SIR T. L. HEATH. (*The Library of Greek Thought.*) Pp. lvii + 192. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1932. 5s.

To perform in so small a space so large a task as the explanation to the modern world of the part played by the Greeks in the development of astronomy must be difficult: but no one more likely to perform it could well have been chosen than the author of *Anstarchus of Samos*. Sir Thomas Heath has adopted a somewhat unusual, and perhaps not wholly successful, method. His own historical exposition is confined to an Introduction of 45 pages—one-fifth only of the whole book, the rest of which is made up of extracts from ancient authors, astronomers themselves when that is possible, historians of astronomy when—as is unhappily most often the case—it is not. These extracts begin with Thales, and end not, as might have been expected, with Ptolemy, who is made to follow immediately after his own idol Hipparchus, but with writers like Strabo and Plutarch, who flourished before Ptolemy was born.

Most of Sir Thomas Heath's extracts are very happily chosen, and the translations, most of them made by himself, are very good indeed. One small criticism may here be made because, from an archaeological point of view, it is perhaps not quite so small as it looks. Why does he always translate Capricornus as 'The Horned Goat'? Surely the word αἰγόκερως can no more mean this than ρινόκερως can mean 'a horned nose,' or μονόκερως 'a horned unit.' Its real translation is certainly 'the Goat-horned,' and it conveys the information that,

whatever shape this strange figure may have worn when the Greeks first made his acquaintance, it was certainly *not* that of a Goat.

One does not quite see why the famous passages from Xenophanes on the nature of the Deity should find a place here, as their bearing on astronomical history is far from obvious. Otherwise all the chosen passages about the opinions of the early sages from Thales to Anaxagoras are well worth their place. Hard as it is to reconcile, and often to understand, these accounts, no one who has not studied them can form an adequate conception of the advance made in a few centuries by Hellenic thought, from an age in which an astronomer was little more than a weather-prophet to one in which, as the well-known epigram attributed to Ptolemy says, his feet no longer touched the earth, and he felt himself in his exploration of the stellar orbits to share the immortality of the gods. Nor is Sir Thomas Heath to be blamed for allotting so much space to the difficult astronomical riddles in Plato. Their very inconsistency reflects the variety and audacity of the scientific theories which were being advanced during the philosopher's long life. Perhaps a place might have been found for so instructive and lucid a writer as Autolycus, but the passage cited from Euclid's *Phaenomena* covers much the same ground as he. It is satisfactory to have a long extract from Plutarch's interesting dialogue on 'The Face in the Moon,' and most of the passages cited from Geminus well illustrate the admirable clearness of that best of all 'popular' writers on astronomy. But we feel that rather more use might have been made of Cleomedes, from whose work we learn more than from Geminus about ancient inquiries into subjects particularly interesting to the present age—the relation of the earth to the universe, the sizes and distances of the stars.

The most interesting passages selected from Ptolemy are to be found under the heading of Hipparchus, to whom indeed Sir Thomas Heath says that 'it is doubtful whether Ptolemy himself added anything of great value except a definite theory of the motion of the five planets.' Surely rather a large exception. And one had supposed that to a mathematician Ptolemy's explanation of the moon's 'evection' would always appear as a great, if not—as De Morgan said—'the greatest triumph of ancient astronomy.' However, under Ptolemy's own name we are given only the short passages at the beginning of the *Almagest* which deny the motion and rotation of the earth. These are indeed very interesting, especially as it took more than a thousand years to find an answer to their arguments; but

probably they contain little or nothing that was original with Ptolemy, and certainly they convey no idea of his actual achievements. Of course it must be difficult to make readable extracts from tables of chords, or from even the most elegant of geometrical demonstrations; but it seems doubtful whether Sir Thomas Heath's selections, ceasing where they do, would quite enable a reader to understand how much in the way of calculation and prediction Greek astronomy at its height could perform.

If we now turn for information to the Introduction, we find Sir Thomas Heath, after showing that the hypotheses of Copernicus and of Tycho Brahe are both 'represented in Greek astronomy,' winding up with the words: 'Finally, the geometrical hypothesis of epicycles and eccentric circles, which took account of the variations in the distances of the sun, moon, and planets at different times, was elaborated and tested. It was Kepler that the Greeks failed to anticipate.' But why should any suggestion of 'failure' be made? No one thinks of saying that Galileo, who introduced the telescope into astronomy, 'failed to anticipate' the spectroscope, or that Herschel, who discovered Uranus, 'failed to anticipate' the discovery of Neptune. Surely, as Kepler could not have done his work unless Copernicus and Tycho had preceded him, so Copernicus, if Ptolemy had not been before him, would have been as incapable as Aristarchus of proving the superiority of a heliocentric scheme to a geocentric. The test of a race's achievements is not the amount by which it falls short of its successors, but the amount of the advance it has made on its predecessors. And here Sir Thomas Heath unhesitatingly adopts the modern view that the Greek debt to Babylon was 'much greater than was formerly supposed.' This conviction leads him to shake his head over the tradition that Meton invented the Metonic cycle—which cannot be proved to have been known at Babylon till after Meton's time—and even to write that 'it is a fair inference that Cleostratus imported from Babylon into Greece the knowledge of the zodiac and the constellations in it.' A fair inference from what? From a single passage in Pliny which really says that the zodiac was invented by certain Greeks. Pliny may conceivably have been wrong. Jonson *may* have been wrong in attributing Shakespeare's plays to Shakespeare, but to infer from his evidence to that effect that they were really written by Bacon would hardly be considered 'fair.'

The Greeks themselves always regarded the Babylonians, no less, though perhaps not more,

than the Egyptians, as their predecessors and instructors in astronomy. But from Plato's time onwards they seem to have considered themselves not merely abreast but ahead of their former teachers, even while they were making good use of Chaldaean observations, extending backwards to the middle of the eighth century. To the earlier Chaldaeans they attribute the great discovery of the eighteen-year eclipse cycle, known as the Saros. But of any improvements by the Babylonians themselves on that discovery they have told us nothing.

When Ideler, a hundred years ago, remarked that no names of individual Chaldaean astronomers had come down to us, it was of course known that Strabo, as a fact, gives the names of four. But two of these can be shown from other sources to have belonged to Hellenic times and Hellenic culture, and Ideler doubtless assumed that the others, Cidenas and Naburiannus, did so too—as indeed Strabo's language suggests. Now that the cuneiform tablets have thrown light upon Kidinnu and Naburiannu, proving that they were indeed worthy of the renown which Strabo says was theirs, the question arises whether they are to be regarded as the latest and greatest teachers of the old Babylonian schools, or, like Seleucus, as inspired by the new ideas which the Greeks had imported into their ancient science. By dating Kidinnu at 383 B.C., and Naburiannu more than a century earlier still, the supporters of the former view try to prove their case. Yet many passages in Greek astronomical writings make it difficult to see how one can hold this view while at the same time maintaining, as its supporters do, that the Greeks were from the sixth century onwards, assiduous and docile pupils of contemporary Chaldaeans. Such, for instance, are the remarks of Hipparchus on the difficulty of observing a solstice, or of Archimedes on that of correctly measuring the sun's apparent diameter. Both astronomers feel their own inadequacy, and are aware that their Greek forerunners had been even less competent. The idea that earlier Chaldaean observations could help them here does not seem to occur to them.

Eudoxus of Cnidus is to Sir Thomas Heath, as to Schiaparelli before him, a star of the first magnitude, whose 'system of concentric spheres' must be considered 'a marvel of geometrical acumen.' Yet this great astronomer, whom we are now to consider as contemporary with Cidenas and long after Naburiannus, went for the observations he required, not to Babylon, but to Egypt. And from what we know of his

work it is clear that he failed to find there any recognition of the solar inequality which had been known to his own countrymen at least half a century before him. If this doctrine really came to Greece from the Chaldaeans, it seems strange that by one at least of the greatest minds in the age of Plato, the superiority of Chaldaea to Egypt should not have been recognised.

Why should not the influence of Greece upon Babylonian astronomy have been as strong as it certainly was upon the characteristic science of Babylon, astrology? The complete absence from early Greek writers of the astrological ideas which later Greece received with such avidity amounts in itself to a refutation of the belief that Babylonian doctrine was pouring into Greece during the sixth century. But, later on, two or three centuries on Greek soil were enough to transform the ancient science into a shape which, as every reader of Manilius must allow, it cannot possibly have worn in the land of its origin. And so with astronomy itself. Before the sixth century the Greeks seem to have known little about the planets, which the Babylonians had been studying for at least 1500 years. Yet we do not know that the Babylonians ever succeeded in arranging the planets in a scientific order, according to their distances, which the Greeks had done by the time of Plato. Finally, does not the originality of the Greeks reveal itself in their astronomical vocabulary? Is it not remarkable that in the many Babylonian tablets which have now been translated there are to be found so few expressions which appear as the obvious originals of such words as 'zodiac,' 'horizon,' 'node,' which have come to us, directly or indirectly, from the Greeks? Sir Thomas Heath reminds us that in the *πῆχυς* and *δᾶκτυλος*, used for celestial measurements by Greek astronomers—Ptolemy seems to have discouraged this practice—we have undoubted translations from the Babylonian. But how many, if any, more such translations can be pointed out?

It would be doing Sir Thomas Heath an injustice not to end by acknowledging that his own attitude to the Greek achievements is enthusiastic enough to satisfy the warmest phil-Hellene. And few will dispute his conclusion that the two things which give to the astronomy of the Greeks its special character are, 'first an unrivalled speculative genius, and secondly . . . their mathematics,' though perhaps not all can fully share his conviction that the second of these things is 'a particular manifestation' of the first.

E. J. W.

La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés.

By A. DELATTE. (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de Liège*, fasc. 48.)

Pp. 221, with 13 plates. Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, and Paris: E. Droz, 1932. 60 fr.

In this scholarly monograph M. Delatte has collected and passed in review the chief evidence of divination by the magic mirror from the time of Aristophanes till the present day. The greater portion of the book is concerned with references to catoptromancy and kindred practices from the Middle Ages to modern times, in the course of which the conclusion is established that catoptromancy is distinct from lecanomancy both as regards type and place of origin, the former being 'hallucinatoire' and Greek, the latter 'ominal' and Babylonian. In this chronological survey the author maintains that in the practice of divination by the mirror and other reflecting objects, when the accretions of necromancy, demonology, astrology and religion are removed, the ancient type of catoptromancy is truthfully preserved, whereas lecanomancy, through its association with hydromancy, soon lost its characteristic of merely interpreting omens. We owe the preservation of many accounts of such divination, which M. Delatte has brought to light, to ecclesiastical condemnation in the Middle Ages: in this connexion one may mention as particularly interesting the long extracts from William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris in the thirteenth century, who, after giving a rationalist explanation of catoptromancy which approximates to the modern theory of auto-hypnosis, rejects it in favour of one in which supernatural influences, playing upon the imagination of the subject, are responsible for the phenomena. Three centuries later, however, we learn that Agrippa of Nettesheim upheld the rationalist explanation and thus 'atteste une hardiesse de conception et des connaissances de physiologie et psychologie peu communes à cette époque.'

After finding in the forms of catoptromancy as practised by the Moslems further corroboration of his thesis, M. Delatte then passes to consider the evidence of antiquity. The oldest and most convincing witness is Aristophanes; while M. Delatte is no doubt correct in his interpretation of *Ach.* 1128 *sqq.* as a parody, not of lecanomancy, but of catoptromancy, some discussion of the question whether its topicality was due to recent introduction or early divulgation would have been effective. In claiming the divination scene of the Villa Igem paintings as catoptromantic, the author goes against the

weight of previous opinion, but makes out a convincing case; the sixteenth-century engraving by Hopper is a striking if hardly admissible parallel. Much valuable information is found in the magical writings of the Byzantine Age to bridge the gulf between the Classical and Middle Ages. But while one is inclined to accept the statement that the Greeks were the only people of the ancient world to discover the use of the mirror for divination, it must not be forgotten that the argument from silence is often fallacious, especially when lacunae exist in the documentation. It only remains to say that the author has given an extremely readable and at the same time erudite account of the subject, which will make inexcusable any future inexact use of the technical names for the various forms of divination; the whole is well arranged and printed with scarcely an error (the repetition of a line on p. 33 is the most glaring), while the plates could hardly be improved.

Aeschylus: The Prometheus Bound.

By GEORGE THOMSON. Introduction, 46 pp.:

Text and Translation, 83 pp.:

Commentary, 43 pp.:

Fragments and Metrical

Appendix, 10 pp. Cambridge University

Press, 1932. 12s. 6d.

This is an attractive and valuable edition, for which all lovers of Aeschylus should be grateful. The introduction is excellent and discusses with care and lucidity the many contested problems connected with the characterisation, structure and date of the play and its relation to the lost parts. At the outset we are met with the difficult question, Does the poet mean us to side with Zeus or Prometheus? Was Zeus a ruthless tyrant and Prometheus a harshly-used martyr? The editor pronounces emphatically in favour of the Shelleian view. He explains that as a young ruler Zeus was cruel and despotic, but time and experience taught him better things. This may be so and the victim certainly appeals greatly to our sympathies, but there is much to be said on the other side which is well put by Wecklein in his edition. It cannot be said that Mr. Thomson has entirely discredited the other view.

We find in this play, as elsewhere in Aeschylus, what Mr. J. T. Sheppard and Professor Myres have shown so conclusively for Homer, that there is a distinct 'pattern' in the structure of this drama, a balancing of the characters, episodes and speeches and a symmetry in the whole work such as was never fully realised by older editors. This symmetry extends to the lost parts and helps us to conjecture their

general structure. Perhaps this side of the poet's technique had developed with the maturity of his style, as the *Prometheus* was, as the editor surmises, one of his latest plays, and shews signs of this maturity in other ways. One point in connexion with the poet's rival and successor the editor does not notice, the obvious resemblance in plot and conception of the *Antigone* to our play. Creon acts in the *Antigone* the part of Zeus in the *Prometheus* towards his heroine, and it is curious to note that there has been in the case of Sophocles's play the same divergence of opinion as to whether the author meant us to sympathise with the despot or his recalcitrant subject. In fact the patent similarities of diction and phraseology between the two plays shew that Sophocles in this, one of his earliest plays, has built on Aeschylean foundations, but fails to attain to what Mr. Thomson calls the 'primeval majesty' and 'cosmic grandeur' of the earlier drama, in which the poet even excels his own *Oresteia*.

The translation has much to commend it. It is fluent and vigorous at the same time and nearly always worthy of the original. But it is not always satisfying. A tremendous line like ἐφεπαλώθη κάζεβροντήθη σθένος is indeed almost untranslatable, but 'his cindered strength was thundered out of him' cannot be called a happy rendering, even if it is correct, nor is the famous ἀνήριμον γέλασμα κτλ. very successfully turned by 'multitudinous gleam of smiling ocean,' for certainly γέλασμα connotes laughter as well as smile, like the *iachini* of Catullus. There are, however, many felicities, such as 'far-flung' for ἀπέραντον and the perfect line 'How far from sovereignty is servitude.' But is 'insolent' adequate for λυμαντήρια, or 'beauty's swift decay' for διαφθυρὰν μορφῆς, which appears only to mean the ruin of Io's human form, or 'miry clay' for πημάτων, and is not 'high-mouthed' an ugly equivalent for ὑψηλόρων, even if 'mouthed' be from the verb? In 1086 (1053) we miss the most emphatic word πάντως, 'for all that,' 'do what he will.' In 'wait upon this rock' for λαστρεύειν there is an awkward ambiguity. A word like *spancel* does not appear in ordinary dictionaries and is only intelligible through the Greek word which it stands for, and was there any call for 'unlike'?

In the matter of textual revision the editor has been mainly conservative, but we cannot share his enthusiasm for Headlam's θεός ὃς ἀντίστη instead of πᾶσι δ' ἀντίστη, the usual emendation. Even if we suppose that Typhon could be called a god, yet the word comes awkwardly after the accusative τοῦτον. The reading may very well have been, as Wunderlich suggested, πᾶσιν ὃς

ἀνίστη, a construction found in Homer and in St. Mark's Gospel iii. 261. In the difficult passage 425 ff. the editor has allowed himself some latitude of emendation. In writing εἰσιδόμεν for εἰσιδόμεν he had, of course, been anticipated, but cannot the construction be rectified in a simpler manner than he suggests by the one single change of ὑπαινεῶν for ὑπέροχον? The late scholiast twice uses this word, here and on line 350, and Pausanias actually uses it of Atlas. With this word to go with νότοις, the τε will be exegetic and explain σθένος by πόλον. The other emendation by Headlam which Mr. Thomson considers a plenary one, ἄπτερος for αἰφνίδιος λάφνιδιος, may well be correct if ἀφνίδιος is inadmissible.

One serious fault we must find with this edition. It has no index. C. R. H.

The Oresteia of Aeschylus. The Greek text as arranged for performance at Cambridge, with an English translation by J. T. SHEPPARD. Pp. 169. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1933. 3s. 6d.

The first modern production of a Greek play in the original was when, more than fifty years ago, the *Agamemnon* was admirably staged by Oxford men, and came as a revelation to those who were privileged to see it. But a representation of the whole trilogy gives us a far greater insight into the dramatic design and poetic power of Aeschylus. This is not the place to say anything about the Greek text, which as arranged here serves its purpose well. But Mr. Sheppard's racy translation of one of the supreme dramas of the world merits more than a mere perfunctory notice. It is an admirable version, reproducing with remarkable fidelity the spirit and verve of the original without any slavish adherence to the characteristic style and expression of the author, that master of magic harmonies. It abounds in felicitous terms, such as 'at the birth-time of the bud' for κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασι: 'let his road be carpeted with crimson,' πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος: 'hatched from the horse in form of fighting men,' ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδοστρόφος λεώς. The splendid episode of Helen leaving to her townsmen the din of warlike preparation, and 'tripping' through the gates of Troy with a dower of destruction in her hand, while her husband, woeful and forlorn, eyes the deserted marriage bed, and in the hunger of his eyes (Mr. Sheppard translates 'the stare of eyes where Aphrodite's beauty shone seems vacant') all sense of beauty is fled, is ably and adequately rendered, and no less so the touching sacrifice of Iphigenia, which Tennyson also has immortalised.

The chief defect of the translation seems to be that it is in 'free verse' mostly, and perhaps too free, and rather more spacious and even staccato than the glowing splendour of the poet's compressed and weighty diction. In a few places colloquialisms, such as 'foot the bill,' give us a slight jar, nor does the neologism 'peeves' do anything but 'peeve' us as a substitute for *ἐχει* in the enumeration of an infant's natural wants. We may suppose that 'vails' is admissible for 'veils,' but it is well to keep the words distinct to avoid confusion between 'veil' and 'vail' as verbs: but is 'red' justifiable for *μέλανα* 'p. 135', and should not 'nobleman' for *γενναῖον* be 'noble man' 'p. 132'? On p. 62, 'By Hate, Hell's Fury, by the fiend Distraction' for 'Ἀτην Ἐρινύν θ' obscures the fact 'we suppose it is a fact' that 'Distraction' is meant to reproduce *Ἀτε*. Lastly, in that grim and alliterative passage,

οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος
θήκας Ἰλιάδος γὰς
εὐμορφοὶ κατέχουσιν, ἐ-
χθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν,

notice should perhaps have been taken of the play on the word *κατέχουσιν*, they hold their graves. Aeschylus here reverses the usual form of the expression, which is, that the grave *κατέχει* the dead, but a foeman's soil—their freehold—encirns them.

C. R. H.

Untersuchungen über Plutarch's biographische Technik. By A. WEIZSÄCKER. (*Problemata*, Heft 2.) Pp. 122. Berlin: Weidmann, 1931. 8 m.

This is certainly a book which ought to be read by all who are interested in the historical value or the literary worth of Plutarch's *Lives*. It must be confessed that the English reader will find a repellent excess of portentous labels. Two of these, 'pragmatisch-chronologisch' and 'moralistisch-cidologisch,' are the ideas round which the book is constructed. The *Lives* show a struggle between these two forces, which corresponds to a division in Plutarch's own interests. Leo minimised the importance of the second, but it is what gives the *Lives* their character. Historical *Quellenforschung* that treats Plutarch under the negative aspect of 'bad historian' must be unsatisfactory even for its own purpose; the positive aspect of 'conscious biographer' must be substituted.

The author applies his methods to an analysis of *Pericles*. It is impossible in a short review to summarise, much less to criticise this. The most interesting conclusion is that the non-chronological chapters 15-23 are deliberately intended to

mask a chronological inconsistency between the sources followed before and after. Whether this is so or not, the author is on firm ground when he declares that what we have to reckon with is, 'on the one hand, hasty reading of sources, and unreadiness for research to solve difficulties of fact; on the other, a fine instinct for unity and charm, able to choose and shape out of any given material what is most favourable formally, even if the result is some falsification of facts.'

Porphyrios' Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios. By I. DÜRING. Pp. xliii + 217. Göteborg: Elander, 1932.

In 1930 Dr. Düring published an edition of the *Harmonica* of Ptolemy which gave us for the first time a text scientifically based upon a consideration of all the available manuscript evidence. The present volume is a parallel edition of Porphyry's incomplete commentary on the *Harmonica*. The reputation of Ptolemy as a mathematician must have secured for his *Harmonica* a wide circulation, and it is not surprising that a continuous *ὑπόμνημα* should have been written. This commentary is in itself a work of value: for, apart from the expansions and explanations of Ptolemy's text, it contains some actual fragments of pre-Ptolemaic musical treatises and is obviously based throughout on a deep and critical knowledge of Pythagorean and other acoustical theories. It is indeed tantalising that our manuscripts give no remarks beyond *Harm.* II, 7. Whether the author were Porphyry or Pappos or another has been the topic of a desultory controversy for two hundred years: Düring faces the problem squarely and not only declares himself definitely in favour of Porphyry but skilfully tracks some false ascriptions to their lairs. Hitherto the work has been available only in the rare and ponderous third tome of Wallis' *Opera Mathematica* (1699): and the text there given was recognised to be based on a mere handful of manuscripts which Düring now proves to belong to an inferior class. In a long preface the editor describes and classifies his seventy manuscripts and traces the work through two Byzantine recensions. The text itself is a great improvement upon that of Wallis, and in places where Düring has felt bound to depart from the evidence of even the best manuscripts, he seems to have sound reason on his side and his emendations carry conviction. Very great care also has been taken to define the limits of Porphyry's verbal quotations of earlier authorities, many of which have passed unnoticed in the pages of Wallis. Three useful indexes complete a volume, admirably conceived and executed, which places all students of ancient

music and acoustics deeply in Dr. Düring's debt. The author's own commentary on Ptolemy which the preface foreshadows will be awaited with the highest expectations. M.

Notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew. By A. PALLIS. New Edition. Pp. xii + 109. Oxford University Press, 1932. 3s.

Mr. Pallis quotes with approbation the dictum of Bentley: *Nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt*. But Bentley's own emendations to Milton's *Paradise Lost* serve as a warning that the art of emendation can be carried to excess. Many of the numerous emendations suggested in Mr. Pallis' notes seem to the writer of this notice at once unnecessary and improbable; but it would, after all, be unfair to compare them to the worst performances of Bentley, for, though they often do considerable violence to the text, they generally suggest a new line of thought and would, if adopted, make the task of the reader an easier one. Moreover, Mr. Pallis is right in declining to regard the text of the N. T. (from the critical standpoint) as more sacrosanct than that of any other ancient Greek author. But the objection may be urged that he takes greater liberties with the text than the average editor would feel justified in doing. For example: In Mark 1. 6, ἦν δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐσθίων ῥίζας καὶ καρπὸν ἄγριον might possibly appeal to some as preferable to ἀκρίδας and μέλι. But is it really necessary? Again, in Matt. 7. 6, ἰς μὴ δῶτε (or δήσητε) τριχαίπτον τοῖς κυσίν μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἐν ὧτίον τοῖς χοίροις (for τὸ ἄγιον and ἐμπροσθεν respectively) required, however ingenious it may be?

But it must be allowed that amongst the many conjectures there are several less hazardous than these, and attention may be drawn (very briefly) to the following:—Mark 2. 23, δειπνοποιεῖν for ὀδὸν ποιεῖν: 4. 29, ὅταν δὲ ἐπιθῶ (is grown) ὁ καρπὸς for παραθῶ: 7. 3, πηγῇ for πυγμῇ: 11. 13, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἦν σῶκων (after Michelsen) for οὐκ ἦν: 14. 3, νάρδου πιστικῆς (extract of nard) for πιστικῆς: 14. 41, ἐπέστη (via ἀπέστη) ἡ ὥρα for ἀπέχει: 14. 51, σίνδωνα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου for ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ. Matt. 9. 36, ἐρρηγμένοι (mauled) for ἐρριμένοι: 10. 9, ἀλλ' ἢ ῥάβδον for μηδέ: 11. 23, οὐ μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ for μὴ: 12. 43, διὰ μυρίων τόπων for δι' ἀνύδρων: 13. 5, ἐπιλάψαντος for ἀνατείλαντος: 23. 37, πρὸς αὐτήν (to yourself) for πρὸς αὐτήν: 24. 19, τοῖς θηλάζουσι (sucklings) for τοῖς θηλαζούσαις: 28. 17, οὐδὲ ἐδίστασαν for οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν (so also de Bèze).

It must be remembered that Mr. Pallis, as translator of the N. T. into popular Modern Greek, is particularly well qualified to appreciate the difficulties of interpretation which arise in the original text. It may be added that the

arguments he puts forward against the traditions that St. Matthew's Gospel was translated from Hebrew and St. Mark's from Latin carry conviction to the present reviewer.

But for readers of this *Journal* it is probable that the most interesting of the notes in this book will be those which illustrate certain features of N. T. Greek as foreshadowing M. G. usages. In this connexion attention may also be drawn to recent works such as Humbert's *La disposition du datif en grec* and Ljungvik's *Beitrag zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (the latter noticed in this number of the *Journal*). Mr. Pallis remarks on the frequent use of καί as a substitute for subordinate sentences, and on the pleonastic use of αὐτός. But besides these, the following instances may be cited: Mark 2. 7, οὕτω = M.G. ἔτσι (at random): 3. 5, χεῖρα = arm, M.G. χέρι: 6. 21, ἡμέρας εὐκαίρου = a day of leisure: 6. 39, συμπόσια συμπόσια, a very common mode of indicating distribution in M.G.: 9. 39, ταχύ = on the morrow: 10. 23, πῶς = ὅτι: 12. 1, πύργος = country-villa with upper storey. Mr. Pallis illustrates by an interesting note. Matt. 3. 4: αὐτός = the aforesaid (but may not αὐτός here simply = this?): 3. 15, ἀφες ἄρτι = M.G. ἄφισε τώρα, stop that now: 6. 16, ἀφανίζουσι τὰ πρόσωπα = spoil their faces. ἀφανίζω in M.G. = I ruin: 8. 12, τὸ ἐξώτερον with superlative force as in M.G. — outermost: 12. 43, σχολάζω = be on holiday: 23. 32, πληρῶ = M.G. πληρῶνω, pay: 26. 50, Read εὐ πάρει for ἐφ' ὃ πάρει, with sense of M.G. καλῶς ἤρθες: 27. 24, οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ = it is no good, as M.G. δὲν φελᾷ.

It is hoped that these examples will suffice to show that Mr. Pallis' notes are valuable and that they are the outcome of a genuine effort to reach a true interpretation of difficult passages in the N. T. Readers who find the notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew interesting and helpful should consult those on St. Luke and the Acts, St. John and the Apocalypse, and on the Romans, by the same editor.

Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae. I Band: Die Genesis der Notitia Episcopatum. Edited by ERNST GERLAND. I Heft: Einleitung: pp. ii + 48. Kadi-Keui: Socii Assumptionistae Chalcedonenses, 1931.

Rarely does a short preface of two pages enshrine a romance of literature; but Dr. Gerland has achieved that distinction. He had with much difficulty found the money needed for publication (mainly from his own private means, partly from a promised contribution from the Berlin Academy), and the MS. was ready to go to the printer in 1913. War put an end to all scientific

enterprises. Difficulties were increased after the war: other duties called him, and Harnack's opposition in the Academy, serious before, was intensified. Early in 1924 his own private fortune was reduced to worthless paper. In spring 1927 a serious illness threatened: August Heisenberg procured for him a year's leave of absence from duty: and scientific work again became possible. In Autumn 1929, in the reading-room of the University of Munich, he met Father V. Laurent of the Assumptionists at Kadikuei on the Bosphorus, who at once asked about the Notitiae. Father Louis Petit of the same body formerly had been engaged on an edition of the Notitiae: but, finding that Gelzer was engaged on the same task, he had provisionally retired from his work, and placed all his rich collections at Gelzer's service, and on Gelzer's death in July 1906 at Gerland's. In answer to Father Laurent Gerland recounted the situation, and said that the way was now open for the Assumptionists to resume their enterprise: but Father Laurent assured him that the Assumptionists would, if his manuscript was approved, print it as Gerland's work at their expense.

Thus, after interruption for eighteen years and the loss of his private means, his MS. began to see the light in 1931. In the interval E. Schwartz has been at work on the Council lists, and the results of both are in complete agreement; Gerland recognises that my humble efforts in the same direction have brought me very near his date: formerly I regarded Justinian (527-563) as creator of the ecclesiastical order in rank and signed for a Notitia of his reign. Now I have carried the order of rank back to Theodosius II (408-450, *v. Byzantion* VI, 1931, p. 33). Gerland takes it back to Theodosius I (379-395).

By the courtesy of Dr. Gerland a copy of Part I, containing the *Einleitung*, reached me in 1931: but I am unable to say how the work is proceeding. There is an ominous hint of illness in the Preface. We have been waiting since 1891 for this work, by Gelzer first, then Gerland; my letters from Gelzer during ten years all related to this enterprise. He was the leader in the study of the Eastern lists of Bishoprics at Councils and in the Notitiae. Even C. de Boor had not wrought such a work as Gelzer, though his three articles in the *Zft. für Kirchengesch.*, XII and XIV, are a splendid conspectus of method in the subject. Gelzer's collections were given by his widow to the Berlin Academy. Gerland proposed to the Academy to complete Gelzer's undertaking, and an agreement was concluded on April 21, 1908, that he should finish the work in five years at his own expense and risk, aided by a contribution from the Academy towards the cost

of printing ('einen für damalige Zeiten namhaften Druckzuschuss'). Gelzer knew that the lists of Bishops present at Church Councils were a useful aid to fix chronology and spelling of the Bishoprics. The signatures of the Bishops are the best authority for the names of their sees, and for the pronunciation. Gerland, as the scope of the work widened, found that without a trustworthy publication of the Council lists a chronologically correct order of the Notitiae was impossible. Such has been my experience. I have spent many hundreds of hours over the often inaccurate *Acta Concil.*, and many days in the libraries of Oxford, Paris, and London. The accurate publications of lists in *Acta* and of various Notitiae by Gelzer, Parthey, C. H. Turner were a basis for work, but showed how much remained to do. Errors in older editions are numerous and appalling. Until the work of Gerland is completely published there can be no definitive work on the topography of Asia Minor. All the many hundreds of lists that I have compiled contain errors taken from the old editions of the *Acta* and other documents.

In those lists the signatures of the Bishops with their own hand (if they were able to write, which was not always the case) should furnish an admirable basis for the form of the names; but the names are spelt with such extraordinary diversity that often one tears one's hair in despair. Dr. Gerland informs me that not much can be hoped from MSS. of the lists: but C. H. Turner's admirable edition of the Nicene Latin lists shows how much may be done by skilled editing, and how much we have lost through his premature death. Gerland recognises in his preface and in a review in *Byz. Zft.*, 1931, the value of Turner's work.

The value for history and topography of the Notitiae is not generally appreciated. My old friend Professor A. Körte expressed himself very sceptically about these empty lists of Bishops and Archbishops and Metropolitans and Patriarchs and Bishops *in partibus*, etc. The lists are a series of sketch maps of the state of the country in successive centuries. History among the people expressed itself ecclesiastically. De Boor, one of the best authorities on the early Byzantine Empire, quotes from an English traveller the statement that the Byzantine lists are the only sure basis for the topography of Asia Minor (*Zft. f. Kirch.*, XII, p. 304). Each Bishopric can be traced through the centuries with its changes in dignity and in name, sometimes in its birth and death.

I take some short examples. (1) Nakoleia was formerly thought to be the scene of the epoch-making defeat of the Arabs in 740, because the tomb of Seidi Ghazi, the slain Arab general, was shown there. He was killed in a battle fought at

Akroenos, which was interpreted as a later name of Nakoleia. But the Notitiae mention repeatedly both Nakoleia and Akroenos, and refuse the identification. Why should an Arab general remain in a Turkish shrine? His coffin is 15 feet long: his wife lies in a coffin beside him 9 feet long: she was a Christian Princess: the situation of his grave was revealed to the Sultan Ala-ed-din in the thirteenth century. We are in the region of myth: Ala-ed-din is enshrined in the *Arabian Nights* as Aladdin, and his tomb is no more historical than his wonderful lamp. Nakoleia was raised to be Autokephalos after c. 830, and later to be Metropolis.

(2) Neapolis, centre of the Killanian plain, was made Autokephalos before 830. Gerland's work will tell the date more accurately. Presumably after Antioch the metropolis of Pisidia was destroyed in 713, and before a new city grew up near it, Neapolis was released from subordination to a non-existent Metropolis. In my *Cit. and Bish.*, Ch. VII, I have followed Strabo and misplaced the Killanian plain: now much epigraphic evidence places it round Neapolis.

(3) Mithia was an ordinary Bishopric of Lycaonia in the seventh century. Later it became an autokephalous Archbishopric. Why should such an obscure town and castle be elevated? Notitia X explains, giving the name as Mithia and Colonia (*i.e.* Colonia Parlais in Pisidia). They are two strong forts, twelve miles from each other (Mithia a great castle on the west side of Fassiller, Parlais at the S.E. corner of the lake Karalis at Bey Sheher, lying across the great Via Pisidica: the pair were conjoined to constitute a barrier against the Arab raids along this important route to the west coast, and among a nation which thought ecclesiastically, the two guardian forts were made an Archbishopric. About 900 Mithia was besieged but not captured by the Arabs (see *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 333): Muralt gives the date as 887, but his quotations do not prove that date, and Mr. S. Runciman writes that 900 is more probable.

(4) A group of five Bishoprics lying along an important road and Kleisoura from Banaz plain to Kaystros plain (Xen., *Anab.* I, 2) was separated from Pacatiana in the earlier Notitiae, but restored to it in the middle and later Notitiae (*i.e.* before 830). That Kleisoura lost importance in the seventh century, because it was not used by the Arabs (except in 740) and ceased to need special ecclesiastical rank and heavenly protection.

(5) Most remarkable of all, as the Empire grew weak, the number of Metropolitan Bishoprics increased by scores, as if the highest grade of ecclesiastical rank were a protection to the decaying State. The Church was the Empire,

and is so still to the Greek mind. The Hellenes claim Cyprus at the present day. It never was under Greek rule, but it was under the Emperors of Constantinople and part of the Eastern ecclesiastical system.

These and many other facts will be cleared up and dated when Gerland's work is all published. Hitherto we have had to grope in the dust and the darkness.

W. M. R.

The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt. By EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, Jr. (*Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, No. 354.) Pp. 162: 1 plate, 1 map. New York: Columbia University Press, and London: P. S. King & Son, 1931. 15s.

One of the most characteristic, as it is one of the most interesting, features of Byzantine Egypt was the growth and activity of the semi-feudal estates, which played so important a part in the life of the country. Semi-feudal they are to be called rather than feudal, for, as Dr. Hardy points out in this work, the structure of Egyptian administrative and economic life, despite many similarities to the feudalism of the mediaeval West, showed not less obvious differences from it. This important subject must have attracted the attention of all who have worked on the papyri of the Byzantine period, and particular problems or particular documents have been dealt with by editors and others, but there has hitherto been no adequate treatment of the great estates as a whole. In the present volume Dr. Hardy admirably fills this long-standing gap in papyrological literature. He shows a commendable mastery of the material, which he handles critically and with discretion: and the result is a work which will be a quite indispensable handbook to all workers in the field of Byzantine Egypt and will be of great utility to Byzantinists generally. Naturally there are points in which doubts are possible as to the correctness of Dr. Hardy's interpretation of his evidence, but in most cases his judgments are sound. There are too many misprints for a volume of this size.

Le despotat grec de Morée. By DENIS A. ZAKYTHINOS. Pp. 335. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1932.

The Byzantine Despotat of the Morea was one of the strongest reactions against Frankish rule over Greece, and in the last century of the dwindling Byzantine Empire one of its most important parts, and ultimately, like the Empire of Trebizond, its survivor. Lampros intended to write the history of this medieval Greek principality, but the documents in the four volumes of his *Παλαιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* are all that has been published of his

projected work.¹ Based upon these, Recoura's new edition of the *Assises de Romanie*, Darkó's monograph on Mouchli and recent articles by specialists, the present volume is a valuable and erudite, but not very lifelike, account of the political history of the Despotat: the author reserves the description of its social life, institutions, art, and literature for another volume, which should be the more interesting, especially if M. Millet could be induced to publish his long-expected *magnum opus* on Mistra. The present history is divided into three parts: the period from 1262 to 1348, when imperial governors ruled the Byzantine province in the Morea, recovered from the Franks; that from 1348 to 1383, when the Cantacuzenes governed the Despotat; and that from 1383 to 1460, when it was administered by one or more of their rivals, the Palaiologoi, until the all-conquering Turks swept the latter and their petty domestic quarrels away. The story of their exile fills the last chapter. The historical value of the Despotat was its contribution to 'the maintenance of Hellenism' during the Frankish period, but it is an example of the common misfortune of classical, medieval, and modern Greece—the lack of unity even in the face of a common enemy, a defect emphasised in the medieval Morea by the intrigues of the feudal Greek aristocracy and the opportunist policy of Venice, acting upon the supposed interests of her commerce. Coron and Modon were more important than Christendom and Moslems to the short-sighted statesmen of the Lagoons. On the Greek side, while in the first period there was no 'fixed government,' in the third the ruler was usually a diplomatist rather than a statesman. One gallant figure illumines the darkness—that of the heroic defender of Salmenikon. As to details, the naval battle of the Echinades between John VIII and Carlo Tocco, revealed by Lamprios' documents, finds its proper place as 'the last success of the Byzantine fleet,' and the civil war of 1459 is derived from the conflict between the Turkophil Demetrios and the Latinophil Thomas. May we not conjecture that 'Sette Pozzi,' the scene of the naval battle of 1263, which is stated to have been near Hydra, is an Italian corruption of εἰς τὰς Σπέτσας, for which there are numerous parallels in medieval Greek geography? On the geographical side this volume lacks a map, showing the castles and political divisions of the Morea, but it contains an ample bibliography. In a few cases, however, the books are cited in translations. It is unfair to judge the style of an author writing in a language not his own and that language—French.

W. M.

¹ *JHS.* L. 363.

Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache. By HERMAN LJUNGVIK. (*Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala*, 27, 3). Pp. vii + 110. Uppsala and Leipzig: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1932. 4 kr.

This is a useful study of some characteristic features of later Greek from the Hellenistic period onwards, based chiefly on papyri, but not neglecting the texts of Hellenistic and Byzantine authors. It will be of special interest to the student of Modern Greek, who, though well aware that the Greek of the New Testament, for instance, contains some germs of distinctively M.G. constructions, will find here many instructive examples from the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods which illustrate the transition to popular Modern Greek.

Some of the more striking examples may be mentioned. The pleonastic use of the pronoun in M.G. is anticipated by the pleonastic use of αὐτός as far back as Roman times, e.g. in such a sentence as τὰς οὖν δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα, δὲς αὐτὰ Ἥλιτι τῷ ἐμῷ, while the use of αὐτός with the meaning οὗτος is found in the N.T. and in papyri. In the case of prepositions, the increased use of διὰ with the accusative is noteworthy, to the exclusion of περί, ὑπέρ, ἐπί, πρὸς, ἐνεκα, etc., a feature to be observed in M.G. in phrases like γιὰ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ, πηγαῖνω γιὰ νερό. The English 'for,' in its widest popular usage, covers much the same ground. We can trace by the aid of the numerous examples given by Mr. Ljungvik from the papyri and other sources the gradual disappearance of the infinitive from Greek: it is replaced not merely by ἵνα (νὰ in M.G.) and ὅτι, but also by an increased use of asyndeta. The ἀφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος of Matt. 7. 4 is really paratactic, but it is the precursor of the M.G. ἄς with the Subj. The mixed examples, where after a verb of request both infinitive and subjunctive follow, are especially interesting. As in M.G., there is in Hellenistic and later Greek a great extension of the use of καί, which takes the place of subordinate sentences to express 'because,' 'consequently,' etc.: it further ousts final and relative subordinate clauses, and sometimes participial constructions. Such a use is very common in M.G., e.g. in sentences such as εἶναι τόσο κουτὸς καὶ δὲν τὸ καταλαβαίνει, ἀρχίζω καὶ χορεύω, βλέπω τὸ φτωχὸ κ' ἔρχεται. Phrases like 'I will go and see' in English show that this paratactic tendency is by no means confined to popular Greek, but its use in Greek is certainly more extensive than in English.

The present study forms a useful complement to Humbert's *La disparition du datif en grec*, noticed in *JHS.* LI. 319.

Die Schulaussprache des Griechischen von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart. By E. DRERUP. Vol. 1, from fifteenth to end of seventeenth century, pp. viii + 438: 27 m. Vol. 2, from eighteenth century to modern times, pp. viii + 563: 32 m. Paderborn: F. Schoeningh, 1930 and 1932.

A history of the pronunciation of Greek in schools ought to be dull, but this book is not. It is quite possible to read page after page without any flagging of the attention, in spite of the names and dates peppered into the text so liberally. This is partly due to the lively quarrels of scholars, but partly to their ever-ingenuous arguments, their laboured definitions, and, I may add, to their eloquent ways of ignoring simple facts. And we see Latin and Greek pronunciation entangled with politics in one place and religion in another: for it was the Reformation which caused the Italian pronunciation of Latin to be discarded here, and the English sounds to be given to the letters, so that before long English Latin was unintelligible on the Continent.

When Greek was first learnt in the West, the teachers were Greeks, and it was pronounced as the Greek teachers pronounced their modern language. Ascham says of the results: 'all sounds in Greek are now exactly the same, reduced, that is to say, to a like thin and slender character . . . so that all one can hear is a feeble piping like that of sparrows, or an unpleasant hissing like that of snakes.' The confusion thus caused soon made scholars consider, and it was not long before they understood that the pronunciation had changed, and sought to find out what it was in ancient times. There were Erasmians before Erasmus: but it was he who first made the question a practical one, by his brilliant *Dialogus* on the subject, and a small coterie of scholars whom he brought together for discussion. The controversy which followed, and the quarrel of Gardiner and Cheke, are well enough known: but it is usually forgotten that Erasmus was as careful with the Greek accent as with the quantity: tone, quantity, and quality were his three points. And Cheke also insisted upon Greek accent as a musical tone. There was endless arguing on this question: the most ingenious person of all, Vossius, made the unknown quantity, α , both tone and stress. Cheke seems to have acted up to his principles in his lectures, but Erasmus did not; he only used the 'Erasmian' in private, and in public conformed to custom, in order to be understood. The battle which ensued, ending with the victory of Erasmian in the schools of Europe, raged about quantity and quality, but accent soon fell into the back-

ground. There is still plenty of theorising about accent, but so far as can be seen from this book, no practice. But really it is quite easy to use tone-accent and yet preserve quantity, as anyone may hear from an Indian Vedic ode recited in the traditional way: and it offers no difficulty at all to schoolboys, if they are so taught from the first. Erasmus's parallel is as amusing as it is convincing: 'Vel ab asinis licebat hoc discrimen discere, qui rudentes corripunt acutam vocem, imam producant.'

It is impossible to follow the ramifications of the story, which is so full of details. Each reader will seek out the part he is interested in. In England we see the Erasmian cause conquering in name, but really the Greek practice was just dragged at the heels of the Latin: as Latin words were pronounced exactly as if they were English, so Greek, and in Greek the quality of the vowels was corrupted along with the Latin: thus in both quantity became a thing of the eye alone, a matter of rule, and had no relation to speech. Accents were regarded by some as unnecessary and worthless: a view lately revived by the Classical Association, by others as necessary for distinction, but by none as to be pronounced, because the musical nature of the accent had become forgotten, if it ever had been understood since Cheke. Thus a French scholar gives the usual accent rules, 'ad lectoris non tam utilitatem quam curiositatem.'

The book ends with practical recommendations for reform.

Ἡ Μοναρχία ἐν Ἑλλάδι, 1833-1843. By T. N. PIPINELES. Pp. 424. Athens: Bartsos, 1932. 125 dr.

At an appropriate moment, the centenary of Otho's arrival, the author of the *Political History of the Greek Insurrection*, who is an official of the Greek Foreign Office, has now published an apology of the monarchy from the accession of Otho to the revolution of 1843, based upon most of the published materials and his researches in the Foreign Office archives. His thesis is that at no other period of Greek history was so much accomplished as during that decade, because the Bavarian Regents and Otho had their hands unhampered by party considerations, while the collaboration of all eminent public men was easier and the Civil Service more permanent than under democratic government, which really meant the rule of the urban and rural oligarchy. Otho's mistake, according to the author, was to govern monarchically without an organised monarchy, but he admits that well-meaning monarch's hesitation and absorption in details, which made him unable to see the wood for the

trees. This is a novel view of Greek history, which, with some exaggerations of the value of monarchy and some omissions of the advantages of representative government, contains elements of sound political philosophy, scarcely adaptable in practice to the Greek character. The difficulties faced by Otho are well stated: the economic crisis, exploited for their own ends by the three protecting Powers and their tactless and meddling representatives in Greece, which became the scene of their selfish struggles for influence; the support of favourite politicians by the three Legations; the abuse of the blessed word 'constitution' by the British and of 'orthodoxy' by the Russian party; the discontent of the 'heroes,' left without occupation and sometimes bread when the fighting was over; the quarrels of 'autochthonous' and foreign Greeks; the duel between the fustanella of Kolettis and the frock-coat of Mavrokordatos; and, especially during the Cretan insurrection of 1841, the excitement caused by the 'Great Idea.' The author criticises the Regency for proclaiming the Church autocephalous without the Patriarch's sanction, thinks the Bavarians' unpopularity mainly due to their higher salaries, agrees with Kolokotronis' remark that one day the University would 'eat up' the Palace—a prophecy fulfilled in 1862—shows that the provinces were indifferent to the revolution of 1843, and defends Zographos' much-abused commercial treaty with Turkey in 1840. Of the *anathema* upon Zographos, which perhaps served as a precedent for that on Venizelos, there is an interesting notice in the Finlay Library. The book is specially strong upon financial questions, and the foundation of the National Bank is related at length; but 'Ecumenical' Governments, as well as Monarchies, can make economies. The Press is mentioned as fomenting the political difficulties: with only 14,000 inhabitants Athens had four newspapers. From the bibliography is absent Parish's *Diplomatic History of the Monarchy of Greece*, but Prokesch-Osten's letters, published in the *Messenger d'Athènes* in 1929, are an interesting source of the narrative.

W. M.

A travers la Macédoine. By F. PERILLA.
Pp. 161. Athènes, 1932.

Grèce terre aimée des dieux. By RENÉ
PUAUX. Pp. 123. Paris, 1932.

Of these two richly illustrated volumes the former is the sequel of M. Perilla's similar books on Mount Athos, Chios and Mistrâ. It contains an interesting sketch of Greek Macedonia, based upon acute observation and wide reading, as the bibliography shows. The disappearance of the *Deunmehs* from Salonika by the exchange of

populations, the diminution of the Jewish element there and at Castoria, the drainage works which will save the silting up of the harbour of Salonika by the Vardar, the need of railway communication with Bulgaria through the Strymon valley, the lignite mines of Sorovitch, the mills of Naoussa, the Koutzo-Wallachs retiring before the increasing cultivation of the land are all noted, and Senator Prampolini's recent figures for the ensuing profit to the Greek treasury are quoted. Great attention is paid to architecture and scenery, but the author visited Chalkidiké before the earthquake of 1932 and Kavalla before the erection of Muhammad 'Ali's monument. It is curious that the milk supply of Salonika comes from a suburb, Kordelio, called after Cœur-de-Lion, a name imported by Smyrniote refugees. The book contains 16 water-colours, 29 photographs and 2 plans. The Near East Relief was not 'English,' there was no 'Frankish Empire of Wallachia,' and both Grand Lavra and Xeropotamos are described as 'the oldest convent of Athos.'

M. Puaux' book is the fruit of his seventh visit to Greece—at the time of the second Delphic festival in 1930. His best chapters are those on Navarino and Modon; he mentions the review of the French troops before Ibrahim at Gialova, where Maison encamped in 1828, the monuments of Alexis Mallet and Paul-Marie Bonaparte on Sphakteria—the ashes of the latter were removed to the Historical Society's Museum at Athens in 1926—and the monument on Chelonaki to the British victims of the battle, placed there by the Greeks at the centenary in 1927. They should do something to preserve the splendid Venetian fortifications of Modon. There is an amusing comparison of the real Thermopylæ with the conventional narrow gorge in which the scene of Pichat's *Léonidas* was laid in 1825. But there are several inaccuracies. Thus *chóra*, not *chorio*, is the correct name for Athens in the Byronian anecdote (p. 3); the Delphic festivals (at which M. Puaux wishes to have Aeschylus in foreign translations) are not 'annual'; for 'Vezzia' (p. 10) should be read 'Verria'; the fashionable Athenian bathing-beach is Glyphada; 'Fletche' (pp. 80, 120) disguises Papaphlessas; the portrait No. 2 (p. 29) is of a sister of the 'Maid of Athens.' Ficeman did not consider the Frankish tower an *insulte aux Propylées* but an historical monument. Since M. Puaux wrote, another site has been chosen for the Palace of Justice, which will thus not overshadow the Akropolis, the road from the station improved, and his proposal to sell duplicate antiques adopted. There are 40 plates, of which 8 are coloured.

W. M.



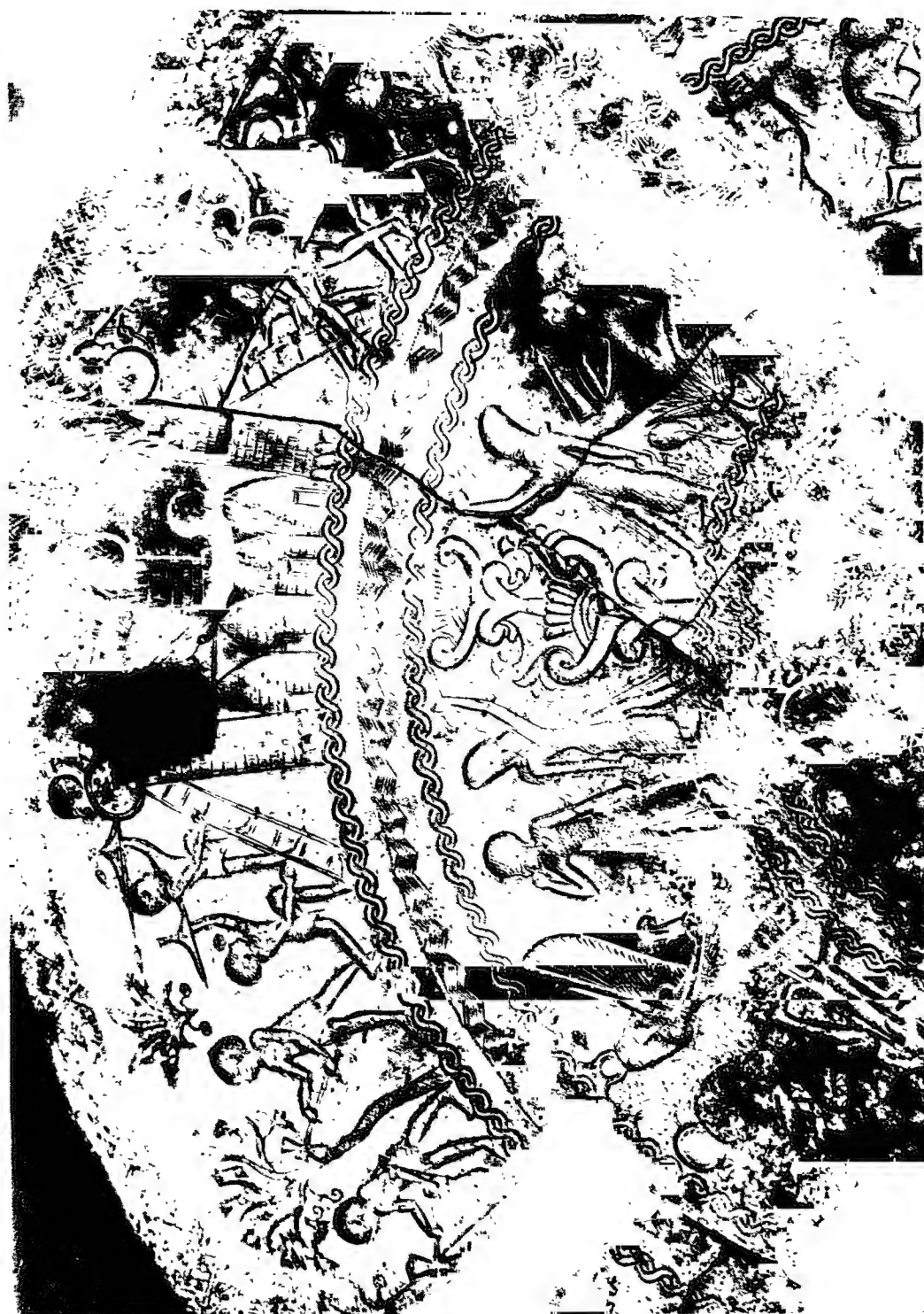
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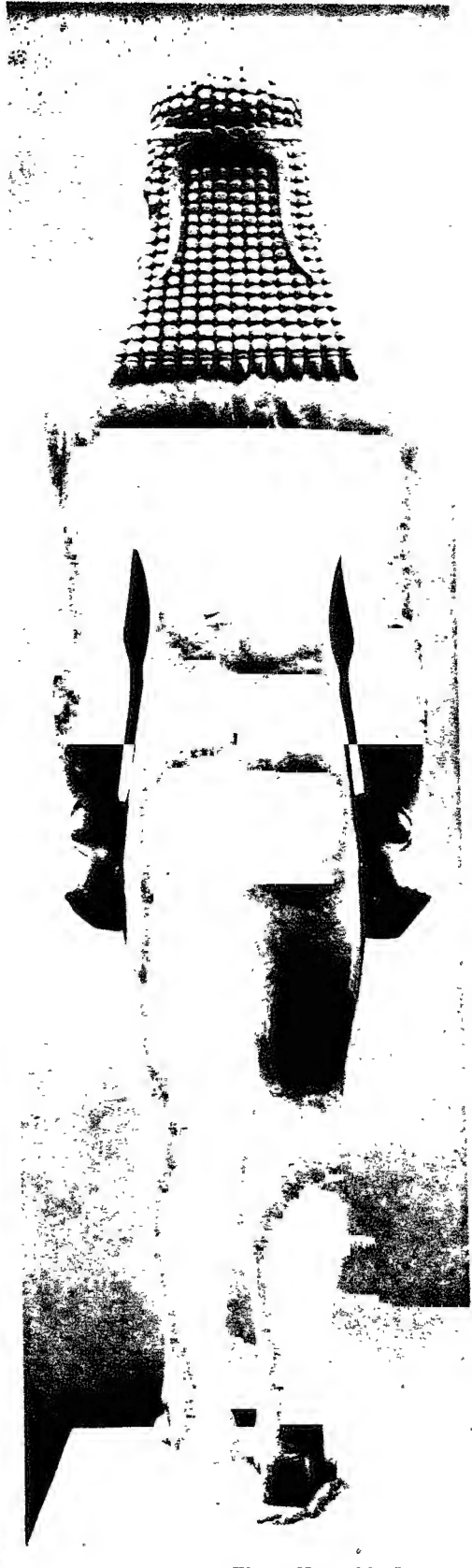
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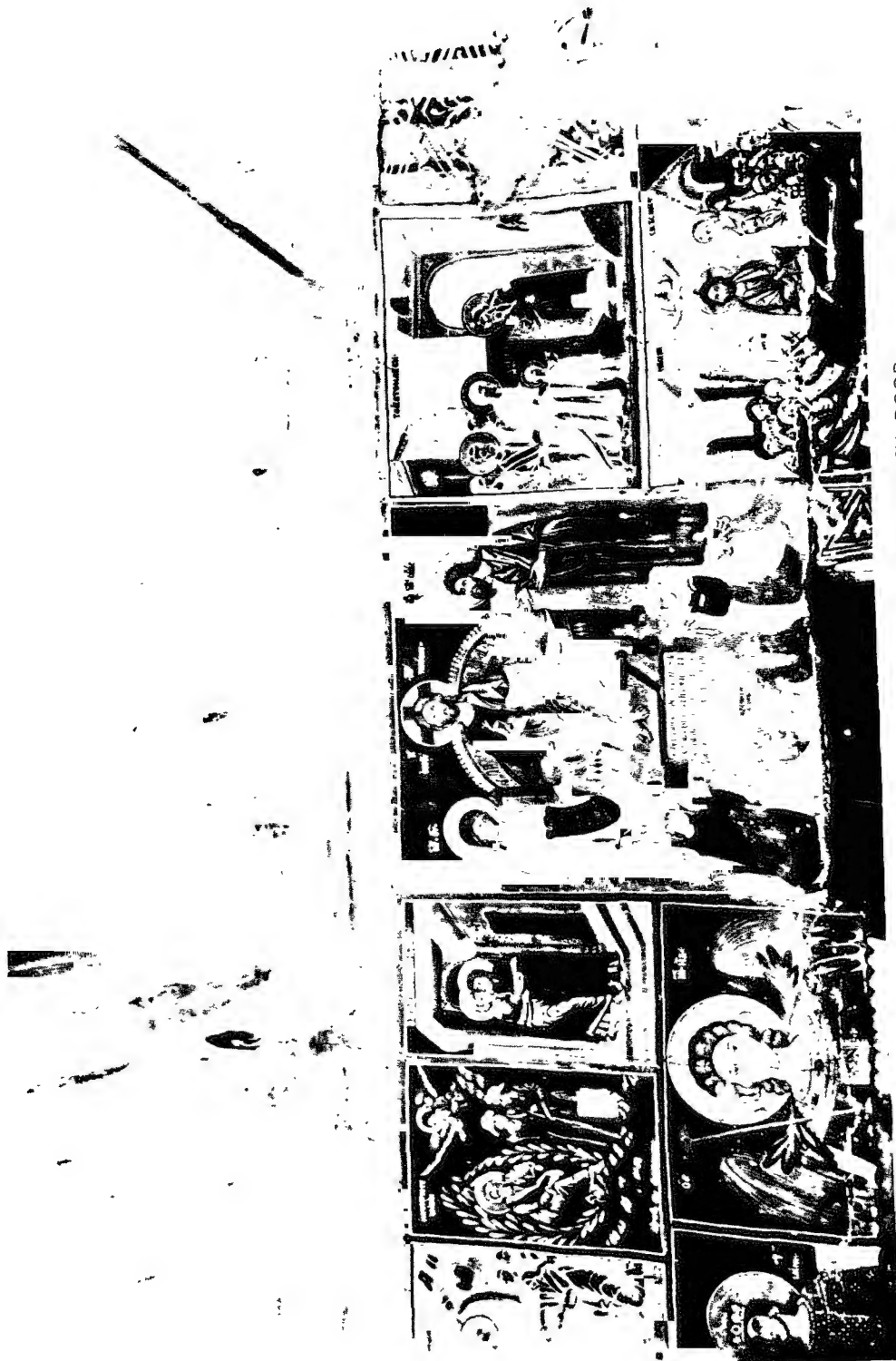


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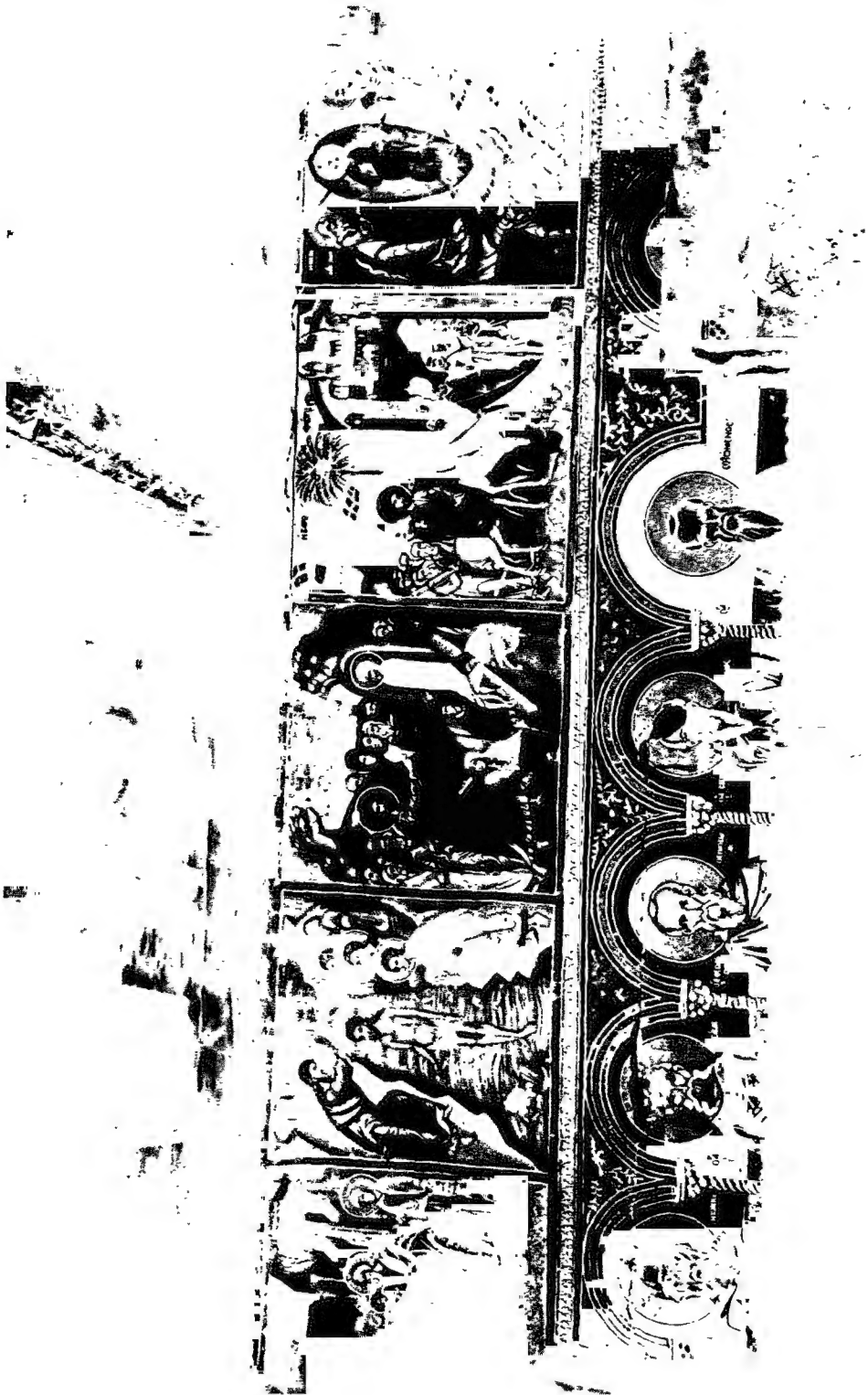


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PULVIS ET UMBRA

· · · ἀντὶ φιλάτης
μορφῆς σποδόν τε καὶ σκιὰν ἀνωφελῆ.—Soph. *El.* 1158–9.

THAT cremation is unknown in the Mycenaean world, even in its latest phases, and inhumation equally foreign to the Homeric poems is a curious, if familiar, fact, and at once raises the question of the length of the interval which separates the fall of Mycenae from the appearance of cremation in the Aegean area. To fix an absolute date for either event is impossible; but the increasing number of carefully excavated sub-Mycenaean and proto-Geometric tombs makes it possible to note certain features in the rise, spread and, in certain regions, the dominance of the practice, and slightly to narrow the chronological limits.

At Mycenae cremation does not appear at all, not even among those depositions in chamber tombs which were accompanied by pottery of the 'Granary' class and therefore belong to the latest period of the city¹ or may even be slightly later than its fall. Similarly, two of its ordinary concomitants are lacking, the arched fibula and iron as a useful metal.

S. Wide in his pioneer study of the proto-Geometric culture (a term which he used to cover the whole period between Late Mycenaean and Geometric), taking as his text the sub-Mycenaean cemetery of Salamis, directed attention to its uniform character, its geographical distribution within the Late Mycenaean sphere, and the perpetuation in it of many Mycenaean vase forms, and drew the now accepted conclusion that it was derived from the latest phase of the Mycenaean civilisation.² Presumably, therefore, it was the work of the descendants of the latest representatives of that culture, whom we may identify on the evidence of Homer with the Achaeans. Of course the term does not imply identity of race, but a certain unitary quality in the culture traceable ultimately to a period of centralised political organisation. It is within the same geographical limits that cremation makes its appearance, though not synchronously with the sub-Mycenaean ceramic style.

Of this style the Salamis cemetery affords an early example. The pottery is largely of the class known at Mycenae as 'Granary,' but some of the stirrup vases have a knob or cone on the disc, a feature characteristic of the sub-Mycenaean class, but extremely rare earlier.³ The fibulae are all arched, but of a simple early type. There is no iron. There is a peculiar short-lived type of straight pin⁴, of bronze, and with a single

¹ Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 185.

² *AM.* 1910, p. 17.

³ There is, however, a Late Mycenaean specimen from a pithos burial outside the acropolis wall of Mycenae. It is late, but not of the very latest

Granary class. See *BS.I.* xxv, p. 407, Pl. LXII, 1b.

⁴ For a list of published specimens see *BS.I.* xxviii, p. 177 and notes.

bulb a little way below the head; this type is also found at Mouliana⁵ in conjunction with a late inhumation and at Vrokastro⁶ in Chamber tomb III, which contained seven inhumations, no clear evidence of cremation and no iron. The older Kerameikos graves recently excavated by the Germans⁷ have yielded pottery of the earlier Salamis type, similar fibulae and single-bulb pins, no cremation and no iron. On Salamis over one hundred cist graves were opened. They were arranged in three parallel lines, and all but two contained a single skeleton in a contracted posture. In each of the remaining two graves a vase was found surrounded by a little wall of rough stones and covered by stones; the one contained ash and the other bones.⁸ It is extremely fortunate that the bones were contained in a receptacle, as it establishes the fact of cremation, there being no reason in a cemetery of this type to suspect secondary disposal. No accompanying gifts are mentioned, and consequently there is no material for dating the cremations; but it may safely be assumed that they belong to the latest years of the cemetery.

Cremations have been found at Ialysus in some of the chamber tombs of the Late Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean cemetery excavated by the Italians.⁹ Each of the five tombs in question contained interments, and in addition one or more *pozzetti* had been excavated in the floor. In these burnt human bones were found, sometimes merely laid on the bottom of the little pit; but in three cases they had been placed in a one-handled jug with globular body, a type which belongs to the latest class of pottery found in these tombs and therefore to the very end of the sub-Mycenaean age. Elsewhere cremation first appears in connexion with the proto-Geometric style in pottery, a style which grows out of sub-Mycenaean with the same continuity with which sub-Mycenaean grows out of Late Mycenaean. Thus of the early graves in the Kerameikos the sub-Mycenaean group under the Pompeion contained inhumations only, together with pottery of the earlier Salamis type (flat-topped stirrup-vase, amphoriskos, one-handled jug on which the concentric semicircles are still drawn free-hand), single-bulb pins and arched fibulae of simple type, whereas in the two closely connected graves which contained cremations, though the weapons (spear-head and knife-blade of bronze and bone dagger-hilt) were of purely Mycenaean type, the vases combined with sub-Mycenaean features others which are proto-Geometric; e.g. compass-drawn as well as hand-drawn concentric circles.¹⁰ The cremations at Salamis and Ialysus may therefore be a trifle earlier than the others and precede the appearance of proto-Geometric elements. Salamis and, so far as appears from the summaries at present available, the Kerameikos graves described above are wholly devoid of iron.

⁵ *I. infra*, p. 165.

⁶ *I. infra*, p. 164.

⁷ See the account of the excavations *A.M.* 1926, pp. 128 ff., and compare the description of the early cremation tomb *A.A.* 1932, pp. 205 ff.

⁸ See Καββαδίας, *Προϊστορικὴ Ἀρχαιολογία ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, p. 310.

⁹ For the excavations conducted by Sig. Maiuri

on behalf of the Italian *Missione Archeologica* see *Annuario*, vi-vii. The tombs in question are: at Makra Vunara xvii and xix, at Moschu Vunara xv, xxxii and xxxviii.

¹⁰ See Kubler, *A.M.* 1926, pp. 128 ff.; Kraiker, *A.A.* 1932, pp. 205 ff. The burnt bones were in each case found in an amphora.

Ialysus has yielded one substantial bracelet, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter. It occurred in the richest of the chamber tombs (xvii), one which also contained cremations, while its other contents exhibit interesting points of contact with certain other complexes of transitional material. Thus the remarkable hoard found near Tiryns,¹¹ though it yielded a fine L.M. i gold ring with a cult scene, also contained the earliest iron object of any size from the mainland, viz. a substantial *harpe*, whose Oriental form proclaims it an import, together with a Hittite seal, a gold ring with a granulated pattern, and a tripod of a type known at Enkomi.¹² The tomb of the iron bracelet at Ialysus also contained a Hittite seal, which supports the natural hypothesis of an Anatolian origin for the iron, and a similar granulated gold ring, while one of the cremation chamber tombs at Vrokastro yielded a similar tripod.

At Thebes,¹³ in a chamber tomb which was of the latest Mycenaean type and contained interments, burnt human bones are stated to have been found in one corner, together with a steatite whorl or button; such whorls are characteristic of L.H. iii sites, but one was also found in the cemetery of Salamis. Of the four stirrup-vases presumably associated with the interments, two have a knob, more or less developed, on the disc, and one has an air-hole; but a fragmentary bronze fibula is still of Late Mycenaean type, resembling the specimen figured in Blinkenberg, *Fibules Grecques et Orientales*, p. 52, fig. 20, and there are terracotta female idols of the ordinary Mycenaean sort. The statement that the bones were burnt must be accepted with some reserve, for the appearance of bones is often deceptive. The action of the atmosphere may reduce them no less completely than cremation, and indeed cause them to disappear completely; while the damp of the soil carbonises wood and produces those lumps of charcoal sometimes hailed by excavators of an older generation as remains of the funeral pyre. We may hope that in future chemical analysis will settle doubtful cases;¹⁴ for the past, cremation is established if the bones are found in a receptacle too small to contain even a contracted burial and there are no features suggestive of secondary disposal, and again, if the bones remain on the site of the pyre, or the pyre is made in the grave, and the soil shews the action of fire.¹⁵ Further, virtual certainty may be attained where a considerable number of inhumations and cremations are available for comparison under the same conditions. At Vrokastro the burnt bones found in the chamber tombs were in some cases contained in vases, and cremation thus put beyond a doubt; but the careful and experienced excavator, while refusing to pronounce in

¹¹ Summarily published with some illustrations in the *Parartema* of Δελτιον, 1916. For the ring see *JHS.* xlix, p. 147, fig. 1.

¹² *Exc. in Cyprus*, p. 17. It occurred in the tomb of the ivory draught-box (Pl. I) but is not figured. It is, however, published in *Vrokastro*, Pl. XXXIV; v. *infra*, p. 165.

¹³ Δελτιον, III, pp. 162 ff. The bones were not collected in an urn nor were there any traces of a

pyre within the tomb. The whorl, however, looked as if it had been burnt.

¹⁴ Chemical analysis has been resorted to by Karo (*Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, p. 339, n. 4; cf. p. 36) and Wace (*Chamber-Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 40).

¹⁵ As at Halos (*BS.I.* xviii, p. 10) and Rhitsona (P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 31).

some cases, felt no doubt about a certain number of cremations which lacked this guarantee.

The case of isolated instances is different; and the alleged example from Thebes, as well as those reported by Vollgraff from Argos¹⁶ and by Stamatakis¹⁷ from the tholos tomb near the Heraion cannot be unreservedly accepted, especially as apart from them we have no proof of cremation in the Late Helladic period. That they may be later depositions is possible, but not proved; it seems on the whole more probable that the appearance of cremation was produced by a fire kindled in the course of the funeral rites on the occasion of some later interment.

Athens and Salamis therefore furnish at present the only pre-Geometric examples of cremation on what for convenience must be called the mainland of Greece.¹⁸ In Crete they are comparatively numerous, but none so far discovered appears to be quite so early as those of Ialysus and Salamis. The first cremation tombs scientifically excavated and studied in Crete are the chamber tombs of Vrokastro,¹⁹ tombs of the latest Mycenaean type distributed over a considerable area. Here cremation is fairly established as the rival of inhumation, and the two methods apparently ran for some time side by side. Thus the only one of the seven tombs opened which contained neither iron nor any clear evidence of cremation (No. III) yielded an oinochoe on which the concentric circles appeared to be compass-drawn as on the pottery of the cremation tombs, a definitely proto-Geometric feature, together with a somewhat developed fibula with swollen bow,²⁰ but also single-bulb pins of the Salamis type; while No. V, which contained a number of cremations, had no iron and its pottery is described as singularly free from Geometric influences. As the excavator warns us, it is not always easy to distinguish burnt bones, unless collected in some small vessel, from unburnt; the evidence, however, suggests that the owners of each tomb consistently followed one practice, for there is no reliable instance of cremation in an inhumation tomb, nor of inhumation (except of infants)²¹ in a cremation tomb. As there are several depositions in each tomb, the rites may have flourished side by side for some time; precise numbers could not be determined, but cremations and inhumations are estimated by the excavator as approximately equal in number. There were four inhumation and three cremation tombs, but cremation was the encroaching rite and destined to triumph. No. I, which contained at least six cremations, is the only tomb which yielded abundant iron, and therefore presumably contained the latest depositions. The iron included implements (axe, adze, chisel and knives), and weapons in the form of fragments of numerous

¹⁶ *A.A.* xviii, p. 45. *BCH.* 1904, pp. 391 ff. Cf. Wace, *Chamber-Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 40, and Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁷ *AM.* iii, p. 277.

¹⁸ Apart, of course, from the isolated, pre-Mycenaean outbreak of cremation in Leucas.

¹⁹ *University of Pennsylvania: The Museum Anthropological Publications*, Vol. III, no. 3: *Vrokastro*. The tombs excavated at Kavousi, Erganos and Kourtes

shew a similar state of affairs, but were not observed in equal detail. See *A.J.A.* 1901.

²⁰ *Vrokastro*, p. 143, fig. 85 M and Pl. XX F. Also Blinkenberg, *Fib. Gr. et Or.* p. 75, fig. 60. For the single-bulb pins see *Vrokastro*, p. 141 and fig. 85.

²¹ As it was customary both in prehistoric and classical Greece to bury infants in pithoi even where the prevailing rite was cremation, I have disregarded infant burials in giving statistics of the two methods.

spear-heads and some swords. These, it would appear, were too ruined to allow of any attempt at reconstruction, an unfortunate circumstance, since reasonably complete iron swords have not hitherto occurred in pre-Geometric surroundings. In the same tomb there were bronze fibulae with slightly swollen bow,²² and the bronze tripod already referred to as of a type also occurring at Enkomi and in the hoard of Tiryns; though it has also been found in purely Geometric surroundings at Knossos and Athens. A gold ring with plain elliptical bezel is similar to one picked up by the late Dr. Xanthoudides in Tomb A at Mouliana,²³ which contained an inhumation and a cremation; it is uncertain to which equipment the ring should be assigned. Another was found in a Late Mycenaean tomb at Praesos²⁴ and yet another in one of Biliotti's tombs at Ialysus, which appears to be rather sub- than Late Mycenaean.²⁵

The famous tombs of Mouliana²⁶ call for further comment. Both are small rectangular chambers with a corbelled roof, a type characteristic of the latest stage of the Minoan-Mycenaean age in Crete. B is slightly the older; it contained among other articles two bronze slashing swords of the Central European type known as Naue's Type II and of the particular phase classified by Peake²⁷ as D, to which belong also two specimens found at Mycenae, and others from the Delta, including, with all but certainty, the defective example which bears the cartouche of Seti II; while two closely related swords, also of bronze, from the Tiryns hoard belong to Peake's next phase, E. The four stirrup-vases which the tomb contained were late, but flat-topped. There was a minute fragment of iron. Tomb A was unfortunately opened and its goods removed by the peasant proprietor, on whose memory we depend for the distribution of the grave-goods between the inhumation and the cremation interment which it contained. Xanthoudides thought him reliable, and his recollection is fortunately supported by probability. To the inhumation belong, among other articles, two leaf-shaped bronze swords²⁸ of that T-hilted, square-shouldered type which is the Aegaeon rendering of the Central European slashing type described above, which has curved shoulders and an open-ended hilt. The inhumation was further accompanied by flat-topped stirrup-vases and a single-bulb bronze pin. There was no iron; and it is uncertain whether a pair of very large bronze fibulae of early type (Blinkenberg, p. 68, II, 11a and b) belong to the inhumation or the cremation. The ashes of the cremation were contained in a krater²⁹ of a shape very closely allied to that of the Warrior vase, but decorated on each side with a figure subject in a style considerably more degenerate than that of the Warriors. It was accompanied

²² *Irokastro*, p. 137, Pl. XX C; Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* p. 74, fig. 59.

²³ *Εφημ.* 1904, p. 37, fig. 8; *Irokastro*, p. 138, fig. 82.

²⁴ *BSA.* viii, p. 248, fig. 16.

²⁵ Tomb no. 37. See Furtw. and Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Text p. 16, fig. 4. A stirrup vase from the tomb, figured in the B.M. catalogue under A 899, has a raised disc on the top of the false neck.

²⁶ *Εφημ.* 1904, p. 1.

²⁷ *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 87, 96-97, Pl. VI. The classification is based on the gradual development of the heel of the blade, which changes from a convex to a concave curve on either side.

²⁸ There are also fragments of a third.

²⁹ See *Εφημ.* 1904, pl. 3; Hall, *Civilisation of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 259, fig. 335, and for the shape of the second vase, cf. *BSA.* xxi, Pl. VI, 11.

by a jar of proto-Geometric type and by the fragments of what is described as an iron sword or dagger. As in the similar case at Vrokastro they apparently did not afford material for reconstruction. The mounted warrior portrayed on the cinerary vase affords the earliest Aegaeon representation of horsemanship, which first reappears after a long interval on late Dipylon ware. The cremation, accompanied as it is by pre-Geometric vases, cannot be much later than the inhumation, which was not disturbed and which is contemporary with the Salamis cemetery, and, to judge by the flat-topped stirrup-vases, rather with the earlier than with the latter part of its duration.

Up to this point we have had cremation appearing principally in the latest form of the Minoan-Mycenaean tholos or chamber tomb (Vrokastro, Moulana, Ialysus),³⁰ but also in separate cist-graves in the cemetery at Salamis, where each inhumation also occupied a separate grave, and in the two separate trench graves at Athens, which contain each one cremation. Its first appearance seems to be nearly simultaneous throughout the area and to be accompanied by the intrusion of fresh Geometric elements, especially compass-drawn concentric circles and semicircles, into the sub-Mycenaean ceramic style, by the disappearance of the single-bulb pin, by slight elaboration and divergence in the forms of the arched fibula, and, finally, by the appearance of iron as a useful metal. One important pre-Geometric site remains, that of Assarlik in Caria,³¹ where we first encounter cremation associated with the tumulus. In part we have a further adaptation of the tholos, which here is not dug out but built up and covered with an earthen mound; but we have also burnt bones deposited in vases in small pits and covered with a cap-stone. These are sometimes grouped in enclosures which presumably represent family burying-grounds, and were almost certainly covered with a tumulus when each particular group was regarded as complete. The tumulus marks an approach to Homeric practice, and in its collective form finds a parallel in the Geometric period at Halos.³² The Assarlik cemetery is perhaps slightly later than the earliest examples of cremation from the Greek mainland and islands, for iron is relatively abundant, though only in the form of spear-heads and knives, for which articles it is used exclusively. What appeared to be inhumation graves were found here and there among the groups of ostothecae and were apparently contemporary with them.

Crete, Rhodes and Assarlik then form a sort of solid nucleus of the area over which cremation appears early, but elsewhere sporadically. Within this more limited region cremation establishes itself, and, as we shall see, becomes dominant to an extent not paralleled elsewhere. In Salamis the tradition breaks off. From Attica we may expect fresh material; from that at present available we know that in the Dipylon graves of the eighth century cremation has become exceedingly rare, though the latest excavations shew that it revived in the seventh. From

³⁰ To which we may add Kourtes; see *AJA.* 1901, pp. 291-2.

³¹ *JHS.* viii, pp. 64 ff.; xvi, pp. 188, 237 ff.

³² *V. infra*, p. 169.

the Argolid we have at present no certain example. The excavation of the Geometric cemetery at Tiryns is incomplete, yet the fact that of the 41 tombs excavated (all of a comparatively early type) not one contained a cremation is not without significance. Two Geometric tombs from Mycenae and three from Trozen, all alike unpublished, contained inhumations only.³³ From Asine the evidence of only one Geometric tomb is at present available;³⁴ there was certainly inhumation, possibly, but very doubtfully, cremation as well. At Assarlik the proto-Geometric cemetery with ostothecae comes to an end, and the spoliation of the chamber-tombs deprives us of any later material there may have been. Probably the intrusive Aegaeon community was absorbed into the Carian population. On Crete and in Rhodes, however, the proto-Geometric is superseded by the Geometric culture occupying in some instances the same sites and even, in the case of Knossos, the same graves. Mr. Payne has recently published the pottery from three tombs near Knossos³⁵ and shewn that in each a short proto-Geometric period is succeeded by a long series of Geometric and Early Orientalising depositions, cremation predominating throughout. The same phenomenon was observable at Arkades, the site in Central Crete recently excavated by Levi.³⁶ Here the proto-Geometric period was represented in a magnificent tholos tomb with circular ground plan which yielded a very large number of vases ranging in period from proto-Geometric to proto-Corinthian,³⁷ and a large number of cremations. One unburnt skull was found, but apart from this there is no evidence of inhumation, and it seems safe to assume that cremation is here associated with the proto-Geometric style. Round the cap-stone of the vault, which was just above ground level, was a stone paving, the earth over which was mixed with ash and contained a fibula of the earliest sub-Mycenaean type,³⁸ presumably the remains of a sacrifice contemporary with the earliest depositions in the tomb. But though the Geometric style is well represented in the tholoi, its appearance is associated with a new type of cemetery to which the great mass of the depositions belongs, and which also continues through the Geometric to the Early Orientalising period. The somewhat imperfectly burned bones were collected in a vessel over which was placed an inverted jar, and round these and the scanty funeral gifts a wall of rough stones was raised. Inhumation was represented only by a few small tombs with corbelled roofs and rectangular plan³⁹ which contained no cremations. Their equipment was extremely scanty, but contained in one case Geometric, in another Geometric and seventh-century pottery. They were therefore contemporary with the cremations. It is worth noting that the most valuable objects came from the two smaller tholos tombs L and M, which yielded fine examples of metal-work.

³³ *Tiryns*, I, p. 134.

³⁴ *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1924-5, pp. 56-7.

³⁵ *BSA*, xxix, see especially pp. 229-30.

³⁶ *Annuario*, x-xii.

³⁷ Tomb R; *L.c.* pp. 202 ff. There were two similar but smaller tholoi (L and M) rich in Geometric

and Early Orientalising pottery and metal work.

³⁸ *L.c.* Pl. VI.

³⁹ Survivals of the latest Minoan type. It will be remembered that at Moulana in a small corbelled tomb with rectangular ground plan an inhumation and a cremation lie in friendly proximity.

At Vrokastro the town site bore traces of occupation in the Middle Minoan and Late Minoan III periods, but the Late Minoan and Mycenaean sherds, found principally in filling, could not be assigned to a definite habitation level and had no counterpart in the chamber tombs. From its proto-Geometric stage the town passes without apparent catastrophe into the Geometric; but, as at Arkades, a new type of interment appears. Chamber tombs are abandoned, and the now invariably cremated remains are collected in repositories called by the excavator 'bone-enclosures,' very small chambers divided by low walls and somewhat resembling the ground plan of a miniature house.

At Ialysus the cremations, as has been said, belong to the latest sub-Mycenaean phase. The Geometric cemetery was much disturbed in the sixth century by the digging of inhumation graves; it was, however, possible to verify satisfactorily a new type of disposal. Of 31 depositions of adults excavated in 1922, which ranged in date from the Geometric period to the seventh century, two were pithos burials, and the remaining 29 were cremations deposited neither in cinerary urns nor in proper cist graves, but in irregular pits or extremely shallow trenches.

Cremation seems then at first to have utilised the existing type of tomb, whatever that was, tholos or chamber tomb, and in the localities where at the beginning of the Geometric age it triumphed, to have devised more suitable receptacles of various forms.

Cremation therefore appears to be roughly contemporary with, or slightly to precede the emergence of the proto-Geometric style, which gradually differentiates itself from the sub-Mycenaean by the incorporation of certain northern elements, especially by the substitution of compass-drawn for hand-drawn concentric circles and semicircles. There is no sudden invasion either of a new style or a new rite. The latter as well as the former *may* be due to northern influence, though we have no knowledge of cremation at this date in any part of Northern Greece; but there is no reason whatever to associate it with the intrusion of any new racial element. If sub-Mycenaean means post-war Achaian, proto-Geometric is merely a later stage of the same culture, within a slightly narrowed area of which—for Thessaly remains untouched for the present ⁴⁰—cremation arises to strike root, though unequally, in many quarters, and reign without a rival in some. The appearances suggest that cremation arose in the first instance in the broken and dispirited relics of Achaian society, where the same psychological causes would be at work in communities containing much diversity of blood. What these causes were we cannot hope to know; the fact remains that cremation first appears within the sphere of a disintegrated and materially degenerate society, whose former seats of power were now lying in ruins. It is most concentrated and subsequently becomes dominant in a region which by that later date was undoubtedly controlled by Dorians; but the evidence does not justify us in associating its origin with them. If the Dorians had brought the practice of cremation with them, we should not expect to find early

⁴⁰ Nor does cremation appear in Cyprus at this period, though 'Granary' pottery does.

examples of it at Athens and Salamis, and we should, on the other hand, expect to find cemeteries of unmixed cremation earlier than the Geometric age, which we have no justification for dating earlier than the beginning of the ninth century.

Tracing the further history of cremation in the Geometric age, we find an outlying and isolated instance in a region where it has not previously appeared, namely, at Halos in Achaia Phthiotis.⁴¹ Here one of a group of tumuli⁴² was opened and found to cover the remains of sixteen pyres and to contain pottery of a simple Geometric type, large iron swords and fibulae of a relatively advanced type. The rite is definitely intrusive, for in the cist-graves of Theotokou⁴³ which mark the transition to the Iron Age we have, side by side with the incipient and scanty use of iron, fully developed proto-Geometric designs, especially compass-drawn circles and semicircles, on the pottery (though the repertory of vase forms by no means wholly coincides with that of the southern proto-Geometric area) and arched fibulae which are not limited to the earliest type, but not a trace of cremation. There are, moreover, cist tombs at Halos itself dated by their pottery to the same period as those of Theotokou and containing inhumations only.⁴⁴ The tumulus links Halos with Assarlik and Asia Minor on one side, and with the probably somewhat later specimens of Velanideza and Vurva⁴⁵ on the other.

Returning to the South Aegaeon, we find Geometric cremation cemeteries on sites which have no Mycenaean or proto-Geometric history. The island of Thera has two considerable Geometric cemeteries which continue into the sixth century and contain practically nothing but cremations. They were filled presumably by the Dorian settlers (of whose burial practices in their home-land in the archaic period we know nothing), for there is no reason to suppose in view of the evidence from Rhodes and Crete that the impulse to cremation was given by the alleged Minyan element from Lemnos. They may have taken the idea from Crete, with which, as the presence of Cretan vases in some of the tombs shews, they had commercial relations. Finally, in the small seventh-century cemetery at Vroulia in Rhodes we find the same dominance of cremation, of which there are thirty examples, all in cist graves, as against two inhumations. It would appear, therefore, that in Crete and Rhodes the rite of cremation made a strong appeal to the Dorian invaders. What proportion of the population they formed we have no means of estimating; but the evidence of the dialects suggests that in both islands and especially in Crete⁴⁶ they lived in sufficiently close contact with their Achaian predecessors to

⁴¹ *BSA*, xviii, pp. 1 ff.

⁴² Another was partly excavated by the Othrys Archaeological Society, and yielded burnt bones, iron weapons and geometric pottery.

⁴³ Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 209 ff.

⁴⁴ Principally, as it happens, of children and adolescents, who afford perhaps not quite such satisfactory evidence as adults of the exclusive practice of inhumation.

⁴⁵ Vurva can be definitely traced back to the seventh century, or at least some of the depositions can. There is no reason to suppose Velanideza earlier.

⁴⁶ Assuming that the Arcado-Cypriot dialect represents the speech of the Achaeans of the Peloponnese, the inscriptions which establish the point come from Eleutherna and Axos, somewhat westward of the cremation sites of Central Crete

pick up some forms of their speech. At Arkades it is perhaps not fanciful to see Achaian tombs in the three tholoi with circular ground plan, one of which goes back to the proto-Geometric period, and Dorian in the cremation urns which form a contemporary series from the Geometric age onwards; nor is it impossible that the corbelled inhumation tombs with rectangular ground plan, so characteristic of Late Minoan Crete, represent a population older than either.

The evidence of cemeteries is inevitably discontinuous both in time and space, but it does not appear that cremation ever again enjoyed such supremacy in the Greek world. A group of still unpublished graves on the S.W. slope of the Acropolis, which yielded pottery partly proto-Geometric, partly Geometric, and are older than any in the Dipylon cemetery or at Eleusis, are said to have contained cremations only.⁴⁷ The Geometric cemetery at Eleusis, which appears to be somewhat earlier than the oldest Dipylon graves, contained 29 cremations to 86 inhumations.⁴⁸ From the Kerameikos we have still much to learn, but in the oldest Geometric graves of the Dipylon cemetery the proportion of cremations was extremely low,⁴⁹ though considerably higher in the fifth and fourth centuries. The recent German excavations⁵⁰ have revealed early Geometric burials but seventh-century cremations; the sixth century, opening with a single cremation in a stately brick structure, thereafter yields examples of both rites. Cremations apparently continued in the Hellenistic period, since an *ustrina* was found overlying graves of the fourth century.⁵¹

At Syracuse, where the graves explored belonged almost entirely to the eighth and seventh centuries, the cremations numbered less than one in ten, presumably representing roughly the stage which cremation had reached when the first settlers left their original homes; though the story of Melissa shows that at Corinth it was still the most distinguished method of disposing of the dead at the end of the seventh or even at the beginning of the sixth century. At Megara Hyblaea, where the tombs belong mainly to the sixth century, the proportion of cremations rises to one in four.⁵² In the archaic cemeteries of Gela the cremations numbered about one in six, at Camarina about one in seven.⁵³

The sixth-century Samian cemetery excavated by Bochlau⁵⁴ yielded only two cremations to 159 inhumations. It is true that the proportion requires some rectification, firstly because a certain number of the ruined surface graves were probably later than the sixth century, and secondly because a trial exploration in a separate cemetery of the same settlement brought to light a remarkable approximation to a Homeric cremation.⁵⁵ Inside a ring of stones, once the *κηπίς* of a tumulus, there was found at the centre a thick layer of ash, on which rested a broken amphora

⁴⁷ Poulsen, *Dipylongraber*, p. 16; Pfuhl, *MuZ.* I, pp. 66-7.

⁴⁸ 'Ερημ. 1898, p. 76.

⁴⁹ Brückner and Pernice, *AM.* xviii, p. 78.

⁵⁰ See Karo's report in *AJA.* 1933, pp. 339 ff.

⁵¹ Bruckner and Pernice, *l.c.* p. 159.

⁵² Orsi, *NdS.* 1896, pp. 110-11. For the excavation of Megara Hyblaea, see *MonAnt.* i.

⁵³ *MonAnt.* xvii, p. 243.

⁵⁴ *Aus ionischen u. italischen Nekropolen*, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁵ *L.c.* pp. 32-4.

containing burnt bones. An archaic torso found in the immediate neighbourhood was conjectured to have stood, a later version of the Homeric stele, on the top of the tumulus. The conjecture derives support from the fact that the remains of another archaic statue were found in the neighbourhood of a second badly damaged ring of stones which adjoined the first. None the less, it would seem that in Samos cremation had become a rarity.⁵⁶

Some evidence is available from Boeotia. Haussoullier's⁵⁷ remarks on the cemeteries of Tanagra are too general to be of service, recording little but the fact that in a series of tombs which begins in the fifth century and continues to the reign of Commodus, inhumation is predominant. Rhitsona, however, affords abundant data, and Professor Ure has been good enough to supply me with the following statistics, derived in part from material still unpublished. In a series of 27 graves extending from the eighth century (two late Geometric graves and two early proto-Corinthian) through the seventh century and the first quarter of the sixth, there was not one case of cremation. In a series of 32 graves extending from the end of this first series to about the year 480 there were seven cases of cremation—one dating from the very beginning of the period, two of about the middle of the sixth century, three of about the end of the sixth century, and one of the early fifth. In a series of 22 graves extending from about the middle of the fifth century into Hellenistic times there were two cases of cremation, both of the fifth century.

Literary sources do little to amplify the archaeological record. In Thucydides we find cremation resorted to in time of pestilence and on active service.⁵⁸ There is no allusion to cremation in the funerary legislation of Solon as reported by Plutarch,⁵⁹ but the excavations in the Kerameikos, as we have seen, have revealed it in use both in the seventh and sixth centuries. Peisistratus, like Periander, may have found it a suitable form for a reigning family. According to the same biographer,⁶⁰ Lycurgus is equally mute, and no archaic cemetery has yet been excavated in Laconia. Pausanias⁶¹ was buried, but can hardly be regarded as a normal case. The bodies of the kings Agesipolis and Agesilaos, who died abroad, were brought home and preserved, the one in honey, the other for lack of honey in wax, to receive sepulture according to the royal manner.⁶² This suggests, but does not prove, burial. The long *προθήσεις* necessitated by the preparations for an elaborate cremation impose preservative measures; some such, therefore, would naturally be familiar even to a cremating community.⁶³ There is no mention of cremation either in the law of Ioulis on the island of Ceos or in the regulations of the Labuadai at Delphi as recorded in inscriptions which belong respectively to the second half and to the end of the fifth century: probably it was by this date unknown in both communities.

⁵⁶ The number of sarcophagi of Klazomenian type suggests Egyptian influence.

⁵⁷ Haussoullier, *Quo modo sepulcra Tanagraei decoraverint*, p. 76.

⁵⁸ Thuc. ii. 52, vi. 71.

⁵⁹ *Vit. Sol.* 21.

⁶⁰ *Vit. Lyc.* 27.

⁶¹ Thuc. I. 134.

⁶² Xen. *Hell.* V. 3. 19, Plut. *Ages.* 40.

⁶³ *I* 38-9.

The fact that the Homeric scholia find it necessary to state that cremation was the ancient practice shews that in some regions at least in the Hellenistic age the custom was unknown and was not even recognised as Greek.⁶⁴ Plato makes no mention of cremation in his funerary prescriptions in the *Laws*; even the εὔθυνοι are to be laid in an underground chamber.⁶⁵ Athens was probably the only place where cremation was anything but highly exceptional, and Plato was not thinking of Athens. Even at Athens it was doubtless uncommon. The passage in Isaeus (IV. 19) which is sometimes quoted⁶⁶ as shewing cremation to be the rule at Athens does nothing of the kind. The person in question died abroad, very probably on active service; naturally, therefore, the man claiming to be his adopted son would, if his tale were true, have taken up his body, burned it and collected the bones to bring back to his native land according to the regular practice in such cases. Lycon, head of the Peripatetic school in the third century, provided by will for his ἐκφορὰ καὶ καῦσις,⁶⁷ and may be represented by one of the later cremations found in the Dipylon cemetery; he desired that his funeral should be μήτ' ἀνελεύθερος μήτε περιέργος, but to judge by his life would have inclined to the latter alternative and certainly selected the more expensive form of sepulture.

It was doubtless the adoption of cremation by upper-class Romans⁶⁸ that revived the practice; for Lucian⁶⁹ could not have described cremation as the distinctively Greek rite if it had not been fairly general in the upper class of his own day, while the evidence of Homer and what could be culled from the tragedians, Pindar, and elsewhere probably suggested to him that it had always been so.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Schol. A. on A 52, τὸ παλαιὸν τὰ σώματα τῶν θνησκόντων πρότερον ἐκίετο . . . εἴθ' οὕτως ἐθάπτετο ὑπὸ γῆν. The Scholiast then goes on to ascribe the introduction of cremation to Herakles, on the authority of Andron, who evidently knew that, though old, it was not the oldest practice. Schol. Δ 99, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τὰ σώματα οὐκ ἐθαπτον ὑπὸ γῆν εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἔκασσαν.

These notes in the 'four men's commentary' can only come from Didymus, and he can only have taken them from his Alexandrian predecessors; there was no need to account for cremation in the Roman world. On the other hand, the Greeks of Egypt would naturally be unacquainted with cremation.

⁶⁵ *Laws* 947 D.

⁶⁶ E.g. by Rohde, *Psyche*, 2. I, p. 225, n. 4.

⁶⁷ Diog. Laert. V. 70.

⁶⁸ Cic. *de Leg.* II. 22 says that Sulla was the first of the patrician Corneliī to be cremated. Servius Sulpicius had the body of his assassinated colleague M. Marcellus cremated in the Academy and a monument erected to him there, possibly only a cenotaph. Cic. *ad Fam.* iv. 12.

⁶⁹ περὶ πένθους, 21. διελόμενοι κατὰ ἔθνη τὰς ταφὰς ὁ μὲν Ἕλλην ἔκασσεν ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἔθαψεν, etc. There is no mention of the Romans, who were probably

supposed merely to have imitated the Greeks.

⁷⁰ As we might expect from their distribution, cremation and inhumation are never appealed to as tests of race within the Hellenic unity. The fluidity of Greek funerary practice is remarkable. Solon (Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 10) claimed that the inhabitants of Salamis were akin to the Athenians rather than the Megarians because they, like the Athenians, buried their dead facing the west, the Megarians facing the east. The statement is repeated by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* V. 14 and VII. 19) with the additional detail that Solon proved his point by opening some ancient graves. There is, in fact, no principle of orientation observed either in Attica (Kerameikos, Vellaniada, Vurva) or in Megara Hyblaea; for Megara itself we lack evidence. Yet Solon must have been following a tradition; and in fact the graves of Salamis have a uniform orientation, though it does not appear that the position of the skulls in them was recorded. At Gela there was a strong preference for a position facing E., for S.E. in the second degree and N.E. in the third: the number of graves with a different orientation is negligible. Hereas of Megara commenting on Solon's arguments maintains that the Megarians also bury their dead facing the west, and further says that the Athenians make only single depositions in their tombs, a statement borne out by the

Whatever the fluctuations of cremation within the historic age, it will be noticed that it arose and flourished in the period within which Greece suffered an invasion of her own kin from the north, and was cut off from foreign contacts to a degree unparalleled in the Late Mycenaean or the subsequent Hellenic period. As she becomes accessible once more to outer and especially Oriental influences, and as her culture acquires its distinctive physiognomy, in part perhaps because the older elements in the population were able in some degree to reassert themselves, the rate of cremation begins to drop, though not simultaneously nor in all places. That treeless Thera should have continued for three centuries to cremate with presumably imported fuel is a measure of the intensity of her preference. Charcoal from her vines might serve domestic purposes and vine shoots no doubt played their ritual part at interments, as in the Dipylon cemetery;⁷¹ but they can hardly have sufficed for the reduction to ashes of a human body.

If the return to inhumation is in part due to foreign influences, these must have been close and intimate; mere trade contacts would not suffice to work such a change. Egyptian influence is apparent in the Klazomenian sarcophagi; no doubt it was exercised through Klazomenians resident in Egypt, and might naturally extend at least to all the communities represented at Naukratis. But though foreign influence was probably a co-operating cause, the change was but a reversion to the older practice, which on the mainland, so far as our evidence serves, had never been so seriously disturbed as in the southern islands. The Greeks of the historic age were well aware that their Bronze Age ancestors had practised inhumation,⁷² and the injunctions on one occasion and another of the Delphic oracle to seek for the bones of dead heroes were successfully carried out. Not very many historical instances are known. Herodotus records the finding of Orestes at Tegea, Plutarch that on Skyros of Theseus,⁷³ beside whose remains a bronze spear and sword were found. It will be noted that neither of these ranks among the heroes of the Trojan War, who seem in later times to have been recognised as forming a class by themselves; *μόνος οὗτος* (*sc.* Ajax major) *τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἀποθανόντων ἐν σορῶ κείται*.⁷⁴ The statement, of course a deduction from Homer, may have applied only to those heroes who take part in the action of the *Iliad*, for Herodotus (IX. 120) knows of Protesilaos as a *τόριχος*. The distinction was extended to the Seven against Thebes, perhaps also on the authority of ancient epic material. The tradition at any rate was established by the time of Pindar, and, probably, tumuli or something of the sort in the immediate neighbourhood of Thebes had been identified

Kerameikos, Velanideza and Vurva, whereas the Megarians make three or four. This practice can be seen at Megara Hyblaea and in Thera. Hereas had no inkling of the Salamis cemetery with its single interments, which support Solon's contention. The practice of single interments is characteristic of the Middle Helladic period, of which Salamis seems to preserve a tradition.

⁷¹ Bruckner and Pernice, *l.c.* pp. 165 and 184.

⁷² See Schol. A. on A 52, where the introduction of cremation is ascribed on the authority of Andron to Heracles.

⁷³ Herod. i. 68; Plut. *Thes.* 36.

⁷⁴ Apollod. *Epit.* XXI. 2, p. 67, Wagner. Cf. the similar statement derived from the Little Iliad (Kinkel, *Ep. Gr. Frag., Ilias Parva* 3). The tradition is followed by Sophocles, *Aj.* 1164 ff.

with the site of the seven pyres.⁷⁵ As Amphiaraus was swallowed by the earth, Polynices was left unburied and Adrastus according to most versions escaped, the pyres must have been assigned to the contingents as well as to their leaders. This would accord with historical Greek practice and could be based on Homer.⁷⁶ These data look like a subsequent attempt to explain Homeric cremation as a natural practice of the battle-field, but Homer knows no such limitation, as Antikleia's explanation to Odysseus (λ. 218 ff.) shows.

Other heroes and heroines were reputed to have been buried. In the late stages of the Trojan War the chiefs found it necessary to send not only for Philoktetes but for a bone of Pelops from Pisa,⁷⁷ and received a great shoulder-blade, which after strange vicissitudes made its way back to the Eleans, but had vanished by Pausanias' day; the other bones, however, were still preserved in a bronze chest.⁷⁸ In Argos, when in Hellenistic times the temple of Cretan Dionysus was being rebuilt, a terracotta coffin which was dug up was identified as that of Ariadne.⁷⁹

In attempting to fix chronological limits for the rise and dominance of cremation, we are confronted by an all but complete lack of fixed dates. The sack of Mycenae must lie some way above the upper limit, but the traditional date (1104) for the Return of the Herakleidai is suspect, as it depends on the inadequate genealogies of the Spartan kings. Yet there is a scrap of archaeological evidence which suggests that the date may not be so very far out after all. Of the leaf-shaped bronze swords whose original centre of distribution is in Hungary, Peake's Type D⁸⁰ (a subdivision of Naue's Type II) is the earliest to occur in Greek lands. Specimens have been found at Lebadeia (one), at Mycenae (three), at Moulia (two), and also in Cyprus and Egypt.⁸¹ Dr. Peake is prepared to accept the Seti sword, which is dated by the cartouche to the end of the thirteenth century,⁸² as belonging to this type as well as the perfect example from Zagazig. Once the evidence from Ras-Shamra, where such swords seem to have been produced, is available, we should know a good deal more about the chronology of leaf-shaped swords in the Mediterranean; in the meantime we have this fairly well-established date, near the end of the thirteenth century, as one fixed point. The examples from Mycenae were found, the first by Schliemann in a house adjoining the grave-circle,⁸³ the others by Tsountas in a similar house to the N.E. of the Lion Gate.⁸⁴ The latter have little dating value, as they formed part of a hoard, but there is a certain presumption in favour of Schliemann's having been in use when the house which contained it was

⁷⁵ Wilamowitz, *Pindar*, pp. 34-5; also Schol. A. on P. *Ol.* VI. 23, there cited.

⁷⁶ H. 433 ff.

⁷⁷ Paus. v. 13. 4-5, and Apollod. *Epit.* XXI. 8, which shows that Pausanias did not merely pick up a local legend. Probably the journeying shoulder-blade was the one substituted by the gods for the mortal member.

⁷⁸ Paus. vi. 22. 1.

⁷⁹ Paus. ii. 23. 8.

⁸⁰ Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 86-91.

⁸¹ *BS.A.* xviii, pp. 282 ff.

⁸² Peake, *l.c.* p. 96.

⁸³ *Mycenae*, pp. 143-4.

⁸⁴ *Εφημ.* 1897, Pl. VIII. 3, p. 111; cf. *do.* 1891, p. 25. Along with Tsountas' swords was found one with T hilt and hooked guard like that of the Woodhouse sword in the Brit. Mus., probably from Ithaka. (S. Benton, *BS.A.* xxix, pp. 113 ff.)

destroyed in the sack of Mycenae, the traditional date of which is regarded by many as too early. A century, however, seems as long a run as is likely for type D, the middle term in Dr. Peake's series, and provisionally we may experiment with 1100 as the date of the fall of Mycenae. Type E makes no appearance in Tsountas' hoards, but is represented by the two swords of the hoard from Tiryns. This collection contained objects of various dates, but included the tripod already mentioned, a type which outside Cyprus has been found only in proto-Geometric and Geometric surroundings. The swords are the only examples of their class known from Greece, and are apparently the latest type of bronze sword found in this region. Besides the iron *harpe*, two iron tripod feet were found in the hoard. If Mycenae was sacked about 1100, the later elements in the hoard must belong to the eleventh century, and the proto-Geometric style would appear before its close. Cremation would in that case have appeared rather before 1000 B.C.

The appearance of the Geometric style, with whose prevalence the zenith of cremation coincides, may with safety be ascribed to the early part of the ninth century. It is an interesting fact that this is also the century to which tradition assigned the life of Homer. There is no matter in regard to which the poems are more completely self-consistent than the disposal of the dead and the nature of the other world; and the conception of the latter is perfectly appropriate to the practice of cremation. Elusive as is the personality of Homer, we seem to catch the authentic accent of personal conviction in the colloquy of Achilles with the ghost of Patroklos. Was Homer the first to introduce cremation into heroic poetry? Obviously the answer must be speculative: yet the fact that there are in the poems a few, though only a few, stock phrases connected with cremation⁸⁵ suggests that he found it already established in hexameter verse. That it had to oust a tradition of inhumation appears to be an inevitable conclusion when we remember the admittedly Mycenaean elements which the poems have preserved.

Faint traces of burial seem to survive in a few phrases. *χρῆ γὰρ καλύπτει*⁸⁶ is ambiguous, for it might, of course, refer to the last stage of a cremation funeral; but we have at present no evidence earlier than that of the Assarlik for the association of cremation with the tumulus.⁸⁷ The adjective *φύσιζοος* occurs three times as an epithet of *αἶα* or *γῆ*, always in connexion with the dead, who seem to be thought of as returning to the lap of the Mother who gave them birth, possibly in the original conception to emerge from it once more.⁸⁸ Δ 174 looks like an inadvertent reversion to burial, for line 177 shews that Agamemnon is not thinking of Menelaus as abandoned to rot on the Trojan plain; the Achaeans will

⁸⁵ (a) *πυρὸς λελαχεῖν*; this causative reduplicated second aorist is used only with *πυρὸς* and in this sense: see H 80, O 350, X 343, Ψ 76.

(b) *πυρῆς ἐπιβῆναι, ἐπιβῆσαι*; Δ 99, I 546.

⁸⁶ Z 464, Ξ 114. The second passage refers to Tydeus, who according to later tradition was burned: Pind. *Ol.* vi. 15.

⁸⁷ For that of Gordium see Myres. *Who were the*

Greeks? p. 422.

⁸⁸ Γ 243, Φ 63, λ 301. It would seem that Ruskin was right (*pace* Matthew Arnold) in discerning, though perhaps not quite accurately, a special point in the epithet. The idea, of course, is natural and persistent; cf. Eur. *Supp.* 532-6; Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* VII. 476.

have time to raise a mound over him before they go. The most striking passage is in Ψ:

ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἥϊτε καπνὸς
 ᾤχετο τετριγυῖα, (100—1).

on which Zoilus Homeromastix pertinently remarked ἀλλ' ὁ καπνὸς ἄνω φέρεται.⁸⁹ We seem to have a clumsy blending of burial and cremation phraseology.

The traces then are faint; the work of the innovator was well done. It is, moreover, by no means unlikely that the first poets of cremation had a good deal of the formula ready to their hand. Nothing is more striking in the ritual disclosed by the invaluable tomb of Dendra than the use made of fire in disposing not of the dead, whether corpse-in-chief or accompanying victim, but of the inanimate offerings. The durable treasures, weapons, gold cups, etc., were found in the grave with the king's skeleton, but on a pyre above a pit just inside the entrance things more perishable were burnt—chests whose metal mountings have survived and which may have contained clothing, vessels which held, presumably, meat and drink. Of a great wine jar one half was found in the pit of the pyre, the other in the grave of the king. If the burials of Achaian chiefs were described in heroic verse of, say, the fourteenth or thirteenth century, the burning of these adjuncts would naturally find a place in the description. It is hard to see why this means of conveying inanimate objects to the dead should be chosen unless at some time it had been customary to burn the corpse also. Greek-speaking intruders acquiring power in the Peloponnese and finding inhumation the established practice might feel it prudent to comply with native custom so far as the body was concerned; or they might be captivated by a ritual which included so magnificent an equipment of gifts, and yet might continue to treat the more perishable goods, which are often all that the most lavish cremation provides, after their old traditional manner. Finding themselves in turn dispossessed, living side by side with hostile and domineering neighbours or carving out fresh domains beyond the sea, they may have reverted to rather than invented the method which above all others secures the dead from the malice of his enemies. So far as cremation in Greek lands is concerned, the examples from Assarlik and Samos strongly suggest that it was in Asia Minor that cremation and the tumulus were first combined, and that the agents were early Greek settlers on the Eastern side. In this quarter too it is plausible to seek the intrusive influence which produced the same combination at Halos in a region whose name associates it so closely with the hero of the *Iliad*. That intercourse between Aeolis and Northern Greece was close and continuous the ritual of the Locrian Maidens suffices to shew. Another indication of the connexion is furnished by Schol. A. on X 397,⁹⁰ where Callimachus (presumably the Alexandrian poet) is quoted as authority for the state-

⁸⁹ Schol. T. *ad loc.*

⁹⁰ ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος φησιν ὅτι πάτριόν ἐστι Θεσσαλοῖς τοὺς τῶν φιλιτάτων φονέας σῦρειν περὶ τοὺς τῶν φονευσέωντων

τάφους . . . ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ὡς Θεσσαλὸν πατρίφ ἔθει τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

ment that the dragging of a murderer round the tomb of his victim by the next of kin was a Thessalian practice, naturally resorted to by Achilles. Schol. B on Ω 15⁹¹ quotes Aristotle as authority for the same statement, with the further information that the custom was maintained in the philosopher's own day. Homer then may have described the actual practice of the Aeolic population. The introduction of cremation and the tumulus at Halos in the Geometric age was presumably due to the influence of the Aeolic settlers on their home-land; and the possibility that this was exercised in part through the *Iliad* itself with its portrait of their great hero must not be overlooked.⁹²

Whatever the origin, it was a fortunate chance for the world that cremation appeared early enough to figure in Homer. No scene in the *Iliad* lives more unforgettably in the memory than the funeral of Patroklos, and none could so fitly close the tale as that of Hector, faint, pathetic, abbreviated echo though it be, as becomes the losing side. It is difficult to imagine that an inhumation, however stately, could form a climax in a poem of great action; at all events no great poet has chosen to shew us that it could.⁹³

In historic Greece the tendance maintained at a tomb, whether it contained a cremation or an interment, suggested a connexion with the dead strong enough to impose an abiding duty on the living, but when the flames of Patroklos' pyre have been quenched, an impenetrable veil has fallen.⁹⁴ This tragic completeness of severance as well as its dramatic suddenness and spectacular quality is what epic demands; there must be no hint of other-worldly compensations. The heroic spirit has fled, λιποῦσ' ἀνδρωτῆτα καὶ ἥβην; the inevitable end shall be deliberately forestalled, and the body, the instrument of gallant life, shall also find the speediest dissolution. Only fire can fitly compass the stark finality of that dismissal:

ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφιέπων τάφον Ἑκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο.

The practice of cremation readily associates itself with a military aristocracy of a simple type and with a hard, materialistic and completely secular outlook on life; we need not be surprised if it was introduced by the Achaeans and taken up by certain Dorian communities. It is, however, not less congenial to the sceptical and rationalistic spirit which is

⁹¹ ἔστι δὲ λύσις, φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀνάγκων ἔθῃ, ὅτι τοιοῦτα ἦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ περιέλκουσι περὶ τοὺς τάφους.

⁹² The early tradition of the inhumation of Ajax may be based on some incident in the history of the Aeolic settlement. Either by accident or perhaps in compliance with instructions from Delphi, the colonists may have unearthed some Bronze Age interment and taken the skeleton within it for that of the Greek hero. At what date the tumulus of Rhoiteion was identified with the tomb of Ajax we do not know, any more than the date, not necessarily early, of the tumulus itself.

⁹³ Apollonius Rhodius, who admits inhumation
J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

only, could at least have given a good rhetorical description, but he treats his burials with a jejune-ness which accords with the lack of epic precedent. (*Arg.* II, 835 ff. and 855 ff.: IV, 1500 and 1535-6, and cf. the curious passage III, 200-9, where the tumulus is associated with interment and contrasted with cremation. The exclusion of the latter rite in spite of Homeric tradition suggests that Apollonius thought that it properly belonged only to the generations of Thebes and Troy.)

⁹⁴ Schol. T. on Ψ 75-6 suggests that Patroklos declares that he will never return τοὺς ἐναγισμούς τῶν πολλῶν ἀποτρέπων

characteristic of the more intellectual elements in the Greek world and which already betrays itself in the poet who said εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος. Reducing the body before the eyes of those who had known it to a handful of ashes, it powerfully suggested that the spirit, if it continued to exist at all, must have shrunk to something as insignificant and undifferentiated. The rite of cremation, as we have seen, prevailed for a limited period only and in the obscurer quarters of the Greek world; the doctrine, as we may not unfairly call it, of the ψυχή which Homer was perhaps the first to elaborate, to which at any rate he gave currency throughout the Greek world and which he so explicitly relates to cremation became, owing to him, a permanent element in Greek thought. It accounts for the cool, matter-of-fact attitude towards death and the future life which pervades so much of Greek literature and contrasts so strongly with that of the post-classical world, religious and secular alike. Cephalus at the opening of the Republic gives classical expression to that view of the future life as a merely negative state which is apparently presented as typical of the average man, at any rate of the educated class. If all his contemporaries are not equally serene, that is because they have gross misdeeds on their conscience, as many naturally decent men might who had lived through the closing years of the fifth century.⁹⁵ The breakdown of government and morals in the Rome of Lucretius seems likewise to have begotten a terror of death and judgment not generally characteristic of the Roman.

Of course this is only half the story. There is an element in Greek speculation more humane, reverent and sensitive, such as that which, to take one example only, finds expression in the *Antigone*. When the two strains meet in a great thinker, we find a view more spiritual than that maintained by the early spokesmen of Christianity. To Minucius Felix the indifference of Plato's ὁρῶν μου τὸ σῶμα ἢ καόμενον ἢ κατορυπτόμενον⁹⁶ would not be congenial, his rejection of the idea that a man has any special property in the bulk of flesh whence his spirit has fled⁹⁷ would be positively shocking. He rebukes the philosopher⁹⁸ who *corrupta et dimidiata fide* maintains that the body perishes for ever and only the soul survives; at a pinch indeed the fate of the body need not be regarded—*subducitur nobis sed deo, elementorum custodi,⁹⁹ reservatur*; none the less *veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus*; . . . *expectandum nobis etiam corporis ver est*. The antagonism is natural enough. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was no novelty; what concerned the Christian was the survival of personality, which imagination cannot separate from the body, and for this Plato offers no guarantee. It would seem that precautions were sometimes taken to protect the faithful from his seductions. Eusebius¹⁰⁰ in the course of long *verbatim* quotations from the

⁹⁵ The dramatic date of the Republic is earlier, but Plato is probably recording his impression of his own contemporaries.

⁹⁶ *Phaedo* 115 E.

⁹⁷ οὐδέποτε οἰκοφθαρεῖν χρὴ διαφερόντως νομίζοντα τὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῶν σαρκῶν ὄγκον θαπτομένων. *Laws* 959 C. Cf. Schol. BT on H. 79, βαρβαρικὸν τὸ σπεῖδειν περὶ τὰς ταφάς.

⁹⁸ *Octavius* XXXIV, 6–13; cf. the statement of the Pagan position in X–XI.

⁹⁹ *Custodia* P; corr. Wowerus.

¹⁰⁰ Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* XIII, 15. My attention was called to this passage by my brother, W. L. Lorimer. Heresy on the point soon arose within the fold: see St. Jerome, *Ep.* 84, 5 (Migne, *PL* XXII, p. 747). Origen *contr. Cels.* v. 45 (Migne, *PG* XI, p. 1201).

Phaedo introduces a startling variant on 114 c (οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι ἄνευ τε σωμάτων ζῶσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον) by substituting ἄνευ καμάτων for ἄνευ σωμάτων, whether of his own motion or following an already established Christian tradition there is no evidence to shew. On the other side the doctrine of the resurrection struck the pagans as arrogant and preposterous; ¹⁰¹ *putes eos iam revixisse*, indignantly says the pagan interlocutor in the *Octavius*, and charges them with dreading cremation as fatal to their hopes. No doubt the enlightened Christian could reply with Octavius *nec . . . ullum damnum sepulturae timemus*; but average man prefers to be on the safe side, and with the triumph of Christianity cremation disappeared.¹⁰² The genuine indifference of the Greek on the question is one of those rationalistic traits which we take for granted in him, and which only strike us as remarkable when contrasted with the attitude of other nations. Nor was he perturbed by the natural fate of the body. He felt no impulse to say to corruption, Thou art my father, and to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister. He does not readily turn to graves and epitaphs for admonitions of mortality; ¹⁰³ γνῶθι σεαυτὸν is his watchword, not *memento mori*. 'To die and go we know not where' was a melancholy thought, but not one that appalled his imagination, never cowed by an authoritative doctrine of eternal damnation; 'to lie in cold obstruction and to rot' was one that never seriously engaged his attention.

Mediaeval piety turned naturally to thoughts of the grave and evolved a macabre fantasy of the body sentient in the tomb and conscious of the process of disintegration.¹⁰⁴ To the Greek this would have seemed trivial as well as disgusting; and when those grim lay-preachers, Baudelaire and Barbusse, explore the supreme indignities of the tomb, τὸ μικρόν would in his eyes have extinguished pity and terror alike. He avoids equally the pathetic fallacy of the opposite type which plays so great a part in romantic lyric. Corruption should be invisible and the way to her dim dwelling-place obscure; but, on the other hand, no Greek could construct a consolatory poetic fantasy in defiance of known fact. Catullus, even Petronius, might have found Latin for

O that my grave were growing green,
The winding sheet drawn ower my een,
And I in Helen's arms lying—

but the thought is alien to Greek.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Acts* xvii, 18 and 32.

¹⁰² Macrobius, *Sat.* VII, 7. 5.

¹⁰³ We have an isolated phrase from Herakleitos, νέκυες κοπρίων ἐβλητότεροι (Diels, *Vorsokratiker*¹, Herakl. B 96), quoted by both Plutarch and Origen, but without its context. Lucian, indeed, puts a sermon, appropriately enough, into the mouth of that professional outrager of public opinion, Diogenes the Cynic (νεκρ. διδλ. 24. 2); but, Syrian though he is, he is Hellenic enough to observe a certain discretion in his language.

¹⁰⁴ It is sometimes presented in the form of a

death-bed dialogue of mutual recrimination between soul and body. See *Old English Miscellany*, pp. 169 ff. As a specimen, Nu þe schulle wurmes | wunyen wipinne | ne may me heom ut dryven | mid nones kunnesgynne.

The secular poets use the same idea, less sensationally:—

'Now with his love, now in his colde grave,
Allone, withouten any compaignye.'

Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 2778-9.

¹⁰⁵ Lord Herbert of Cherbury draws the com-

Antigone, it is true, confounds the grave with the house of Hades, but her language is suggested by her doom, which is to enter the tomb alive and inhabit it for a space. The tomb as a dwelling-place does indeed appear in an epigram by Apollonides,¹⁰⁶ who writes of a husband and wife dead within an hour of each other

. . . ἄμφω δ' ὥς συνέναιον ὑπὸ πλακὶ τυμβεύονται,
ξυνὸν ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ τάφον ὥς θάλαμον.

But Apollonides belongs to the first century of our era, and there is no reckoning the foreign influences which by that date had played upon the thought of Greece.¹⁰⁷ This is equally true of the Hellenistic age, in which we find Leonidas (certainly Leonidas of Tarentum and therefore of the first half of the third century) putting a complaint into the mouth of a dead man whose grave has been disturbed by the making of a new road:¹⁰⁸ ἤδη καὶ σκώληκες ὑπὸ σοροῦ αὐγάζονται ἡμετέρης; but the line of thought is not characteristic, even of the epitaphs of the Anthology, nor is it followed far.

So much literature can tell us; about the feelings and beliefs of the multitude we are very much in the dark. That, with the rare exceptions noted, they practised mainly inhumation, if only for economic reasons, is certain; that they connected with it any definite beliefs about the soul is extremely improbable. Many no doubt at all periods justified the gibe of Tertullian¹⁰⁹—*vulgus irridet, existimans nihil superesse post mortem, et tamen defunctis parentant, et quidem impensissimo officio, pro moribus eorum, pro temporibus esculentorum*. Already in the classical age some, as we know, found consolation in Orphicism, others, as time went on, in various mystery religions, till at last the triumph of the greatest of these terminated the history of the ancient world.

H. L. LORIMER.

plete logical conclusion, as becomes a metaphysical poet:—

These eyes again then eyes shall see
And hands again these hands enfold.
And all chaste pleasures can be told
Shall with us everlasting be.

For if no use of sense remain
When bodies once this life forsake.

Or they could no delight partake,
Why should they ever rise again?

¹⁰⁶ *Anth. Pal.* vii, 378.

¹⁰⁷ That of Egypt was extremely pervasive, though perhaps specially strong at Rome. Cf. Trimalchio jingling his silver skeleton at the feast (*Sat.* 34).

¹⁰⁸ *Anth. Pal.* vii, 480.

¹⁰⁹ *de resurr. carnis*, I.

SARCOPHAGI FROM XANTHOS

[PLATES X-XV.]

SIR CHARLES FELLOWS writes on p. 503 of *Travels and Researches*:—
'On the plain at the foot of the elevation upon which the city Xanthos was placed, we disinterred the remains of a mausoleum. In this room, which had vaults beneath, stood four sarcophagi, raised upon pedestals. . . . I have collected the fragments of each sarcophagus.'¹ The four sarcophagi are in the British Museum and are described in Vol. II of the *Catalogue of Sculpture*, nos. 957-960. As far as I am aware, there is no other reference to any of them in archaeological literature.² Their obscurity in the Museum (no. 957 in the Mausoleum Room Annexe, the other three in the Sepulchral Basement), and also their association in the *Catalogue* with older, Greek sculptures have combined to withdraw attention from them. It can be readily understood that amid masterpieces of the archaic and classical periods these sadly fragmentary remains of late art failed to attract the eye. To-day, when sarcophagi are recognised as material of fundamental importance for the artistic and cultural history of the provinces of the Roman Empire, it seems appropriate to reconsider these fragments; for their provenience is certain and identical, and they present some new features to our study.³

Plans of the mausoleum are preserved in the Portfolio of Lycian Drawings and are reproduced, redrawn,⁴ in fig. 1. They shew the ground-plan of the main chamber, with the positions of the sarcophagi indicated; the ground-plan of the vaulted lower chamber; and a section, drawn to shew approximately the front of the sarcophagus on the left of the entrance. Here is no mausoleum of the temple or aedicula form so frequently found in the coast regions of southern Asia Minor—Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia.⁵ On the contrary, the structure in architectonic principles recalls a Hellenistic-Roman type of which we have a good example in the tomb of Claudia Tatiana at Ephesus.⁶ In this a semicircular apse is attached to the square main chamber, and the entrance is symmetrically placed in

¹ The mausoleum cannot be identified with any of the architectural remains recorded either on the sketch-plan of Fellows (*Xanthian Marbles*, pl. 2) or on that of Krickl published by Benndorf (*OJh.* iii (1900), p. 100). According to Fellows' description it must have been situated at the foot of the south slope.

² Descriptions of nos. 959 and 960 and pencil sketches of no. 958, presumably the work of F. Matz, are in the material of the *Corpus of Sarcophagus Reliefs*.

³ For permission to study and to publish the sarcophagi, for photographs and drawings, and for other information I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Forsdyke and to Mr. F. N. Pryce. The latter is also responsible for

the translation of my German text.

⁴ Cf. *Cat. of Sculpt.* II, p. 61. As the excessively minute drawing and in particular the lettering forbade any attempt at photographic reproduction, Mr. Waterhouse made a copy of the original, including every material detail. The drawings of the sarcophagi mentioned *l.c.* are of no importance.

⁵ For the literature, cf. Mau-Mercklin, *Kat. d. Bibl. d. deutschen arch. Inst. Rom.*, I, 1, pp. 192 ff., and F. Matz, *Supplement*, pp. 121 ff. In particular, *M.I.M.I.* III (Keil-Wilhelm, *Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien*).

⁶ *OJh.* xxvi (1930), Beiblatt, p. 7, fig. 3.

the central axis of this apse. At Xanthos the apse is rectangular and the main chamber is wider to the right of the entrance. The drawing gives no means of deciding whether this lack of symmetry dates from the building of the tomb, or whether it indicates some later extension. The entrance is also not symmetrical with the central axis of the apse, but set slightly towards the deeper side of the chamber. The thinness of the wall suggests not a clay vault but more probably a wooden roof. There is no portico. On the left of the entrance was a shaft with a stone cover leading to the vault, which probably served as a burial-place for the domestics.⁷ It is plain from this shaft that the mausoleum did not stand on a high walled base.

Although Fellows has not recorded how the fragments were found in relation to the positions he indicates, yet the arrangement of the four sarcophagi can be determined with practical certainty. Two sarcophagi were set on similar bases to balance each other on the right and left side-walls of the main chamber. For these positions only the two Attic sarcophagi (see below) can be considered seeing that, while differing in form of lid and in their friezes, they form a pair in respect of structure and chest-decoration.⁸ Their backs, of inferior design and execution, could be set against the wall. The symmetrical bases on which these two sarcophagi were placed have a projection on right and left. We cannot decide whether this was intended to suggest a bench, as is so frequently found in Lycia and Pamphylia,⁹ placed before or under a sarcophagus, or whether the addition was prompted by the angular bases of the sarcophagi themselves. On the other hand, we may speculate still further how to place these two sarcophagi. As a rule, on Attic sarcophagi one of the short sides is not so completely executed as the other.¹⁰ On the Erotes-sarcophagus the differentiation is very trifling; but yet the side with the boys playing with hoops has the tendril ornament on the upper border which is absent on the other, and is distinguished by this as the side for exhibition. It is the left side of the sarcophagus. Of the Battle-sarcophagus only the right side remains, and this in the completeness of the ornament on the upper edge corresponds to the left side of the Children-sarcophagus. It is open to doubt whether the sarcophagi were ordered, or selected, with this point in view. But in any case their arrangement must have been so contrived that the Erotes-sarcophagus stood on the left side of the door, the Battle-sarcophagus on the right, so that as one entered the eye encountered the sides which corresponded in decoration with the fronts.

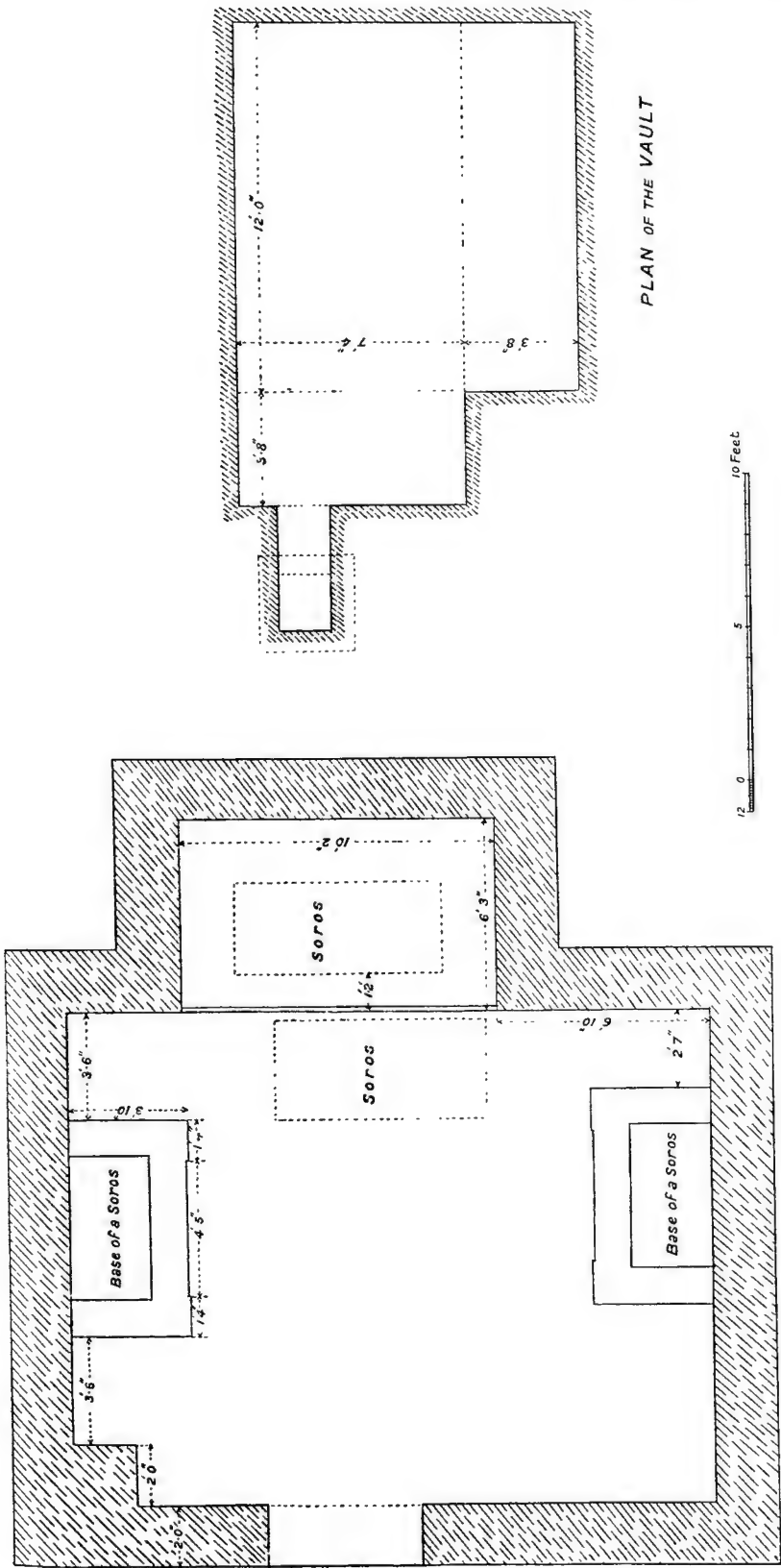
⁷ Cf. Benndorf-Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, pp. 90, 101; Petersen-v. Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, etc., II, p. 152; Paribeni-Romanelli, *Mon. Ant.* 23 (1914), p. 244; Keil-Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸ In the mausoleum of Claudia Tatiana at Ephesus the two Attic sarcophagi were also apparently set in opposition as a pair. It is to be hoped that the publication of all the fragments will shortly give us further details of these chronologically important pieces. Another pair may have been formed with the Attic Amazon-sarcophagus and an Erotes-sarcophagus

from Tolmetta, now in the Museum at Benghazi; the fragments are published by A. L. Pietrogrande, *Africa Ital.* iii (1930), pp. 108 ff.

⁹ Petersen in Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*, II, pp. 72, 184.

¹⁰ Numerous examples prove that it was no hindrance to export for back or sides to be unfinished. Hence there is no reason to assume with G. de Jerphanion, *Orient. Christ.* xxviii, pp. 223 ff. that the couch-sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo was made, or worked over, in Rome.



PLAN OF THE VAULT



PLAN

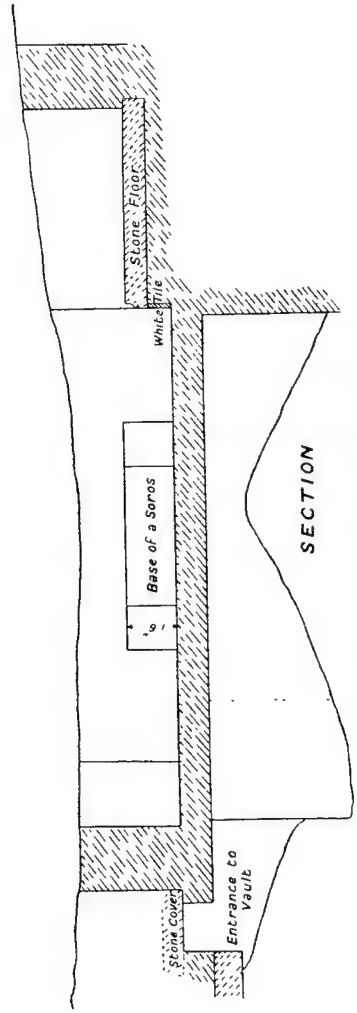


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

The sarcophagus of the head of the family and owner of the tomb stood in the rectangular apse. The floor of this was slightly raised and the whole surface covered with a stone or plaster floor, the front of which had a moulding (see the section). On this the sarcophagus stood free, to be walked round and seen from all sides. No doubt the building was originally intended to hold only this and the two Attic sarcophagi. Subsequently a fourth sarcophagus was inserted unsymmetrically in front of the apse, and for this no plinth was provided. That the widening of one side of the tomb was made on account of this sarcophagus is not probable, for if such were the case, it would have been more organically incorporated into the architectural scheme. This sarcophagus again was visible from all sides.

Of the two sarcophagi sculptured with equal care on all four sides, whose place we have to fix, which one stood in the apse? Fellows marked on his plan the positions of both sarcophagi. The proportions do not closely agree with the extant fragments and they are probably only approximately sketched, as the exact dimensions supplied on other parts of the plan are not given. We can then only conclude that the shorter and smaller sarcophagus, in the apse, was distinguished from the longer and broader one, in front of the apse. In this case the Hunting-sarcophagus stood in the apse, the Columnar sarcophagus obliquely in front of it.

The Attic Erotes-sarcophagus (Pl. X and figs. 3, 4).

The barbarian destroyers of the Roman mausoleum of Xanthos were not content to break open the sarcophagi to plunder their contents; they smashed them up for building material. The destruction, however, assumed various forms. Of the Columnar sarcophagus nothing remains but the bottom and the adjoining part of the walls; in the Erotes-sarcophagus (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, no. 958) it is precisely the bottom which was converted to other uses. The left side is the best preserved fragment (Pl. X, top). Two naked boys are happily employed in what Horace calls 'ludere graeco trocho' (*Odes*, iii, 24, 57). The boy on the left, shewn in frontal view, holds the hoop in front of him; it comes up to his nipples.¹¹ The left elbow is bent and the hand probably rested on the hoop; the right hand may have held the *ἐλατήρ* to propel the hoop. His companion, who turns his back to us, stands with the right leg widely advanced to the right. He again holds the hoop with his left hand. The attitude of the right arm must undoubtedly be restored with reference to the *puntello*, which is otherwise meaningless. It suggests that the arm was stretched out obliquely downwards and held the twisted *ἐλατήρ*,¹² which lies on the hoop, if I rightly interpret what remains. The hoop stands higher than the other; perhaps it was supported on a slight rise of the ground-level. The children are of the type familiar to us from Attic Erotes-sarcophagi—chubby-faced, a curl of hair over the brow, and

¹¹ This corresponds with the description of Oribasius (Bussemaker-Daremberg, *Oeuvres d'Oribase*, I, p. 522: Becq de Fouquières, *Les jeux des anciens*, p. 163), who uses the word *κρίκος* for the hoop.

¹² For hoop-play and for the shape of the *ἐλατήρ*, cf. Becq de Fouquières, *op. cit.* pp. 159 ff.; G. van Hoorn, *De vita atque cultu puerorum*, pp. 72 ff.; A. E. Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art*, p. 17.

ringlets falling at the sides. At the left edge appears a piece of the stem of the tree, which decorated the corner towards the back. Of the back a small piece remains with the joint of the hind-leg of an animal in repose, preserved on the isolated angle fragment which gives the boy's right foot. The top cornice shews the combination of mouldings frequently found on Attic sarcophagi (cf. fig. 2);—bead and reel, egg and tongue, and a narrow Lesbian kymation. The upper edge, plain on earlier examples (fig. 2),¹³



FIG. 2.—EROTES-SARCOPHAGUS IN ATHENS.

is enriched with a low scroll emerging symmetrically from acanthus-leaves. The lost base may be presumed to have had the same form as that of the Battle-sarcophagus; but the workshops delighted in variety, and one of the other basal ornaments of Attic sarcophagi is not impossible.¹⁴ In contrast with older examples, no figures of tectonic significance are found at the front corners. Nevertheless the plinths at the corners of the base which originally were organically connected with angle-figures were probably still present, as on the Battle-sarcophagus and on other Attic sarcophagi. The lid must be set a little to the right to correspond with the cramp-holes; the gable of the left end is preserved, with the shield and the

¹³ Athens, National Museum, nos. 1181 and 1183, from Anaphe, Papaspyridi, p. 171; Photo Alinari 24339.

¹⁴ Compare e.g. fig. 2 and Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, no. 216, pl. 70.

base of acroteria of the form canonical for Attic sarcophagi and not found on other types.¹⁵

The right side (Pl. X, below) forms the pendant picture to the scene we have described: two boys playing at ball. Only the upper half of the boy to the right is preserved, together with all the upper part of the slab. On the left side each of the players was occupied separately with his hoop; on this side the boy is looking towards his companion, holding the ball in his right hand in readiness to throw. His comrade would have been portrayed in frontal view with the body bent backwards to the left; so we obtain the same contrast of movement and pose as on the left side. In the composition of both scenes vivid observation is combined with decorative feeling. On the right is preserved the roughly-sketched foliage of the tree which decorated the angle with the back. On the tiny piece which is all that here remains of the back is the end of a curling tail (fig. 3). Taking this in conjunction with the foot that is to be seen at the bottom of the opposite fragment, we may reconstruct on the back one of the antithetic beast-groups customary on these sarcophagi; not striding gryphons, as on the Battle-sarcophagus, but sitting or lying beasts; perhaps two lions, as on the Athenian Meleager-sarcophagus in Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, no. 216, pl. 70;¹⁶ or two sphinxes, as on the back of an Attic sarcophagus in Berlin.¹⁷ The top mouldings had no worked ornament at the back; similarly the row of standing acanthus-leaves is absent on the back of the lid, and we are thereby assured that the lid is correctly placed.

Of the front (fig. 4) only a small horizontal strip from the left half is preserved. The peculiar fracture is probably caused by the stratification of the Pentelic marble. The relative height of the strip is certain, from its junction with the left side. A naked boy runs to the right; only his middle remains. A galloping horse follows, filling up the left side of the foreground of the relief; it bears on its back a boy; the outline of the back, the marks where the right leg has been split away, and the left foot against the background may be seen. The left foreleg of the horse shews the deep outlining so characteristic of Attic sarcophagi.¹⁸ There is only one subject in which two such figures could be combined—a hunting-scene. The right half would have contained perhaps some further hunters and the beast either in flight or turning to bay; as the little master of the hunt is mounted, we may suppose a lion or a boar. Not as Horace complains (*Odes* III, 24, 54 ff.):—

Nescit equo rudis
Haerere ingenuus puer
Venarique timet, ludere doctior
Seu graeco iubeas trocho . . .

the boy on the sarcophagus can not only play, he rides and hunts.

¹⁵ Cf. fig. 2; Rodenwaldt, *JdI*. xlv (1930), p. 168, n. 7.

¹⁶ The lion group on the back of the Mattei Museum-sarcophagus now in the Museo delle Terme is probably a product of the influence of Attic sarcophagi imported into Asia Minor; I interpreted this differently in *RM*. 38–39, p. 7, n. 2. Morey, *The*

Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (Sardis, V, 1), pp. 49 ff., does not refer to the back. The sarcophagus in Termessos, Lanckoroński, II, p. 111, fig. 78, is more strongly orientalising.

¹⁷ Inv. no. 1454. Kekulé-Schröder, *Gr. Skulptur*,³ p. 373.

¹⁸ *JdI*. xlv (1930), p. 160.



FIG. 4.—FRONT OF THE EROTES-SARCOPHAGUS.



FIG. 3.—BACK OF THE EROTES-SARCOPHAGUS.

Our sarcophagus belongs to the group of Attic Eros-sarcophagi which F. Matz first distinguished.¹⁹ We may call the boys Eroses; they appear sometimes winged, sometimes unwinged, just like Psyche, with no apparent discrimination. Matz collected the subjects—Eroses drunken returning from a revel, making offerings or preparing to do so, riding teams of lions, or as wrestlers and athletes. Since then other motives have been added—vintage and the hunt.²⁰ Among the occupations of the 'Children's Paradise' games with hoops and balls appear for the first time on our Xanthian sarcophagus,—a more profane scene than the other subjects, which are symbolic and heroic.

In the interpretation of the symbolism of the Eros-sarcophagi, F. Cumont more than anyone has indicated the path for us (*Syria*, 1929, p. 217 ff.). Further investigation of the symbolic content of the sepulchral art of the Roman Empire must continue along the roads he has pioneered.²¹ But even after his investigations the Attic Eros-sarcophagi present us with a problem which here I must only formulate without pausing for a full discussion. Cumont deduced the representations of the 'Children's Paradise' from the sarcophagi of children. But we find the theme in the overwhelming majority of examples on the coffins of adults, and by no means in a late or derivative form. Further, the humour, the charm, and the inner significance of the scenes seem to lie just in the fact that little boys are represented in actions that would be appropriate to adults. This is the case not only with the Dionysiac scenes with offerings and revels, on wrestling-matches and hunts, but even with the games on the Xanthian sarcophagus; for hoop and ball games were in antiquity not the amusements of the very young, but of big boys and grown-ups.²² On Roman sarcophagi of children there are many instances of scenes which are suited to the age of the occupant. In the case of the Attic Eros-sarcophagi we must enquire whether the themes were not devised for adults and then adapted for children's coffins; this is a simpler solution than the reverse hypothesis.

The quality of Greek sarcophagi of Imperial date is not to be measured by classical art; yet Greek traditions persist not only in their architectonic structure, in the selection and composition of their figured ornament, but even in their plastic style. As a Greek Imperial portrait can be distinguished from a Roman, even so we can feel Greek modelling still living in every shape and in every head of a figure on a Greek sarcophagus. The innate and traditional instinct of the sculptor can be found particularly on those parts which are only outlined or sketched, *e.g.* on the hair curls and the locks of the Eroses; elsewhere the smooth routine finish often obscures the freshness of the conception.²³

¹⁹ *AZ.* 30 (1873), pp. 11 ff.

²⁰ *Jdl.* xlv (1930), Taf. 5-7, Abb. 32, p. 178, n. 5.

²¹ *Jdl.* xlv (1930), p. 178.

²² Also the 'puer' of the Horatian ode (see above) is not a small child, but a big lad. On the other hand, on Roman sarcophagi we often find typical children's games, among them a disk with an axis driven by a stick (cf. Benndorf-Schöne, Lateran no. 30; van Hoorn, *op. cit.* p. 75, fig. 26).

²³ Goethe intuitively felt the Greek nature of the Hippolytos-sarcophagus in the Duomo of Girgenti (*Ital. Reise*, 24 April, 1787). When he said, 'In this the object was to portray beautiful youths; for this reason the old woman was represented very small and pigmy-like between them, as a mere accessory which would not disturb,' he hit upon a distinctive quality of Greek sarcophagi, in opposition to the narrative character of Roman art.

The Attic Battle-sarcophagus (Pl. XI, figs. 5-7).

Of this (*Cat.* no. 957), there are preserved in one piece the greater part of the back and the right side, joining the back on the left. The opposed Gryphons, each of which lays one fore-paw on a ledge of a blazing candelabrum,²⁴ have, as usual, not received the last finish. On the top the mouldings of the more important sides are continued but without plastic



FIG. 5.—BRITISH MUSEUM: FRAGMENT OF A BATTLE-SARCOPHAGUS.

embellishment. But the base shows a different series of mouldings, which frequently happens on Attic sarcophagi²⁵; a low rounded member, intended for a horizontal wreath, between two small flat bands. The side depicts, in the crowded but plastically clear style of Attic sarcophagi of the group to which Robert unhappily gave the title of 'Graeco-Roman,'²⁶ a scene from a battle between combatants on horse and on foot (see the

²⁴ On the symbolic meaning of gryphons, lions, and sphinxes on the backs of the Attic sarcophagi see G. A. S. Snijder, *Raccolta in onore di F. Ramorino*, pp. 264 ff.

²⁵ See e.g. Robert, II, 2, nos. 154 and 160, pls. 48

and 50.

²⁶ Robert, II, p. x; Altmann, *Arch. u. Orn. d. ant. Sark.* pp. 86 ff.; Robert, III, 2, p. 170; Weigand, *JdI.* xxix (1914), p. 77.

description in *Cat. of Sculpt.* II, pp. 60 ff.). The two horses galloping to right and the attitudes of the fallen men indicate a movement to the right which encounters and is arrested by a powerful combatant at the angle. In the vigorous motive of the fallen figure on the right the slackly hanging forearm is full of expression. The rider of the left horse falls from his seat backwards on the front side of the horse,²⁷ a motive of daring instantaneity which recalls the similar figures of falling men on the Greek sarcophagi with the Battle of Ships from the *Iliad* and on Roman sarcophagi with Gaulish scenes.²⁸ The *Catalogue of Sculpture* (III, pp. 334 ff., no. 2329) conjecturally assigns to this sarcophagus a fragment with a battle-scene (fig. 5), which may have come from its front. Robert (*Sarkophagreliefs*, II, no. 115, Pl. XLVII) assigned it to an Amazon sarcophagus. Sure knowledge of the provenience would be necessary to establish whether it belongs or not. Of the couch-lid of the Battle-sarcophagus only a sadly damaged fragment remains; part of the man, who holds a book-roll in his left hand; a piece of the upper body of the woman, who supports herself with the left elbow resting on her cushion; and the greatest part of the left rail. The front surface of the mattress is split away (figs. 6, 7). What is preserved suffices to shew correspondence with other Attic couch-lids.²⁹

The sarcophagus belongs to a small group of Attic sarcophagi on which are represented battles on foot and on horseback with opponents who are characterised neither as Persians nor as Gauls, the barbarian enemies of the classical and of the Hellenistic epochs. The scenes will then be battles from Mythology rather than from History.³⁰ Best preserved is a sarcophagus which was formerly in the Palazzo Digny-Cambrai in Florence and later came to the Hermitage at Leningrad (Pl. XII).³¹ We may use this as the pattern from which to gain an idea of the front and left side of our fragment. It has battle-scenes on front and both sides; on the back, between angle trees, are opposed walking Gryphons, between them a column crowned by a pine-cone. Here again the right side corresponds with the front, while the left side is neglected. The base has the same curved moulding with upright acanthus leaves. The moulding on which the figures stand is turned into a toothed band; in place of the kymation of the upper moulding there is a sloping acanthus band; and on the border itself is an elongated and shallow acanthus-tendril. All these are indications that the Leningrad example marks a later stage in the development.³² The side of a third

²⁷ The sexual organs conform to the movement.

²⁸ Battle of the ships (from the *Iliad*): literature in Robert, III, 2, pp. 362 ff., nos. 1-8. Supplementary plates A and B; Robert III, 3, p. 576. As an example of a Roman Gaul-sarcophagus cf. the Ammendola sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino (Stuart Jones, *Cat.* 74, no. 5, pl. 14).

²⁹ Cf. *JdI.* xlv (1930), pp. 120 ff.

³⁰ The interpretation and the relation to the Battle of the Ships-sarcophagi cannot be discussed here. We are free to speculate whether Greek battle-sarcophagi, like the Roman Gaul-sarcophagi, go back to painted prototypes which had mutually a close connexion, as pendants or parts of a row of pictures.

³¹ Dutschke, II, no. 407; Robert, II, p. 131; Kieseritzky, *Museum of Ancient Sculpture* (Russian), 1927, p. 150, no. 192 A; Waldhauer, *Anc. Sculptures* (Russian), 1924, p. 150, no. 378. The sides and the larger left half of the front in Robert, *l.c.* from drawings by Eichler, made while it was still in Florence. The new photographs I owe to Waldhauer's constant kindness.

³² If the angle-akroteria mentioned by Dutschke, *op. cit.* p. 192, really belonged, then the sarcophagus had a roof-shaped lid, not a group on a couch. The roof form, the oldest, occasionally persists, though on later examples the couch predominates.



FIG. 6.—LID OF THE BATTLE-SARCOPHAGUS.

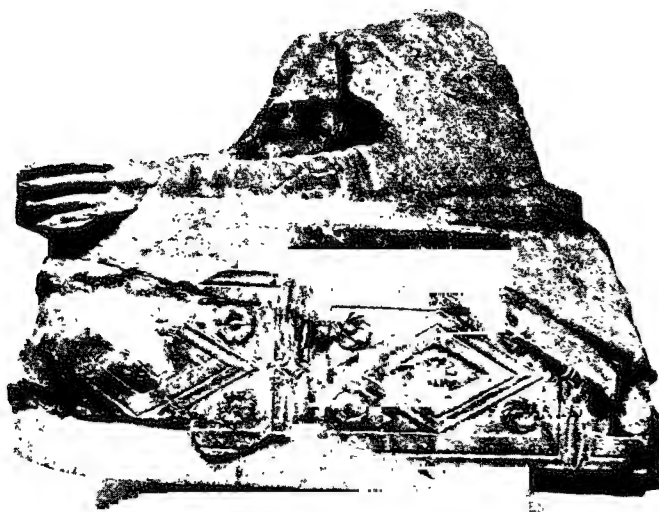


FIG. 7.—LID OF THE BATTLE-SARCOPHAGUS (*side view*).

example is preserved in the fragmentary sarcophagus from Petalidi in the National Museum, Athens ³³ (fig. 8). The variations in the three examples, despite their close similarity of subject, composition, and style, can hardly be explained by mechanical copyings from various sections of an extensive repertory; rather, sarcophagus workshops loved to fashion new compositions from traditional designs and were in a position to do so. We observe further on the Leningrad sarcophagus that the direction of the movement from left to right is carried on from the left side up to the right. On the front it is equalised by the obvious division into three main groups which, following the laws of classical frieze composition, are so interlocked that the flow of the movement is not interrupted and the surface is equally covered with figures. Robert has observed the influence of the figures on the Leningrad sarcophagus on the London Amazon sarcophagus from Sidon,³⁴ another exported Attic piece. This relationship is highly characteristic of the manner in which models were used and modified.

The Battle-sarcophagus and the Eros-sarcophagus are approximately contemporary, as the similarity of the profiles of the top of the chest indicates. Probably they were obtained together as a pair for the purpose of furnishing the tomb. The sharper cut of the egg-and-tongue and the looser filling of the tendril at the top edge mark the Battle-sarcophagus as more developed than the Eros-sarcophagus, but they do not make it necessary to assume any appreciable interval of time between them. They represent two simultaneous stages of the development of Attic sarcophagi. The Eros-sarcophagus, with its figures widely spaced over the free background and its gable-roof, is a late member of an old group; the Battle-sarcophagus, with its couch roof and its mass of closely crowded figures, is an early member of a later family.

The Columnar-sarcophagus of Asia Minor type (Pl. XIII).

What remains of this (*Cat.* no. 959) is the lower edge with the ends of the architectural pillars and the figures. The very fragmentary base is now inset into a plaster mount the surface of which is tooled to distinguish it from the original fragments. The bottom of the chest has gone. The walls have been destroyed along horizontal fractures in such a way that the part highest preserved is at the rearward end of the left side, while on the right side the destruction reaches the lower edge of the podium of the columns. The simplicity of the natural fracture has been somewhat obscured by the addition of a few small fragments to the lower part. Thus on the right side (Pl. XIII, C) the middle part and the base of the right figure are rejoined. On long side A the left thigh of the left corner figure and the two following column-stumps are additions, and the background has been restored to accommodate them. On long side D the lower leg of the male figure in the second niche from the left is rejoined, with the background likewise restored.

³³ Kastriotis 1179; Papaspyridi, pp. 173 ff., pl. xii (right short side). Drawings of all sides and of the figures on the lid in *Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage arch.*

pl. 99 100; Matz, *l.c.* p. 15; Robert II, p. 131.

³⁴ Robert, II, no. 110, pl. 45; *B.M. Sculpt.* III, no. 2303.

An attempt to reconstruct this sarcophagus, to interpret and to range it in its artistic place, could lead to sure conclusions only if we took into consideration the whole of Morey's analysis of the entire family of Asia Minor columnar sarcophagi.³⁵ Here only a few features will be indicated. In contrast with Attic sarcophagi, the Asia Minor type is fully decorated on all four sides. Thereby it comes nearer to classical Greek taste than do the Attic works. It may happen for exceptional reasons that one



FIG. 8.—BATTLE-SARCOPHAGUS FROM PETALIDI IN ATHENS.

side remains entirely unworked; but wherever a side is found with decoration of inferior type, this is due to Attic influence.³⁶ In the same way certain variations may be observed between the two long sides, but it is not on that account possible to decide which side was reckoned the more important. On the Xanthian sarcophagus certain details may be observed on long side A which distinguish it from the other long side. The middle

³⁵ C. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina* (= *Sardis*, V, 1, 1924). See also my remarks *R.M.* 38, 39 (1923-4), pp. 2 ff.; *Gnomon*, 1 (1925), pp. 121 ff.; and *Jdl.* xlv (1930), pp. 184 ff.

³⁶ See note 16 above.

figure stands on an elevated base and the podia of the columns are adorned with tiny angle-akroteria. The difference must have been more apparent when side A could shew a symmetrical composition of figures, while side D was irregularly divided. Perhaps the sarcophagus was set up so that side A was the front facing the door.

A little anomaly may be observed in respect of the low platforms on which the figures stand: on side A in the two left, on side D in the two right places, they are higher than the neighbouring plinths of the podia of the columns, while in the other halves they are lower. Perhaps the execution was divided between two stone-carvers, each undertaking one half of the sarcophagus starting from a short side.

One short side (C) represents the tomb-door; in front stands an incense-burner. This is an essential and original feature of this type of sarcophagus; where it is missing, degeneration is evident. In the sepulchral architecture of southern Asia Minor, or in the sarcophagi in the form of houses standing free, the short side with the door is the true front.³⁷ When the portable sarcophagus, set up in a mausoleum and surrounded with pillared architecture, appeared, this original main feature on a short side remained in its old position; but the short ends had to yield pride of place to the long sides. The broadside view acquired especial prominence by combination with a further motive, the bed with the lying figure of the defunct. Such a form of lid we must also restore on our sarcophagus.³⁸

On the other short side a female stands in the middle of two similar figures; the one on the left recalls the Artemis of the sarcophagus of Sidamara (Morey, fig. 63).³⁹ On long side A the left corner figure must be a Dioskouros; he has no horse and holds the lance in his right hand, as on the Synnada sarcophagus.⁴⁰ The second Dioskouros must be the figure on the right, balancing him. On the other long side the figure on the extreme right may be identified with certainty; he is the Odysseus of the group of Palladion-stealing on the sarcophagus of Megiste; on the sarcophagus of Konia he stands similarly isolated in the right corner.⁴¹ We might attempt to reconstruct the Diomedes of the same group from the pose of the legs of the male figure in the second niche from the left;⁴² the interposition of alien figures is not an absolute objection to such an interpretation. But we might also think of Achilles turning towards

³⁷ Cf. e.g. Fellows, *Journal written . . . in Asia Minor*, pls. 11 and 12. The direct connexion of tombs of this kind in Perge and the columnar-sarcophagus with tomb-door described by Lanckoroński (I, p. 50) is striking.

³⁸ The motive of the funeral feast, which is especially frequent in southern Asia Minor, may have assisted the adoption of the couch form of lid. On the still incompletely understood problem of the way in which this form was spread see Rodenwaldt, *Jdl.* xlv (1930), pp. 138 ff., and Pietrogrande, *Africa Ital.* iii (1930), p. 130. Another form of lid has yet to be proved for Asia Minor columnar-sarcophagi. In reply to an enquiry F. Eichler kindly informs me that

even on the columnar-sarcophagus (*OJh.* xxvi (1930), Beibl. p. 10) the gable form of lid is not certain.

³⁹ It might also be a figure such as occurs on the fragment from Jailar: Morey, *op. cit.* p. 29, better illustrated in Keil-Premmerstein, *Ber. über eine dritte Reise in Lydien* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, 57, 1), p. 16, figs. 8 and 9.

⁴⁰ *AA.* 1930, pp. 464 ff., figs. 18–20.

⁴¹ Robert, *Sarcophagreliefs*, III, 3, p. 455; Morey, pp. 33 ff.

⁴² Robert, II, no. 138, pl. 50; Morey, pp. 43 ff., fig. 73. The sarcophagus was built into the town wall and is so drawn by Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie mineure*, pl. LXIV, p. 133.

Thetis, the figure standing solemnly in the left corner, a sceptre in her right hand. The remaining figures may be partly portraits, partly personifications, as Robert proposed.⁴³ A similar compositional difference between the two long sides is found on the arcaded sarcophagus in Perge, unfortunately only described by Lanckoroński (I, p. 50), the most closely related to the group of the Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus.

The lack of the upper architectural features makes the classification of the fragment difficult. From the organic disposition of the lower structure, the neatness of the workmanship, and the similarity of the projecting bases for the figures on the short sides, I would like to set it chronologically and stylistically in the neighbourhood of the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina from Sardis and the angle-fragment from Ismid (Morey, fig. 32). Common to them is the tectonic division of the podium formed by the junction of the lower bases of the columns on the short sides; later, *e.g.* on the sarcophagus of Selefkeh (Morey, figs. 62 and 63), this becomes a flat band sometimes enriched with ornament or a frieze in relief.

The Hunting-sarcophagus (Pl. XIV).

While the three other sarcophagi belong to known and widespread groups, the fragments of the Hunting-sarcophagus (*Cat.* no. 960) illustrate a small and obscure class. What remains are two horse-shoe-shaped fragments of the lower part, with the ends and adjacent parts of the fronts. The larger fragment is on the left of the front view given in Pl. XIV, A. Two fragments with no join are incorporated provisionally in the same side. The base is formed by a plain band above which are two Lesbian kymatia, one reversed; between them in a deep hollow is a bead and reel. The ornament is cut sharply and cleanly, and produces a very definite effect of black and white. Neither in form nor in quality, and the same applies to the relief above, can the slightest distinction be traced between the different sides. The sarcophagus is completely decorated all round, just like classical sarcophagi of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The same hunting theme adorns all four sides. The restoration of our fragments and the completion of the monument is rendered possible by the existence of a twin-brother in complete preservation at Adalia, which G. Moretti has published.⁴⁴ The better preserved of the long sides is illustrated in fig. 9. At the corners float Nike with palms and horns of plenty. The two long sides display the same composition; in the centre the lord of the hunt, mounted, fights a panther, while his attendants, on foot, are engaged with a second panther, a lion, a boar, and a 'Carian' humped ox.⁴⁵ The group at the extreme right is repeated on the short sides with some alterations and variations. The type of hunt—not the composition, of which we shall speak later—a variety of beasts with

⁴³ Robert, III, 3, p. 337; Robert, *Arch. Hermeneutik*, p. 70. Cf. *Gnomon*, i (1925), p. 126.

⁴⁴ *Ann. Scuola di Atene*, vi-vii (1923-6), pp. 481 ff., fig. 3. For the photograph reproduced here I am

indebted to the kindness of R. Paribeni.

⁴⁵ Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* VIII, 33; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VIII, 1, 79; O. Keller, *Tiere d. class. Altertums*, pp. 68 ff.



FIG. 9.—HUNTING-SARCOPHAGUS IN ADALIA.

mounted hunters⁴⁶ and attendants on foot, is known to us from the Nereid Monument, the Heroon of Gjöl bashi, and the sarcophagus of the 'Weeping Women'; and was doubtless transmitted to the second century after Christ by a much greater number of then existing monuments. The repetition of the same scene on different sides suggested to Moretti a 'povertà d'immaginazione,' but beyond doubt this is not correct. We possess a classical precedent for the practice in the Amazon-sarcophagus at Vienna, which comes from Cyprus and which was probably made in or for south-west Asia Minor, as were nearly all classical sarcophagi.⁴⁷ On this again long and short sides repeat the same picture. The *atelier* of our group must have had such sarcophagi before their eyes. We have to speak of conscious borrowing from a classical model.

The London sarcophagus is a contemporary work of the same workshop. It corresponds with the Adalia sarcophagus in structure, in ornament, in subject, in composition, and even in the individual figures of the groups. The differences, however, forbid any idea of mechanical reproduction. At the left end of long side A on both, a kneeling man is in conflict with a humped ox rearing up. A dog under the ox, of which parts are preserved in London, appears to be missing in the Adalian example. Further, the scene above this group was different; it seems that in London a dog is pursuing an animal running to right.⁴⁸ At the corresponding left end of the other long side (Pl. XIV, D) the foot on the right of a draped figure turned to the left is preserved, wearing the same sandal as the attendant on A. The other traces, however, do not correspond; so here we must assume a variation such as occurs on the short sides of the sarcophagus in Adalia.

The two short sides repeat the group of a hunter who attacks a boar with a *προβόλιον*.⁴⁹ The sculptor has indulged in a tiny variation: on one side he gave the hunter boots, on the other sandals of strap-work which leave the toes free. The detail where in good preservation is carefully worked; the execution of the boar is very wooden. A third repetition of the same huntsman is preserved in an isolated fragment. On the analogy of the sarcophagus of Adalia we may assume that the scenes on the short sides reproduce the right end of the long sides. The fragment then belongs roughly to the position in which it has been inserted in London; the only doubt is from which of the long sides it comes. An enlarged photograph of the head (fig. 10) shews how much feeling for Greek form still remains in so provincial a work.

What was the lid of this sarcophagus like? We may obtain an idea of its shape in two ways, which confirm and supplement each other. Closely related to the Hunting-sarcophagus in the style of ornament and with the same Nikae at the angles is a sarcophagus with three vine-garlands on each long side, from the neighbourhood of Perge, which Moretti

⁴⁶ On hunting on horseback cf. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II, p. 132, n. 1; Albizzati, *Mem. Pont. Acc.* I, 1 (1932); pp. 48 ff. 'Ζῶων παντοδαπῶν πλήθος κυνηγούμενων' was included in the third storey of the pyre of Hephaistion (Diod. XVII, 115).

⁴⁷ Robert, II, no. 68, pl. 37; III, 3, p. 552; Schrader, *Phidias*, pp. 98 ff.

⁴⁸ Perhaps further examination of the remains would establish the point.

⁴⁹ Xen. *Cyneg.* 10, 12.

published simultaneously.⁵⁰ In his publication he further referred to two closely-related examples 'nell' arte romana': a child's sarcophagus—not a cinerary urn—in the Belvedere of the Vatican (figs. 11, 12),⁵¹ and a sarcophagus for a big child, which came to light in the finds at the Porta Salaria and apparently belonged at one time to the Museo Borghese; it is now in the Walters Collection in Baltimore.⁵² But these are not Roman copies; ⁵³ they are imported pieces, products of the same workshop that



FIG. 10.—DETAIL OF THE HUNTING-SARCOPHAGUS.

produced the sarcophagus of Perge and the two Hunting-sarcophagi. Both the Roman examples correspond closely with the Hunting-sarcophagi in respect of structure of base and employment of angle-Nikai. Now these Roman pieces possess their lids. They are in the form of a roof

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 479 ff., figs. 1 and 2.

⁵¹ Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* II, p. 232, no. 86, pl. 22; illustrated here from a new photograph. The other long side is so far unfinished that the hair and locks of the masks are not worked.

⁵² *Mél. École de Rome*, 1885, pl. VIII; Reinach, *Rép. Reliefs*, II, p. 198, 2. The photograph Moscioni,

Roma 11339, is inscribed beneath 'Museo Borghese.'

⁵³ That the garlands bear no grapes may be ascribed to chance, or possibly to Roman taste, which preferred simple garlands. I hope elsewhere to have an opportunity to trace the influence of the eastern sarcophagi upon those of Rome.

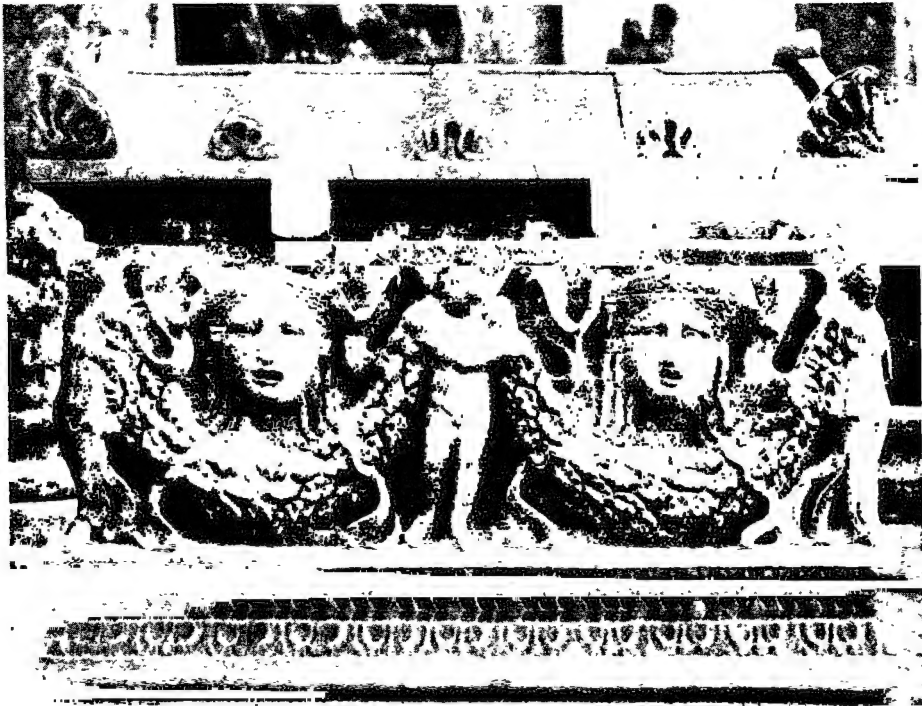


FIG. 11.—CHILD'S SARCOPHAGUS IN THE VATICAN.



FIG. 12.—CHILD'S SARCOPHAGUS IN THE VATICAN.

with broad *tegulae* and small *imbrices*, which end in palmette acroteria. The gable of the Belvedere sarcophagus (fig. 12) has a small shield in the centre; under the raking cornice is a toothed band, above it a waved tendril band runs from the angle ornaments to the central acroterion.⁵⁴

The same classical form and details appear on the lid of the sarcophagus in Providence which I. D. Young has recently made known in a careful publication (*Art Bulletin*, xiii, 1931, pp. 138 ff.). The lid is steeper and has lions' heads, not palmettes, as akroteria. In correspondence with the greater scale, the execution is finer. It stands on a sarcophagus which differs indeed from the Hunting-sarcophagi in respect of the subject and composition of its reliefs, but which agrees with them in structural form and in its all-round decoration. Its base again has the opposed Lesbian kymatia. Angle-figures turned to the front frame in the scenes.⁵⁵ The upper moulding of the chest has an egg-and-tongue. The relief on one long side, the duel of Hector and Achilles, the dragging of Hector, and the mourning of Andromache, shew a remarkable resemblance to a sarcophagus once in Rome, now disappeared but drawn in the *Coburgensis* and by Gori.⁵⁶ Do the two go back to a lost Attic model? Was the Roman sarcophagus copied from an imported work? Or was it rather, despite the mistakes in the ornamentation as shewn in the drawings, an import into Rome, one of the sarcophagi of that group of which only the roofs remain (see below). The battles of Erotes and animals on the other long side recall the frieze on the lid of the great sarcophagus of Sidamara.⁵⁷ Both have the motive of high-leaping animals in common with the scenes of the Hunting-sarcophagi. But, more important, the hunting frieze is united to the sarcophagus of Adalia by a very characteristic detail:—under the feet of the dog leaping from the right upper corner is a base like a console. On the great sarcophagus of Sidamara, on the end with the hunt to the left, there is in the upper part a dog on a corresponding base.

Young indeed raises a doubt whether chest and lid of the Providence sarcophagus belong to each other, on account of small differences of material and dimensions, and a lack of correspondence between the upper edge of the chest and the lower edge of the lid; at the same time he admits the similarity of style and ends by assuming that the lid actually did rest on the chest. It would be extraordinary if chance had brought to the sarcophagus exactly the lid that we should expect from its tectonic structure. Similar incongruities may often be observed on other antique sarcophagi.⁵⁸ They are probably due to workshop custom; every sarco-

⁵⁴ From old photographs it can be seen that the sarcophagus of the Via Salaria had the same gable ornament.

⁵⁵ Cf. the parallels adduced by Young; in particular, those from southern Asia Minor.

⁵⁶ Robert, II, no. 45, pl. 21. The correspondence is so strange that suspicion of forgery might arise were not the other parts of the sarcophagus free from objection.

⁵⁷ Morey, pp. 40 ff. Cf. the Asia Minor parallels mentioned by Young, *op. cit.* p. 152; add the frieze on the lid of a garland-sarcophagus from Tarsus in the Metropolitan Museum (Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*², p. 600), which in other details belongs to another class of garland-sarcophagi.

⁵⁸ E.g. on the child's sarcophagus in the Belvedere where Amelung expressed doubt, without cause, whether lid belonged.

phagus was not executed as a single commission, but chests and lids were worked separately, then fitted to one another as best could be. If the lid belongs, as I think it does, then the sarcophagus belongs to the group I am discussing. It is instructive for us as an important indication of how we are to restore the upper edge of the chest on our Hunting-sarcophagi.

Three beautiful lids of this group, richly decorated and well preserved, and fragments of a fourth have been preserved without their accompanying sarcophagi. Two of them, converted into tombs in



FIG. 13.—SARCOPHAGUS AND LID FROM SARDIS IN SMYRNA.

mediaeval times, stand in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura at Rome (Pl. XV).⁵⁹ A third comes from the Gaudin collection and on an old photograph⁶⁰ is described as 'found at Sardis'; it is now in the Museum at Smyrna and stands on an alien fluted sarcophagus (fig. 13). The fragments were found during the German excavation in Miletus.⁶¹

⁵⁹ The length of the lid with fluted decoration (Pl. XV, top and left) measures 2.45 m., that of the other 2.44. I owe these dimensions to M. Gutschow. I will not discuss the tombs in detail here. The illustrations are from new photographs by C. Faraglia. The tombs are not in their original site; cf. Platner, Bunsen, etc., *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, p. 327.

⁶⁰ Photo Berggren (the negatives of this collection of photographs are now in the possession of the Ger-

man Archaeological Institute in Istanbul). Cf. A. Aziz, *Guide du Musée de Smyrne*² (Istanbul, 1933), 44, photo. no. 9.

⁶¹ Mendel, *Cat. d. Sculpt.* III, no. 1363; Young, *op. cit.*, p. 153. The same form of gable appears on two votive stelae to the god Men from Yalovatch (Antiochia ad Pisidiam), already adduced by Young (Mendel, nos. 1381 and 1382). The tendril along the slope of the gable is also found on a local group of

I would like to propose for this group, which I consider to belong to southern Asia Minor, the name of 'Pamphylian Sarcophagi.' A provisional list includes the following examples:—

PAMPHYLIAN SARCOPHAGI

A. *Sarcophagi with friezes in relief.*

1. The Providence sarcophagus.
2. The sarcophagus in Adalia (fig. 9).
3. The sarcophagus from Xanthos in London (Pl. XIV).

B. *Garland-sarcophagi.*

1. Sarcophagus with vine garlands from Perge, in Adalia.
2. Sarcophagus with plain garlands from Rome, in Baltimore.
3. Child's sarcophagus in the Belvedere of the Vatican (figs. 11, 12).

C. *Lids only.*

1. Lid in Smyrna, said to be from Sardis.
2. Lid in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (Pl. XV).
3. Ditto (Pl. XV).
4. Fragments from Miletus in Istanbul.

It is significant that sarcophagi with figured decoration and with garlands may here be assigned to the same workshop.

In this connexion it would lead us too far, nor would it be possible, without a new survey of the whole material, to establish the relationship of this group to the other groups of Asia Minor sarcophagi. Here I will only indicate a few points of contact.

'Pamphylian sarcophagi' are allied to the small group of sarcophagi with relief decoration which may be appropriately named from the best-known example, the sarcophagus of Torre Nova. It comprises four children's sarcophagi.

GROUP OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF TORRE NOVA

1. Sarcophagus of Torre Nova in the Borghese Palace, Rome. Morey, *op. cit.* pp. 44 ff.; Rodenwaldt, *Gnomon*, I, pp. 126 ff.; Cumont, *Syria*, x, 1929, A.1.

If the marble is really Pentelic, which remains to be proved, the sarcophagus was made in Asia Minor with imported marble.⁶²

2. Sarcophagus from Megiste, Lycia, in the National Museum, Athens. Robert, II, no. 138, Pl. L; Morey, *op. cit.* pp. 43 ff. Papaspyridi, *Guide*, p. 227, no. 1189.

grave-stones in Konia, derived from the pillar-sarcophagi (cf. Morey, p. 94), and on the tomb in Koumbet (Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Min.* p. 78, pl. XXIX, 65). Probably derived from this is the motive of the tomb-façades of Aizanoi (Studniczka, *Trop.*

Traiani, p. 36, fig. 13).

⁶² It is open to doubt whether the fragment in Naples (Rizzo, *RM.* xxv (1910), p. 104, fig. 5; Morey, p. 44) comes from a sarcophagus.

3. Sarcophagus once in Florence (Bardini). Robert, III, 3, no. 434, Pl. CXXXIX; Rodenwaldt, *Gnomon*, i, p. 126.
4. Sarcophagus in Beirut. Cumont, *Syria*, x (1929), pp. 28 ff.

The relationship of these sarcophagi to the Lydian group of Asia Minor Columnar-sarcophagi has been established by E. Weigand.⁶³ On the other hand, they agree in important features with the Pamphylian group. The Florence, Athens, and Torre Nova examples have the same base with the string between opposed Lesbian kymatia; only the bead and reel in the middle is missing. It is in accordance with the love of variety in the workshop that on the Florentine example the decoration is plastically rendered on both kymatia, on the Torre Nova only on the lower, on the Athenian not at all. The Florentine sarcophagus also resembles the Pamphylian group in having an egg and dart on the upper edge, as on the Providence sarcophagus. There is the unworked profile of an egg and dart also on the chest of the Beirut sarcophagus, which stands on a flat plinth. The Florentine sarcophagus has a sunken moulding on the upper edge, the Torre Nova a Lesbian kymation on one side. The sculptor of the Megiste sarcophagus added a low horizontal member under the sunken moulding. A fragment of lid, which probably belongs and which corresponds to the Pamphylian form of lid, is preserved only on the Beirut example.⁶⁴

The finding-place of the Athenian piece, Megiste in Lycia, needless to say is no evidence for the place of manufacture. If southern Asia Minor comes under consideration for the Pamphylian class (and this at the moment is only a hypothesis), the Torre Nova group, which we may suppose to have been made not too far away, might be assigned to Lycia-Pamphylia. The Attic motives in the scenes⁶⁵ would be adequately explained by the importation of Attic sarcophagi into this region of Asia Minor.

An irregularity in the architectural composition of these sarcophagi is that the angle columns or pilasters are surmounted not by an architrave as might be expected but directly by a kymation. A similar discrepancy occurs, though there is no historical connexion, on Attic grave stelae of the turn of the fifth-fourth centuries, in cases when the old element, the horizontal upper kymation, was combined with the side-pilasters of the new fashion.⁶⁶ On our sarcophagi we must explain the phenomenon along similar lines. The kymation running round the top of the chest was an original characteristic of the type. Later, angle-figures were added. Finally, under the influence of Greek sarcophagi with angle-pilasters and horizontal architraves (*e.g.* the Amazon-sarcophagus in Vienna), the angle-figures were replaced by pillars or pilasters. A lingering feeling that the combination was inorganic produced the intermediate moulding on the Megiste sarcophagus.

Types allied to our group are found at Ravenna. The Pignatta

⁶³ *JdI.* xxix (1914), p. 73; Morey, p. 72.

⁶⁴ Cumont, *Syria*, 1929, p. 218, pls. XL and XLI.

⁶⁵ Morey, p. 69; Rodenwaldt, *JdI.* xlv (1930), p.

186, n. 1.

⁶⁶ Rodenwaldt, *JdI.* xxviii (1913), p. 323 and xxxvi (1921), p. 2, n. 1.

sarcophagus⁶⁷ has the same angle pilasters and the same form of base; in the entablature there is again a horizontal band below the kyma. Other examples preserve the leaf-border over the columns down to a very late date.⁶⁸ In view of the manifold relations between Asia Minor and Upper Italy, some connexion is here certain to exist. Not probably in the sense that these sarcophagi are imports from Asia Minor to Ravenna; but in Ravenna forms were preserved and developed which had passed in the second and third centuries of our era from Asia Minor, perhaps on imported works, perhaps through emigrant workmen.

Moretti has published (*op. cit.*, p. 499)⁶⁹ two Amazon-sarcophagi which are related not only to the Columnar-sarcophagi but also to the group we have just discussed. Here once again I confine myself to a few observations. The base of his Amazon-sarcophagus fig. 17 corresponds in all essentials with those of the sarcophagus in Melfi⁷⁰ and the Herakles-sarcophagi of the Museo Torlonia and London.⁷¹ In this case again a frieze-sarcophagus has been assimilated to the Columnar-sarcophagi. But this form of base is at the same time only a richer form⁷² of the base of the Pamphylian sarcophagi and the Torre Nova group, to which the ornament is also closely related stylistically.⁷³ The decoration of the base at the same time unites this sarcophagus inseparably to the Garland-sarcophagus from Perge. On a second Amazon-sarcophagus (Moretti, pp. 493 ff., figs. 12-16) below the main frieze is a narrow band decorated with combats of animals. A further example of this type is the unexplained sarcophagus in the Palazzo Fiano, Rome (Robert, III, 3, no. 435, pl. CXL). The connexion of these examples with the Herakles Columnar-sarcophagi is illustrated by the reliefs in the Borghese Palace (Robert, III, 1, no. 127, pl. XXXVIII),⁷⁴ which agree with the Amazon-sarcophagus in Adalia down to the Atlantes at the angles, and which directly unite the two

⁶⁷ Dutschke, *Ravennat. Studien*, pp. 39 ff., fig. 25a-d.

⁶⁸ E.g. Dutschke, *op. cit.* p. 10, fig. 3; p. 14, fig. 14a and b; p. 69, fig. 28a-d; p. 83, fig. 35a and b, etc. Further, we also encounter at Ravenna sarcophagi of Asia Minor form. The publication of Ravenna sarcophagi up to the present is inadequate.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Annuario*, iii (1916-20), pp. 25 ff.

⁷⁰ Morey, p. 34, figs. 39-41.

⁷¹ Torlonia: Morey, p. 47, figs. 83, 84. London: Morey, p. 51, fig. 92.

⁷² Even greater simplification is shown on a group of Asia Minor frieze-sarcophagi of which at the moment I can cite only two examples:—1, the Endymion-sarcophagus in the Louvre, found in the island of Castellorizo (*Cat. somm.* 1922, p. 111, no. 3184); 2, a Dionysian sarcophagus in the monastery of S. Scolastica at Subiaco, which will be discussed in Vol. IV of the *Corpus of Sarcophagus Reliefs*. On these, above a Lesbian kymation (which is not decorated on the Endymion sarcophagus), stands a horizontal fluting as the lower border of the frieze of figures. There is no kymation at the top; the roof supplied the tectonic finish. This is found on Attic sarcophagi

in the profile of the bases, which are similar in appearance but which clearly must be distinguished. To the influence of such eastern prototypes must be ascribed the unusual profile of the Roman Protesilaos-sarcophagus in the Vatican (Robert, III, 3, no. 432, pl. CXXXII).

⁷³ Moretti assumes that this sarcophagus had a second frieze above the upper terminal cornice. It is difficult to judge of this without a pictorial reconstruction incorporating all the fragments. In any case, we may attach to the 'group of the Torre Nova sarcophagus' and to connected sarcophagi, in a relation which should further be explored, the remarkable Centaur-sarcophagus of which front and sides are built into the wall of the Sala delle Muse in the Vatican (Robert, III, 1, no. 132, pl. XL). The lower member of the base is wanting. The Erotes-frieze has parallels on the lid of the Sidamara sarcophagus, and on the Garland-sarcophagus from Tarsus (Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*², p. 660).

⁷⁴ Morey, p. 48, figs. 85 and 86. Weigand's misplaced doubt of its Asia Minor origin was corrected by Rodenwaldt, *RM.* 38-39 (1923-4), p. 3, and by Morey, p. 48.

works. Suggested by this motive is the base-frieze beneath the Hunting scenes and the Tomb-door of the sarcophagus of Sidamara.⁷⁵ Of pieces found in Asia Minor the example most closely related to the Columnar-sarcophagi with the exploits of Herakles is the one in Perge described by Lanckoroński.⁷⁶ With this we return to the immediate neighbourhood of Adalia and to the finding-place of the one garland-sarcophagus of the 'Pamphylian group,' which in its base-ornament comes close to the



FIG. 14.—FRAGMENT FROM IZNIK.



FIG. 15.—FRAGMENT FROM LYDAE.

Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus.⁷⁷ What upper moulding the Amazon-sarcophagus had we may perhaps learn from a fragment found at Iznik (fig. 14),⁷⁸ which repeats a warrior of that sarcophagus (*op. cit.*, fig. 12),

⁷⁵ Morey, figs. 66 and 67.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 50. The photographs here referred to cannot be traced in Vienna despite A. Schober's kind researches. If the interpretation, *l.c.*, of the very fragmentary remains is correct, pilasters replaced columns. The sarcophagus of Torre Nova has already taught us that we must reckon with the variant form in which pilasters are substituted for columns. Pilasters appear on the sarcophagus of Termessos published by Lanckoroński (*op. cit.* II, pp. 73 ff., fig. 24): the fragment of an arcaded sarcophagus in the Konia museum (no. 133) has three pilasters. This fact is of importance in some cases where it is doubtful whether we are dealing with works from Asia Minor or with Roman imitations (*e.g.* on the front of the vanished Herakles-sarcophagus, Robert, III, 1, no. 128, pl. XXXIX).

Pilasters alone are no proof of western origin.

⁷⁷ Closely related in structure and base ornament to the sarcophagus of Melfi and the Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus is a fragment of sarcophagus found by Theodore Bent in a tomb at Lydae in Lycia (cf. Kalinka, *OJh.* iii, Beibl. p. 44) and given by him to the British Museum (fig. 15; *Cat. of Sculpt.* III, no. 2330, 4; Robert, III, 3, p. 573, no. 218; Robert following the description erroneously explained the fragment as a replica of the Attic Meleager-sarcophagi). Whether the various fragments (*Cat. of Sculpt. l.c.* nos. 2330, 1-4; cf. Robert, p. 570, no. 99) belong together, and how, is a problem that requires further investigation.

⁷⁸ Illustrated, by kind permission of M. Schede, from a photograph of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul.

and which has at the top edge the same egg-pattern as the Providence sarcophagus. Thus we obtain the following group:—

GROUP OF THE TORLONIA HERAKLES-SARCOPHAGUS ⁷⁹

A. *Arcaded sarcophagi*.

1. The Torlonia Herakles-sarcophagus.
2. Sarcophagus in Perge (Lanckoroński).
3. Fragment of a Herakles-sarcophagus in the Giardino della Pigna. Robert, *l.c.*, no. 130. pl. XXXIX.
4. Herakles-sarcophagus in London.
5. The Borghese sides of a Herakles-sarcophagus.

B. *Frieze sarcophagi*.

6. Amazon-sarcophagus in Adalia.
7. Fragment of an Amazon-sarcophagus in Iznik.
8. Sarcophagus in the Palazzo Fiano.

Within Asia Minor an active export trade existed in sarcophagi, and we have also to reckon with the activities of wandering stone-cutters,⁸⁰ especially in localities far from the sea and its possibilities of easy transport. But in the case of the groups we have discussed the connexions are so close that we must suppose that the centres of production or workshops were also closely related.

The Hunting-sarcophagi of Adalia and Xanthos offer then new suggestions to our knowledge of the many-sided art of sarcophagus-carving in Asia Minor during Imperial times; their reliefs are perhaps of even greater interest for the general history of art. To develop this problem fully would require a book, and I can only outline it here. Up to now we have only discussed the type and subject of the sarcophagus. But what is strangest is the composition and the relief-treatment. The figures are equally distributed over the field in such a way that they nearly all appear in full silhouette and never overlap. Above the scenes which take place in the foreground appear others which are conceived as further to the rear. The upper figures stand on one or several lengths of ground-level projecting like consoles. Obeying the classical tradition of antique relief, all the figures emerging from the front plane are worked in equally high relief. Thereby the spectator is presented with the paradox that the backward figures are shewn in tangible form above and actually upon those in front. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that the figures do not overlap but often come into contact with each other at the extremities, thus making the relief into a kind of network. For instance, the panther attacked by the rider stands on the back of the bear, and its snout rubs against the hind leg of a dog and the head of a horse. For this kind of relief composition the nearest parallels are the Hunting scenes on the fourth-century ivory pyxides of Bobbio and Flor-

⁷⁹ I do not here mention the other arcaded sarcophagi.

⁸⁰ Shapley, *Art. Bull.* v (1923), p. 72; Morey, p. 78; Rodenwaldt, *JdI.* xlv (1930), p. 84.

ence, and on a glass vessel in the Treasure of S. Marco; add also the sarcophagus of Helena and a numerous list of late antique diptychs.⁸¹ If only a fragment with a few figures had been found of our hunting sarcophagus, it would probably have been assigned to a very late date. Yet shape and ornament prove that it cannot be later than the end of the second century.

These reliefs do not stand entirely alone. We have just detected elements of the same system of composition in the frieze of Eroses of the Providence sarcophagus and of the hunting short side of the Sidamara



FIG. 16.—BRONZE PLAQUE IN THE LOUVRE.

sarcophagus. Further, Kalinka has published⁸² a frieze with combats of gladiators and animals, the blocks of which were found at Kibyra right on the northern border of Lycia, and which belonged to a tomb. From the published examples and descriptions the reliefs (the humped ox appears again on them) agree so closely with the Hunting-sarcophagi of Xanthos and Adalia that we must think they were executed by the same sculptors

⁸¹ On this style of relief see Rodenwaldt, *JdI.* xxxvii (1922), pp. 35 ff. Pyxis of Bobbio, *ib.* p. 36, fig. 6, and note 1. Pyxis in Florence, Duthuit-Volbach, *Art Byzantin*, p. 41, pl. 17 B. Pyxis in Sens, Duthuit-Volbach, p. 41, pl. 17 A; *A.A.* 1932, p. 555, figs. 5, 6. Glass vase in S. Marco: Albizzati, *Mem.*

Acc. Pont. I¹, 1, pp. 51 ff., Pl. II. Sarcophagus of Helena: Rodenwaldt, *l.c.* pp. 31 ff. On the diptychs see Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, *passim*, and especially Duthuit-Volbach, pl. 12 (Liverpool) and pl. 15 A and B (Florence).

⁸² *OJh.* xxiii (1926), Beibl. pp. 317 ff.

and place the frieze of Kibyra after the sarcophagi in date. In this instance we can deduce a provincial workshop. This parallel heightens the probability that the Hunting-sarcophagi were made in southern Asia Minor. The Kibyra reliefs are, moreover, a remarkable anticipation of the circus scenes on Consular diptychs.

A system of composition so utterly alien to all principles of relief-working cannot have been devised for relief. Possibly we should explain the anomalies by supposing that a flat composition has been translated schematically into high relief. What the models were like we learn from two monuments which again are to be attributed to the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire—the bronze jug in Berlin published by Zahn⁸³ and the closely related bronze plaque in the Louvre (fig. 16).⁸⁴ When the latter was exhibited in the Exposition de l'art byzantin at Paris in 1931,⁸⁵ it was held to be of late antique origin. But an early dating is imperatively demanded; we must set it along with the Berlin jug as far back as the second century. In these figures distributed over the ground surface like a carpet and inlaid with silver, bronze, or niello we have the method of composition which was translated into relief by the sculptors. We occasionally encounter figures, or strips of groundwork, which are partially superimposed, but in the main the designs are composed of an even covering with figures so that the surface is proportionately distributed between subject and background. The outlines of the greater part of the figures are clearly indicated and are so interwoven that they touch or almost touch each other. Elements of landscape are also added. A shield or a horn lies on the ground, like the quiver on the sarcophagus of Helena. On this the console supports for the feet were unnecessary; and at this point we may point out a mistake of the sculptor of the sarcophagi. The lions bound up high; their fore-paws are to be conceived as in the air. But on the sarcophagus of Adalia the lions are given meaningless ground ledges even under their fore-paws. In his brief discussion of the Berlin jug Zahn had already referred to the Sidamara sarcophagus. On this we find in the hunting frieze of the one long side a motive which is as characteristic for this class of monument as the animals bounding high, namely the backward inclination of the mounted hunter.⁸⁶ Once again we are dealing with a transference of plane composition to relief, a mutation which we find at a later date repeated on the sarcophagus of Helena and kindred works, and still later on the ivory diptychs. For the art of a

⁸³ *Vereinig. d. Freunde Ant. Kunst: Bericht* 1914, pp. 12 ff., Pls. II, III; Neugebauer, *Führer d.d. Antiquarium, Berlin, I (Bronzen)*, p. 94, pl. 78; W. Lamb, *Gr. and R. Bronzes*, p. 233, n. 3; Neugebauer, *Gnomon*, vi (1930), p. 269. Zahn assigns it to the beginning of the second century and assumes Alexandria as the place of origin (*Die Silberteller von Hassleben und Augst in Rom.-Germ. Forsch.* 7, p. 82, n. 8 and p. 84).

⁸⁴ De Ridder, *Bronzes ant. du Louvre*, II, p. 175, pl. 116; Neugebauer, *Führer d.d. Antiquarium*, p. 95; Peirce-Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, I, p. 53, pl. 67 ('about 400 A.D.') Fig. 15 from a new photograph by

Giraudon, no. 31158.

⁸⁵ No. 745.

⁸⁶ The motive of the rider in combat bending back has been assigned by St. Poglayen-Newall (*Münch. Jahrb.* xiii, 1923, pp. 54 ff.), correctly, I believe, to Oriental influence. The working of the Oriental tradition can be traced as early as the Hunting-mosaic in Palermo (Fuhrmann, *Philoxenos von Eretria*, pp. 235 ff.). Further, the preference for the full gallop on classical monuments of Asia Minor may be due to the neighbourhood of the Orient; cf. the hunts of Alexander and the Alexander mosaic as opposed to the Alexander-sarcophagus.

province to reveal at an early date features which do not affect the main currents of art until later is no uncommon phenomenon; for Asia Minor in particular it may be traced in another connexion.⁸⁷ Perhaps here also there is some historical bond seeing that the later development derives its impulse from northern Syria, which at all periods of art was closely united with southern Asia Minor.

It is hardly likely that the sculptors made use of toreutic models for their stone carving. The Berlin jug and the Louvre plaque are themselves examples of a style which achieved its development on works of larger scale. We might suppose paintings; more likely, tapestries, for the carpet-like character of the composition invites this suggestion. The textile prototypes which are to be assumed for the reliefs of the Attic couch-sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo and for the mattress-reliefs of the covers of couch-sarcophagi,⁸⁸ show an allied composition.

From what source are we to derive this style of composition? Is there a connexion with Polygnotos or with paintings such as may be assumed as models for the hunting-pictures of princes of Asia Minor which are found on the vases of Xenophantos?⁸⁹ This has little probability, for the reason that the composition has less resemblance to original paintings of Polygnotos than to Polygnotan vases and the details shew no obvious connexion. On the other hand, we find hunting-pictures of similar composition on an Indian vase,⁹⁰ on Chinese vases of the Han period,⁹¹ on Sassanian silver plate,⁹² and on late antique textiles.⁹³ Can we interpret these connexions as geographical and chronological manifestations of Parthian painting and weaving?⁹⁴ In Mesopotamian lands the principle of composition by distribution over the background can be traced back to an old tradition.⁹⁵ Furthermore, we can also recognise two motives as traditional in

⁸⁷ Rodenwaldt, *Jdl.* xxxiv (1919), pp. 85 ff. (Zeus Bronton). Allied to this S. Ferri, *Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia (Historia, vi, 1932)*, pp. 238 ff. Of especial interest are the parallels to Phrygian provincial art in the newly-found sculptures of Doura (P. V. Baur, *Prel. Report, 1929-30*; pp. 102 ff., pls. xiv, xv). In respect of connexions and parallels with the neighbouring Orient, it would well repay us to investigate the local styles of the districts of Asia Minor in Imperial times. A. Riegl, it is well known, set the base of the column of Antoninus Pius in juxtaposition with the sarcophagus of Helena (*Spatrom. Kunstindustrie*, ed. 1927, p. 172). He ignored the great differences; in particular, the column-base does not shew the isolation of individual figures. But all the same, the style of the relief is unusual for Rome and may have been influenced by art of Asia Minor corresponding to the style of the Hunting-sarcophagi.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Jdl.* xlv (1930), p. 178 ff.

⁸⁹ Pfuhl, *M.u.Z.* II, pp. 591, 600. It is to be hoped that the second, small vase of Xenophantos in Lenin-grad will be published shortly.

⁹⁰ Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pls. 114, 115.

⁹¹ Rostovtzeff, *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty*, J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

1927, pl. XIV; Kojiro Tomita, *Bull. Mus. of Fine Arts, Boston*, xxviii (1930), p. 46.

⁹² E.g. Sarre, *op. cit.*, pl. 104, etc.

⁹³ Cf. the Berlin wool-embroidery with hunting-scenes, O. von Falke, *Kunstgesch. d. Seidenweberei*, figs. 30, 31. Attention may be especially called to the uncommon motive of the mounted huntsman of fig. 30 (cf. *Al.* 1932, p. 558, fig. 7), who carries a shield on his left arm, as is the case on the sarcophagus of Adalia. The same motive reappears on the hunting-mosaics of Orléansville (Reinach, *Rép. de Peint.* p. 301, 3) and Leptis Magna (*Africa Ital.* ii, 1928, p. 254, figs. 7 and 81); and these further have resemblances in their composition. Whether the composition of north-African hunting-mosaics and, to go further west, of hunting-scenes on Gaulish *sigillata* ware (e.g. Oswald and Pryce, *Intro. to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, pl. XII, 1 and 2) is influenced by the Orient, remains to be ascertained.

⁹⁴ On the problem of Parthian art, cf. *Gnomon*, vii (1931), pp. 232 ff. and V. Müller, *Gnomon*, ix (1933), p. 104.

⁹⁵ V. Müller, *Die Raumdarstellung der altoriental. Kunst, Archiv. f. Orientforschung*, v. 1928-9, pp. 199 ff.

Mesopotamia,—a hunter turning round to meet a beast attacking from behind, and the rampant pose of the lion. The panther set upright to attack the master of the hunt on the sarcophagus has his nearest counterparts in the upright lions of Sassanian silver bowls,^{95a} and these in their turn may be followed back through Persian and Assyrian times into Old-Babylonian art.⁹⁶ A hunting-scene of similar composition but of more decorative design has recently been found at Seleucia in a Parthian stratum,



FIG. 17.—FROM A KNIFE-HILT FOUND AT SELEUCIA.

the decoration of the hilt of a hunting-knife (fig. 17).⁹⁷ I would therefore suggest that this style of composition, like other motives of form and

^{95a} Cf. also Baur-Rostovtzeff, *Excav. at Dura-Europos*, 1928-9, pl. XLIII, 1, and 1930-1, pl. XXII, 1.

⁹⁶ On the Mesopotamian tradition of hunting-scenes, which we may presume to have continued in the Parthian period, cf. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 99. Cf. the leopards on the Hellenistic hunting scenes of Marissa, which are also in the Oriental tradition: Peters-Thiersch, *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, pl. VI. Roughly contemporary with our sarcophagus is the plaster frieze of Orthonobazos from Doura (Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, pp.

233 ff., pl. LXXXVI, 2 left). In describing the group of the rider who charges a lion standing up on its hind legs, Cumont referred to the Oriental connexions of the motive, which here again is taken over in its antique form.

⁹⁷ *Ill. London News*, 13 Feb. 1932, pl. i, no. 5. If this can be admitted as certainly Parthian, it will be of considerable significance for the problem of Parthian-Sassanian influence on the late antique hunting tapestries which are allied in many respects (cf. Falke, *op. cit.* figs. 30, 31; O. Reichl, *A.A.* 1932, pp. 555 ff.).

subject of late antiquity, arose under the influence of Parthian-Sassanian art.⁹⁸ The immediate impulse was derived from the neighbour provinces, Syria and Asia Minor. In its spread and development probably the textile industry played a prominent rôle. In the exchange of artistic impulse between the Orient and Hellas, it has constantly happened that the Greek form victoriously advances in the East while the Oriental idea penetrates the West.⁹⁹ The idea expresses itself through composition and details of grouping. On the other hand, the drawing and the plastic forms in our hunting-pictures are purely Hellenic. The infiltration of Oriental themes is nothing new in southern Asia Minor. The representative monuments of the dynasties of archaic and classical times, which were under Oriental suzerainty, shew clearly this infiltration. Their hunts are Oriental not only in their form and in the types of huntsmen; but Oriental also in their selection as the subject and in the official interpretation of the hunting-motive as the symbol of the ruler.¹⁰⁰

We return to the group of the four sarcophagi from the Mausoleum of Xanthos. This is not the place to discuss afresh the chronology of the four types with which we are concerned. The Columnar-sarcophagus is most closely related to a group (Sardis, Isnik) which Morey (*op. cit.*, p. 83) dates to 190. For the Hunting-sarcophagus the ornament gives the limits; E. Weigand informs me that from the forms of the Lesbian kymation, of the egg-pattern and of the bead-and-reel the date may be set about 180 and must in any case lie between 160 and 200. The two Attic sarcophagi are also both to be assigned to the last decades of the second century.¹⁰¹ A lengthy interval between the deposition of the sarcophagi there is no need to suppose. They are all to be placed in the last quarter of the second century and belong to types which by this time had long assumed fixed forms.

The Attic sarcophagi are imports from over-sea. It is characteristic of the cultural situation of Greece and the commercial relation of Asia Minor to Greece in the second century and beginning of the third, that the Greek mother-land, poverty-stricken and hide-bound by tradition, contents itself with the sarcophagi made on the spot, while rich and eclectic Asia Minor imports Attic pieces in addition to its own heavy production.¹⁰² The Attic workshops, like the copying schools of Athens, worked predominately for export; the best and costliest pieces went to the foreigner. As we find sarcophagi of varied type and provenience grouped in the mausolea both at Xanthos and Ephesos, it seems that we must assume a conscious love of variety. The Attic sarcophagi found at Ephesos I have collected elsewhere.¹⁰³ And in southern Asia Minor itself the two Attic

⁹⁸ *JdI.* xxxvii (1922), p. 38; *Bonner Jhb.* 133 (1929), pp. 243 ff.; *JdI.* xlv (1930), pp. 182 ff.; *Gnomon*, vii (1931), pp. 291 ff.

⁹⁹ Cf. *Gnomon*, vii (1931), p. 295.

¹⁰⁰ Purely Oriental is the battle with a lion on the Lion Tomb of Xanthos, Pryce, *B.M. Sculpt.* I, 1, p. 121, pl. xx. See Fuhrmann, *Philoxenos von Eretria*,

p. 242.

¹⁰¹ A complete chronology of Attic sarcophagi, based on a complete catalogue, will, it is hoped, be shortly published in a Berlin dissertation.

¹⁰² Cf. *JdI.* xlv (1930), pp. 185 ff.

¹⁰³ *JdI.* xlv (1930), p. 186.

sarcophagi of Xanthos are not isolated. From Telmessos in Lycia comes the fragment of Amazon-sarcophagus, Robert, II, no. 130, pl. XLVIII. According to an old photograph by von Luschan the fragment of Achilles-sarcophagus from Adalia, Robert, II, no. 54, pl. XXIV, can be recognised as certainly Attic, not only by its type but by the deeply-incised outlines; the fragment of Eros-sarcophagus in the wall close by is also probably Attic.¹⁰⁴ The same holds good of the fragments from Adalia published by Moretti (*op. cit.* pp. 501 ff., figs. 1-8), and of two sarcophagi in Cilicia illustrated by Keil and Wilhelm (*MAMA*. III, pl. 47, p. 152, an Eros-sarcophagus,¹⁰⁵ and pl. 57, p. 184, a Garland-sarcophagus). In face of this importation the appearance of Attic motives on Asia Minor sarcophagi is no mystery.

The Hunting-sarcophagus was probably made either at Xanthos itself or in the neighbouring Pamphylia (Adalia). It is not an accident that this locally-produced work was preferred for the principal occupant of the Mausoleum.

Whether the Columnar-sarcophagus was imported from Lydia (Ephesus) or worked on the spot we may leave for the moment undecided. The pieces in Lanckoroński, not illustrated but only described or briefly mentioned,¹⁰⁶ and the fragments from Adalia and Pednelissos recently published by Moretti and Guidi¹⁰⁷ teach us that this type is more frequently represented in southern Asia Minor than Morey assumed.

The coastal lands of south and south-eastern Asia Minor are the classic lands of sarcophagi. We find in them, more richly than in other parts of Asia Minor, rock-sepulchres, tomb-structures, and single graves, sometimes hewn out of the rock, sometimes worked free. Here arose, perhaps under Oriental influence, the custom of burying princes in costly marble sarcophagi, on which Greek master-sculptors were employed. We know them from the sarcophagi of Sidon and from the Amazon sarcophagus of Vienna.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps here the tradition persisted feebly throughout the whole Hellenic period, until at its end the Garland-sarcophagus appeared, which predominates in the first century of our era;¹⁰⁹ it influenced Syria and Asia and provoked the appearance of the Attic Eros-sarcophagi. During the course of the second century the richer forms of the Columnar and Relief sarcophagi first appear. It would seem that southern Asia Minor played a greater part as a centre of production for groups of sarcophagi than we have hitherto been able to suppose. Here, moreover, the relief friezes might bear a relation to classical pre-

¹⁰⁴ Both fragments described also by Lanckoroński, I, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the child's sarcophagus in Cyrene, *Africa Ital.* iii (1930), p. 114, fig. 9.

¹⁰⁶ Lanckoroński, I, p. 50, II, p. 144: 'The married couple on the mattress-lid is more common (in Sagalassos) than in Termessos.' The example illustrated *op. cit.* fig. 113 is also given in Morey, p. 53, fig. 96.

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 484 ff.; *Annuario*, viii-ix (1925-6),

p. 359, fig. 1. The sarcophagus of Pednelissos (*Annuario*, iii, 1916-20, pp. 124 ff., fig. 63) is plainly a local work.

¹⁰⁸ Robert, III, 3, p. 552.

¹⁰⁹ Altmann, *Arch. u. Orn. d. ant. Sark.* p. 100. I am indebted to J. Keil for knowledge of the oldest certain date for Garland-sarcophagus of Asia Minor. The example published by Keil-Premmerstein, *II Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien*, Bd. 53), p. 39, fig. 34, is dated in the year 69-70.

decessors without necessarily implying that Attic influence was responsible.¹¹⁰ In spite of the excellent travel reports on this area that we possess at present, the material published is not yet sufficient for definite conclusions, simply because the simple local types are often not illustrated or only insufficiently described. A survey of the territory with the study of sarcophagi as its first object would enable us definitely to determine what is imported from the mother cities of eastern Asia Minor and what the southern lands produced with their own hands and of their own tradition.

GERHART RODENWALDT.

¹¹⁰ As is assumed in *JdI.* xlv (1930), p. 186.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1931-1932

IN the following pages I offer a brief survey of books and articles published in 1931 and 1932 which relate solely, or mainly, to Greek inscriptions. Their importance and their number have rendered the undertaking peculiarly difficult and have necessitated, if not the exclusion, at least the most rigorous compression of the paragraphs dealing with the Minoan and other pre-Hellenic scripts. To those scholars who have facilitated my task by sending me off-prints of their works I tender my heartiest thanks.

Death has in these years robbed epigraphical studies of a number of their most eminent representatives, among them H. Dessau,¹ F. Durrbach,² a leading authority on Delian inscriptions, C. Fredrich,³ editor of *IG*. xii. 8, M. Holleaux,⁴ outstanding in the Hellenistic field, O. Marucchi,⁵ an expert in Christian epigraphy, J. H. Mordtmann,⁶ Salomon⁷ and Théodore⁸ Reinach, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,⁹ for many years the director of the colossal enterprise of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

I. GENERAL

In addition to my summaries¹⁰ for 1929-30, the other bibliographies to which I referred two years ago (*JHS*. li. 211) have been continued.¹¹ A very useful addition to their number is the *Rassegna di Epigrafia* published in *Historia*, the Roman section (including Greek inscriptions relating to the Roman world) by A. Neppi Modona,¹² the Greek by M. Segre¹³: the arrangement is geographical, and short summaries are given of most of the works cited. Attention should also be called to the index to *L'année épigraphique* for 1921-30, compiled by H. Willeumier, and to the very full sections¹⁴ on Greek, Christian and Jewish Epigraphy in the new edition of Mau's catalogue of the Library of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome.

Good progress has been made¹⁵ with the *editio minor* of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, the direction of which has now been entrusted to U. Wilcken, and

¹ *ZSav.* lii. 560, *Klio*, xxv. 226 ff.

² *RA.* xxxiii. 315, *REA.* xxxiii. 203 f., *Gnomon*, vii. 448.

³ *SBBerl.* 1931, lxvi f.

⁴ *REA.* xxxiv. 454 ff., *CRAcInscr.* 1932, 329 ff., *Gnomon*, ix. 62 f.

⁵ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* viii. 137 ff., *Boll. fil. class.* xxxvii. 206 ff.

⁶ *AJA.* xxxvi. 521, *Klio*, xxvi. 162 f.

⁷ *CRAcInscr.* 1932, 386 ff., *AJA.* xxxvi. 521 f.

⁸ *CRAcInscr.* 1931, 374 ff.

⁹ *ClRev.* xlv. 161 f., *ClPh.* xxvii. 66 ff., *Gnomon*, vii. 557 ff., *RM.* xlv. vii. ff., *Die Antike*, viii. 319 ff., *SBBerl.* 1932, liv f., cxxiii ff., *RA.* xxxiv. 194 ff.

¹⁰ *JHS*, li. 211 ff., *JEA.* xviii. 105 ff.

¹¹ *REG.* xlv. 205 ff., xlv. 204 ff. (especially valuable), J. Marouzeau, *Année philologique*, v. 212 ff., vi. 292 ff., *AJA.* xxxv. 214, xxxvi. 237 f., *Bibliographie zum JdI.* 1930, 121 ff., 1931, 272 ff., *Bibl. phil. class.* lvi. 113 ff., lvii. 129 ff., *Glotta*, xix. 153 ff., xx. 218 ff., *BZ.* xxxi. 221 f., 475, xxxii. 470 f., *Riv. Arch. Crist.* vii. 354 f., viii. 173 ff., 389 ff., ix. 191 ff., 351 f.

¹² v. 89 ff., 465 f., vi. 146 ff., 685 ff.

¹³ v. 666 ff., vi. 322 ff., 690 ff.

¹⁴ A. Mau, *Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen arch. Instituts in Rom*², ii. 1173 ff., 1427 ff., 1448 f.

¹⁵ *SBBerl.* 1931, lxvi f., 1932, liv f.

two fascicules have been issued, with which I shall deal under Attica and Aetolia respectively. Of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* a fifth volume has appeared, containing the Athenian quota-lists. W. Peek has undertaken ¹⁶ the important and difficult task of bringing up to date G. Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*, and the following pages will shew how actively he is engaged in the work of preparation.

B. F. C. Atkinson's account ¹⁷ of the Greek language utilises the materials afforded by inscriptions, especially in chapter vii (pp. 165 ff. : cf. 24), devoted to the dialects, and in the appendix on the alphabet (pp. 335 ff.), while inscriptions play an even larger part in the second edition,¹⁸ revised by E. Kieckers, of A. Thumb's valuable *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. In discussing the form ὄδρω, found in a Delian graffito, J. Zingerle has collected ¹⁹ a large number of epigraphical examples of metathesis. R. P. Austin has examined ²⁰ the meaning of ἱκρία in Attic and Aeginetan inscriptions, E. Benveniste's enquiry ²¹ into the sense of κολοσσός and other Greek names for 'statue' starts with an inscription of Cyrene, and epigraphical examples aid S. Tromp de Ruiter in his analysis ²² of φιλανθρωπία.

M. N. Tod has published ²³ three lectures dealing with the characteristics of epigraphical evidence as material for history, both in general and with specific reference to the study of interstate arbitration and of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman clubs and associations. F. Schroeter has dealt ²⁴ with the diction of the letters of Hellenistic monarchs preserved upon stone, editing the texts of 65 such letters and collecting 22 fragments, of which four (Nos. 3, 6, 7, 18) were unpublished. Other articles in which inscriptions form an important, or even the main, source of our knowledge are those of W. Schwahn ²⁵ on the *civitas* in the Greek συμπολιτεῖαι, of O. Jacob ²⁶ on the treatment by the Greek cities of those wounded in war, of K. Latte ²⁷ on some problems of Greek penal law, of K. Scott ²⁸ on Greek and Roman honorific months, of P. Roussel ²⁹ on the κυνηγοί of Hellenistic and Roman times, of A. Piganiol ³⁰ on the career of Balbillus of Ephesus, grandfather of the poetess Balbilla, and of F. Hiller von Gaertringen ³¹ on outstanding feats of strength or endurance recorded in ancient times. I have not seen M. Scheele's dissertation ³² on Στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ.

No less important is the part played by inscriptions in throwing light on Greek religious thought and practice. This will be abundantly attested by the index of sources used by von Wilamowitz for his final great work on Greek

¹⁶ *Gnomon*, viii. 559 f.

¹⁷ *The Greek Language*, London, 1931: cf. *RevPhil.* vii. 319 f.

¹⁸ Vol. i, Heidelberg, 1932.

¹⁹ *Glotta*, xxi. 15 ff.

²⁰ *JHS*, li. 287 ff.

²¹ *RevPhil.* vi. 118 ff., 381.

²² *Mnem.* lix. 271 ff.

²³ *Sidelights on Greek History*, Oxford, 1932: cf. *REA*. xxxiv. 439 f., *ClRev.* xlvii. 20 f., *Mondo Classico*, iii. 35 ff.

²⁴ *De regum Hellenisticorum epistulis in lapidibus*

servatis quaestiones stilisticae, Leipzig, 1932: cf. *RivFul.* lix. 551, *ClRev.* xlvi. 138 f., *PhW.* lii. 1393 ff.

²⁵ *Hermes*, lxvi. 97 ff.

²⁶ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 461 ff.

²⁷ *Hermes*, lxvi. 30 ff., 129 ff.

²⁸ *Iale Class. Studies*, ii. 199 ff.: cf. *Athenaeum*, x. 321 f., *REA*. xxxiv. 232, *PhW.* liii. 273 ff., 647 f., *Boll. fil. class.* xxxviii. 218 ff.

²⁹ *REG.* xliii. 361 ff.

³⁰ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 723 ff.

³¹ *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen*, 1931, 650 ff.

³² Leipzig, 1932.

belief,³³ and is further illustrated in H. Herter's monograph³⁴ on Priapus and, still more strikingly, in L. Deubner's discussion³⁵ of the Attic festivals, A. D. Nock's study³⁶ entitled *Σύνναος θεός*, F. Jacobi's dissertation³⁷ on *Πάντες θεοί*, B. Schweitzer's essay³⁸ on 'Dea Nemesis Regina,' H. Seyrig's examination³⁹ of the cult of Nemesis in Syria, M. Segre's note⁴⁰ on *Διονύσια καὶ Δημητρίεια* and other pairs of festivals similarly linked, and L. R. Taylor's book⁴¹ on *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*.

Of inscriptions on earthenware some will be mentioned later, but others may be briefly referred to at this point, though no attempt will be made to summarise works which are specifically devoted to ceramics, such as the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. We have signatures of Clitias and Ergotimus,⁴² Duris,⁴³ Euphronius,⁴⁴ Gaurion,⁴⁵ Nearchus,⁴⁶ Phidippus,⁴⁷ Sotades⁴⁸ and Tleson,⁴⁹ together with various names or καλός-inscriptions⁵⁰ and two inscribed lamps now in the museum at Klagenfurt.⁵¹ E. Pottier interprets⁵² the legend on an Attic cup found at Elaeus, and H. Lamer examines⁵³ an Orphic poem scratched on a late Greek bowl of unknown provenance, now at Leipzig. J. D. Beazley publishes, for the first time or anew, a considerable number of vase-inscriptions in his discussion⁵⁴ of the aryballos and in his article⁵⁵ entitled 'Disiecta membra,' a veritable *tour de force* of close observation and tenacious memory.

Attempts are being made to secure greater uniformity of usage in the representation of epigraphical texts, and to this end a series of recommendations has been issued⁵⁶ under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale. E. Schwyzer investigates⁵⁷ the Greek letter-names ending in -α, the derivation of the name σίγμα, the history of the word 'alphabet' and some cognate problems: A. Mentz advances⁵⁸ a new theory regarding the original forms of β and δ, assigning their invention to townsmen rather than to nomads; J. Lindblom discusses⁵⁹ the name and form of the letter *zeta* in the Phoenician and Greek alphabets, and M. Hammarström argues⁶⁰ that the two forms of ψ found in the Western group of alphabets are differentiations of χ = ξ, probably not older than the fifth century B.C.

J. Friedrich's compendious selection of *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*⁶¹

³³ *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1932), ii. 604 ff.

³⁴ *De Priapo*, Giessen, 1932: cf. *RevPhil.* vii. 300 ff., *Gnomon*, ix. 331 f.

³⁵ *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932.

³⁶ *Harvard Studies*, xli. 1 ff.

³⁷ Halle, 1930: cf. *PhW.* liii. 378 ff.

³⁸ *Jdl.* xlvi. 175 ff.

³⁹ *Syria*, xiii. 50 ff.

⁴⁰ *Mondo Classico*, ii. 288 ff.

⁴¹ Middletown, Conn., 1931: cf. *ClRev.* xlvi. 225 ff., *AJPh.* liii. 82 ff., *Gnomon*, viii. 514 ff., *Deutsche Litztg.* 1932, 1570 ff., *Gott. Gel. Anz.* cxcv. 200 ff., *Journ. d. Sav.* 1932, 179 f., *RevPhil.* vii. 317 f. See also the articles cited in footnotes 256-8.

⁴² *Bull. Metr. Mus.* xxvi. 289 ff.

⁴³ *Δελτ.* xi. 91 ff.

⁴⁴ *BCH.* liv. 422 ff.

⁴⁵ *Hermes*, lxvi. 119 ff.

⁴⁶ *AJA.* xxxvi. 272 ff.

⁴⁷ *AM.* lv. 167 ff.

⁴⁸ *Festschrift Loeb* (Munich, 1930), 81 ff.

⁴⁹ *NSc.* 1932, 147 ff.

⁵⁰ *AJA.* xxxv. 159 f., xxxvi. 55, *Harvard Studies*, xli. 70 ff., *Bull. Metr. Mus.* xxvii. 103 ff.

⁵¹ *OJh.* xxvi. Beiblatt, 112 f.

⁵² *BCH.* lv. 430 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvi. 541 f.

⁵³ *PhW.* li. 653 ff.

⁵⁴ *BSA.* xxix. 192 ff.

⁵⁵ *JHS.* li. 39 ff., 123.

⁵⁶ *Emploi des signes critiques*, Paris, 1932: cf. *REA.* xxxiv. 343 f., *RivFil.* lx. 273, *RevBelge*, xi. 870 f., *Boll. fil. class.* xxxviii. 269 ff.

⁵⁷ *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lviii. 170 ff.

⁵⁸ *PhW.* lii. 1270 ff.

⁵⁹ *Symbolae philol. O.A. Danielsson dicatae* (Upsala, 1932), 152 ff.

⁶⁰ *Gnomon*, vii. 92 ff.: cf. *REA.* xxxiii. 414 f.

⁶¹ *Kleine Texte*, 163: Berlin, 1932.

includes, *inter alia*, a number of neo-Phrygian texts (pp. 128 ff.), some of them bilingual, an inscription from the Myso-Phrygian borders (140 ff.), the Lemnian Stele (143 ff.), the 'Eteocretan' texts from Praesus (145 ff.) and the Thracian ring-inscription⁶² from Ezerovo (148). The Lemnian stele is also discussed⁶³ by F. Ribezzo, who detects in its language a mixture of Aegeo-Etruscan and of Veneto-Thracian, while P. Gastaldi Millelire seeks⁶⁴ to interpret both it and a Praesian text and M. Dayet bases⁶⁵ upon the second inscription of Praesus the belief that Eteocretan is 'une langue non pas dérivée, mais cousine du phrygien.' P. Dhorme still holds⁶⁶ that E. Power's readings of the Amathus inscriptions are a 'petit jeu d'enfant.' E. Sittig discusses⁶⁷ three new texts in the Cyprian syllabic writing.

Research into the Minoan scripts has received a powerful impetus from the discoveries made at Mallia, admirably edited⁶⁸ by F. Chapouthier. A bold attempt⁶⁹ to interpret a number of Cnossian records and the Phaestus disk by the aid of Greek has been made by F. M. Stawell. G. Hempl's posthumous works include five studies,⁷⁰ edited by F. Anderson, dealing with (i) the genesis of European writing, (ii) Minoan seals, with contributions to the history of the origin and development of the alphabet, (iii) the Hittite language, which proves to be a form of Greek, (iv) Etruscan, which is found to include the Eteocretan of the Praesus stones and the Cyprian of the two Amathusian stones in Oxford, and (v) Venetic. The Greco-Phoenician alphabetic forms are, it is held, ultimately derived from a Minoan source, though modified by cuneiform influence. The relations between the Minoan script and the Phoenician alphabet are also discussed by M. Dayet⁷¹ and by J. Sundwall,⁷² who has also interpreted⁷³ ten accounts in Cnossian linear-B and argued⁷⁴ in favour of a Babylonian origin of the Cretan standard. J. Lindquist proposes⁷⁵ a reading of a proto-Greek inscription from Asine which differs from that suggested by A. W. Persson, to whom we owe an interesting article⁷⁶ on the inscribed clay balls found at Enkomi in Cyprus.

I must not touch upon the recent developments of the study of the Sinaitic inscriptions save to mention M. Sprengling's attempt⁷⁷ to interpret them and to trace the rise of the alphabet from the 'Se'irite' script of the nineteenth century B.C. which they exemplify. Nor must I enter into the thrilling story of the decipherment of the Ras Shamra tablets, written in a

⁶² Cf. footnotes 350-1 *infra*.

⁶³ *RIGI*. xv. 63 ff.

⁶⁴ *La iscrizione di Lemno e la lapide di Praesos interpretate*, Cagliari, 1930.

⁶⁵ *RA*. xxxiii. 252 ff.: cf. *REA*. xxxiv. 231.

⁶⁶ *RevBibl*. xl. 156 f.

⁶⁷ *Symbolae O. A. Danielsson*, 305 ff.

⁶⁸ *Études crétoises*, ii. Mallia, Paris, 1930: cf. *RevPhil*. vi. 382 ff., *Journ. Asiatique*, ccxx. 61 ff., *REA*. xxxiii. 146 ff., *REG*. xlv. 39 f., *Syria*, xii. 175 ff., *RA*. xxxiii. 198 f., *Litteris*, vii. 205 ff., *L'ant. class.* i. 455 ff., *Mél. Beyrouth*, xv. 315 ff., *RevBibl*. xli. 313 f., xlii. 304 f., *AJA*. xxxvi. 199.

⁶⁹ *A Clue to the Cretan Scripts*, London, 1931: cf. *JHS*. li. 293, *AJA*. xxxvi. 217 f., *ClRev*. xlv. 180 f.

⁷⁰ *Mediterranean Studies*, Stanford U.P., 1930-2: cf. *RevBelge*, x. 609.

⁷¹ *RA*. xxxiii. 29 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xxxvi. 175, *REA*. xxxiv. 111.

⁷² *Act. Acad. Abn. Hum.* vii. 1 ff.: cf. *REA*. xxxiv. 113.

⁷³ *Soc. Sci. Fenn. Comm. Hum. Litt.* iv. 4.

⁷⁴ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 827 ff.

⁷⁵ *Bull. Soc. R. des Lettres de Lund*, 1930-1, ii. 111 ff.: cf. *ClRev*. xlv. 195, *RevPhil*. vi. 387 ff.

⁷⁶ *Symbolae O. A. Danielsson*, 269 ff.

⁷⁷ *The Alphabet*, Chicago, 1931: cf. *ClPh*. xxvii. 99 ff., *Anc. Egypt*, 1931, 110 f., *Journ. Asiatique*, ccxx. 376 f., *RevPhil*. vi. 387, *RevBibl*. xl. 631 f., *Syria*, xii. 283 ff.

cuneiform alphabet, or say anything of the literature they contain. The originality of the Phoenician alphabetic signary is maintained ⁷⁸ by J. de Groot and by R. Dussaud.⁷⁹ Other noteworthy contributions to the study of the origin and development of alphabetic writing are those of J. Lindblom,⁸⁰ V. Bérard⁸¹ and B. L. Ullman⁸²: the last two are none the less scientific in character for being popular in form. I have not seen V. Goldschmidt's accounts ⁸³ of the origin of our alphabet and our numeral system.

II. ATTICA

R. Benneboesel's dissertation ⁸⁴ on the reliefs which adorn some Attic stelae bearing documents of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. falls at least near the border-line of epigraphical studies, as does also P. Devambez's criticism ⁸⁵ of Couchoud's theory that the reliefs on tombstones represent gods and heroes: Devambez contends, relying in part on epigraphical arguments, that the artist portrayed the person commemorated 'as a dead man continuing among the dead the same life which he had led in all its various aspects.' H. Diepolder's notable work ⁸⁶ on Attic fifth- and fourth-century grave-reliefs contains a list (p. 63) of the names of those whose tombstones it discusses. The second edition of E. Nachmanson's useful *Historische attische Inschriften* ⁸⁷ is a photographic reproduction, save for the correction of a few typographical errors, of the original edition of 1913, with two additional pages containing references to some publications of the intervening eighteen years.

[*IG. i².*] *Down to 403 B.C.*—Several interesting inscriptions of this period have been discovered or first published in the past two years. K. Kourouniotes has found ⁸⁸ at Eleusis part of the decree reorganising the Eleusinian sanctuary, probably between 446 and 440 B.C. It names the architect Coroebus, who is said by Plutarch (*Pericles*, 13) to have begun the building of the Telesterion, defines the method of the election of the ἐπιστάται, prescribes their functions, and directs the execution of certain works in the Eleusinion at Athens and at Phalerum. Of H. T. Wade-Gery's addition of a new fragment to the record of the Samian capitulation in 439 (*IG. i².* 50) I speak below, as also of A. B. West's identification of an unpublished fragment of a Parthenon inventory (*i².* 287). K. Schmidt's thesis ⁸⁹ on the names of the Attic war-ships includes among its sources an unpublished fragment, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, of a fifth-century navy-list (pp. 2, 6 ff.), recording twelve ships' names, eight of which do not

⁷⁸ *Nieuwe Theol. Stud.* xiv. 129 ff.: cf. *Syria*, xii. 285 f.

⁷⁹ *Syria*, xii. 283 ff.

⁸⁰ *Bull. Soc. R. des Lettres de Lund*, 1931-2, No. 3: cf. *RevBibl.* xlii. 305.

⁸¹ *Did Homer live?* (London, 1931), 60 ff.: cf. *REA.* xxxiii. 414.

⁸² *Ancient Writing and its Influence*, London, 1932: cf. *AJPh.* liv. 196 f., *REA.* xxxv. 109.

⁸³ *Unser Alphabet and Die Entstehung unserer Ziffern*, Heidelberg, 1932: cf. *Deutsche Litg.* 1933, 185 f.

⁸⁴ *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1932.

⁸⁵ *BCH.* liv. 210 ff.: cf. *RevBelge*, x. 336.

⁸⁶ *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. u. 4. Jahrh. v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1931.

⁸⁷ *Kleine Texte*, 110, Berlin, 1931.

⁸⁸ *Ἐλευσινιακά*, i (Athens, 1932), 173 ff., 268: cf. *RivFil.* lx. 553 f., *REA.* xxxv. 225 ff.

⁸⁹ *Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe*, Leipzig, 1931: cf. *PhW.* lii. 1431 ff., *Gnomon*, viii. 56 f.

recur later. Among the recent discoveries in the Parthenon, edited by N. Kyparisses, is a sixth-century dedication,⁹⁰ which has also been discussed⁹¹ by A. Salač, while the investigation of a sanctuary on the N. slope of the Acropolis by O. Broneer has brought to light⁹² a dedication to Aphrodite and the rock-cut inscription Τῷ Ἑροτῇ ἡ ἐορτὴ [τ]ετραδὶ ἡισταμέν[ο] Μονιχίδν[ο]ς μεν[ός], both dating from about the middle of the fifth century. Among the epigraphical fruits of K. Kourouniotes' excavation of the temple of Apollo Zoster on the eastern coast of Attica are two archaic dedicatory inscriptions on a basis and a *boustrophedon* votive epigram on a *kioniskos*.⁹³ D. K. Hill adds⁹⁴ six new boundary-stones from the Piraeus to the twelve previously known, which are usually connected with Hippodamus' town-planning scheme: one of these (found by E. Broneer near the N.E. corner of the Acropolis) bears the same inscription as i². 892, and three are copies of i². 891. Excavations in the Ceramicus have made two interesting additions to our historical inscriptions, a further fragment⁹⁵ of the list of the Argive allies of Athens who fell at the battle of Tanagra in 457 and the metrical epitaph⁹⁶ of Silenus, one of the Rhegine envoys who came to Athens shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War: another epigram,⁹⁷ dating from the sixth or early fifth century, has been found near by, built into the foundation of the old Pompeion. The discovery of a sixth-century boundary-stone of a τέμενος of Athena in the plain lying to the N. of Agriliki is announced.⁹⁸

I now turn to inscriptions of this period already known. The epitaph of the Spartan officers and men who fell in a skirmish with the Athenian democrats at the Piraeus in 403 (cf. *JHS*. li. 217) has been more fully published⁹⁹ by A. Brueckner and provided with an historical and archaeological commentary¹⁰⁰ by LaRue Van Hook. A. Körte argues¹⁰¹ afresh in favour of attributing to the battle of Arginusae in 406 a long naval casualty-list (ii². 1951) registering the full crews of at least five triremes. U. Kahrstedt discusses and restores¹⁰² the document recently found at Eleusis (cf. *JHS*. li. 217 f.), in which he sees a decree of the Eleusinian legislature, passed, shortly after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, on the basis of the treaty recorded by Aristotle in Ἀθ. πολ. 39. The dramatic inscription from Aexone (cf. *JHS*. li. 218 f.), now in the Epigraphical Museum,¹⁰³ continues to excite interest. M. Guarducci supports¹⁰⁴ her own view in opposition to that of Wilamowitz, which she regards as needlessly complicated; M. N. Tod summarises¹⁰⁵ the opinions of the earlier editors, and W. Janell assigns¹⁰⁶ to Sophocles' Telephea the same component plays as Arvanitopoulos and regards as the chief interest of the

⁹⁰ Δελτ. xi. 132, No. 7.

⁹¹ *Lisy Filol.* lviii. 381 ff.

⁹² *Hesperia*, i. 43 ff., *AJA.* xxxv. 195; cf. *A.A.* xlv. 212 f., *BCH.* lv. 459.

⁹³ Δελτ. xi. 23 f., 37 f.

⁹⁴ *AJA.* xxxvi. 254 ff.

⁹⁵ *A.A.* xlvii. 183 f.

⁹⁶ *A.A.* xlv. 216 f.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 214.

⁹⁷ *A.M.* lvi. 29.

⁹⁸ *REG.* xlv. 214.

⁹⁹ *AA.* xlv. 90 ff., *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, vi. 333 f.: cf. *BCH.* liv. 461, *REG.* xlv. 212, W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², 408.

¹⁰⁰ *AJA.* xxxvi. 290 ff.

¹⁰¹ *PhW.* lii. 1027 ff.

¹⁰² *Gott. Nachr.* 1932, 77 ff.

¹⁰³ *BCH.* liv. 454.

¹⁰⁴ *RivFil.* lix. 243 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vi. 694.

¹⁰⁵ *Greece and Rome*, i. 114 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *PhW.* li. 587 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvi. 182.

inscription its proof that Sophocles, like Aeschylus, composed tetralogies bound together by unity of thought and legend.

The following texts published in *IG*. i². have evoked fresh discussion.

6. P. Roussel makes frequent reference to this decree in his article ¹⁰⁷ on certain aspects of the Eleusinian worship.

24. H. T. Wade-Gery rejects ¹⁰⁸ the restoration [ΗΙΠΠΟΝ]ΙΚΟΣ in l. 4.

50. He also publishes ¹⁰⁹ a new fragment (*d*) of the pact which ended the Samian War in 439 B.C., identified as such by Wilhelm,¹¹⁰ unites it with fragment *a*, considers their relation to *b*, *c*, and shows that in *a* + *d* we have a list of the generals 'active in the summer of 439 after the capitulation of Samos.'

63, 64. In his essay ¹¹¹ on 'Two Assessments of the Athenian Empire' A. B. West returns to the difficult problems of the assignment of the extant fragments of assessments to the two documents i². 63 and 64 and of the restoration of the total assessment of i². 63: his main object is negative, to disprove Kolbe's view that both are copies of the same list, but he allows that, with due caution, each can be used to supplement the other and makes a number of positive contributions, especially in the concluding 'explanatory notes,' towards the reconstruction of both lists. Elsewhere,¹¹² under the title 'Cleon's Assessment and the Athenian Budget,' West seeks, by estimating the Athenian revenue and expenditure during the years 433-2 to 426-5, to determine how much Athens needed to collect from her Empire in order to balance her budget: the result, he claims, is to strengthen the view that the budget-makers of 425-4 B.C. cancelled the εἰσφορά and raised the tribute-assessment to 960 talents, which, together with the other imperial revenue, was regarded as ample for Athenian needs. He also suggests a restoration of 63, ll. 45 ff. (p. 218). W. Kolbe in reply protests ¹¹³ against reckonings based on a 'balancing of the budget,' criticises West's classification of income as (*a*) Imperial revenue, (*b*) εἰσφορά, and (*c*) loans, on the ground that (*b*) and (*c*) are extraordinary revenue, and urges the substitution for them of πρόσσοδος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδήμων (Xen. *Anab.* vii. 1. 27): he further supports his own view that the 'Cleonian' assessment amounted to 1460 talents.

84. L. Ziehen proposes ¹¹⁴ a new restoration of ll. 30, 31 of the decree relative to the Hephaestia.

91, 92. H. T. Wade-Gery devotes a noteworthy article ¹¹⁵ to the 'Decrees of Callias,' shewing, on the basis of a re-examination of the stele in the Louvre, that the prescript of the second is the same as that of the first (*i.e.* that both were passed on the same day), restoring afresh the text of 92 and discussing in detail the principal historical and financial questions raised by both decrees, which he inclines ¹¹⁶ to date in 422 B.C. rather than in 434: two appendixes muster and discuss the evidence for (*a*) the dative

¹⁰⁷ *BCH*. liv. 51 ff.

¹⁰⁸ *JHS*. li. 78, note 80.

¹⁰⁹ *ClPh*. xxvi. 309 ff.

¹¹⁰ *AM*. xxiii. 472.

¹¹¹ *Metz. Mus. Studies*, iii. 2. 174 ff.

¹¹² *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 217 ff.

¹¹³ *PhW*. lii. 1151 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Hermes*, lxvi. 228 ff.

¹¹⁵ *JHS*. li. 57 ff.: cf. *REG*. xlv. 212.

¹¹⁶ He has subsequently retracted this view, *JHS*. liii. 135.

termination —αῖς as a chronological criterion and (b) the use of the forms ἀεῖ-αἰεῖ in Attic inscriptions prior to 403 B.C. These decrees play an important part also in W. S. Ferguson's examination¹¹⁷ of Athenian finance.

94. R. P. Austin explains¹¹⁸ the phrase παρὰ τὰ ἴκρια in l. 28.

96. B. D. Meritt discusses¹¹⁹ the articles of Geerlings and Kolbe (cf. *JHS*. li. 219) on the date of the renewal of the Argive-Athenian alliance, both of which took exception to his reconstruction of the Athenian civil calendar between 419-8 and 416-5 B.C.: he concludes that the alliance must have been ratified in the spring of 416, but accepts Geerlings' calendar-scheme for the years in question and shews the results which follow for the Spartan calendar and the date of the Gymnopaedia.

191. It is unnecessary to emphasise the value and interest of the fifth volume¹²⁰ of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, which is devoted wholly to the tribute quota-lists, containing the texts, as revised by West and Meritt, of all the extant fragments, together with bibliographical and textual notes and a complete index of the tributary states and persons. Though it cannot claim finality, it must be regarded for the present as definitely superseding *IG*. i². 191-231. West's articles noticed above (under 63, 64) refer constantly to the lists, especially¹²¹ to 214-5, which indicates a marked rise in the tribute imposed on the Empire between the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War and the 'Cleonian' re-assessment. G. Corradi reviews¹²² favourably M. Ravà's treatment (cf. *JHS*. li. 220 f.) of the tribute-question, while emphasising the difficulties presented by its problems.

232 ff. Wade-Gery makes some observations¹²³ on the temple-inventories in connexion with the Decrees of Callias, and A. B. West adds¹²⁴ a new fragment to 287, which enables him to restore ll. 187-201 and to amend 286 and 288. For 255 see below.

294, 299, 308. Wade-Gery shews¹²⁵ that these three fragments are parts of the same inscription, recording the expenditure of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ for part of the period 432-1 to 427-6, and proposes a restoration of ll. 9-16. The importance and date of 299 are also discussed¹²⁶ by West.

301. Wade-Gery argued¹²⁷ in favour of assigning this record to the early years of the Peloponnesian War, but later admitted¹²⁸ the cogency of W. S. Ferguson's reasoning¹²⁹ in favour of the date 409-8.

302. West restores¹³⁰ ll. 17 f. of this financial document.

308. See above under 294.

310. J. Johnson has published¹³¹ a revision of this inventory τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν with photographs and facsimiles of all the ten extant fragments (one of which appears here for the first time), a restored text (Plate IV) of the whole, and full textual notes. With the two lost fragments he does not

¹¹⁷ *Treasurers of Athena*, 153 ff., 185, etc.: cf. *JHS*. liii. 135.

¹¹⁸ *JHS*. li. 287 ff.

¹¹⁹ *ClPh*. xxvi. 70 ff.

¹²⁰ Leyden, 1931: cf. *ClPh*. xxvi. 450 f.

¹²¹ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 226, *Metz. Mus. Studies*, iii. 2. 175.

¹²² *Boll. fil. class.* xxxviii. 214 ff.

¹²³ *JHS*. li. 76 ff.

¹²⁴ *Mélanges Glotz*, i. 329 ff.

¹²⁵ *JHS*. l. 288 ff.

¹²⁶ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 233 ff.

¹²⁷ *JHS*. l. 292 f.

¹²⁸ *JHS*. liii. 134 f.

¹²⁹ *Treasurers of Athena*, 16 ff.

¹³⁰ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 220.

¹³¹ *AJA*. xxxv. 31 ff.

here deal. Wade-Gery touches¹³² incidentally on the same document in his treatment of the Decrees of Callias.

324. The accounts of the λογισταί enter inevitably into every discussion of Athenian finance in the Archidamian War, such as that of Wade-Gery just mentioned, that of Ferguson cited below and those of West noted under 63, 64. West suggests¹³³ a restoration in l. 42.

368. Wade-Gery restores¹³⁴ in l. 28 $\text{h}\nu\text{[}\pi\delta\ \tau\omega\ \delta\iota\text{]}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\text{[}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{]}\ \text{or}\ \tau\text{[}\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\iota\text{]}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\text{[}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\text{]}\text{.}$

371. R. P. Austin examines¹³⁵ the meaning of $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \dot{\iota}\kappa\rho\iota\alpha$ in l. 23.

892. The reading of this boundary-stone is corrected¹³⁶ by D. K. Hill.

899, 901. Wade-Gery, after a discussion of the Solonian $\delta\rho\omicron\iota$, offers¹³⁷ a new restoration and an interpretation of these two 'riding-frontiers' from the Piraeus, one of the tribe \omicron ineis, the other of Hippothontis; he leaves unsettled the question whether they mark portions of the foreshore used for beaching or docking ships or merely parade-stations for troops.

Certain other works call for mention here as dealing both with the fifth and with the fourth century. Dinsmoor's *magnum opus* on the Athenian archons of the Hellenistic period cites numerous fifth-century texts in connexion with his study of the Attic calendar (see p. 529). His long and detailed article¹³⁸ on the burning of the Opisthodomos examines minutely the epigraphical evidence bearing on the fire or fires¹³⁹ recorded in Xen. *Hell.* i. 6. 1 (which Dinsmoor thinks an interpolation) and Dem. xxiv. 136 with the scholia: this is found mainly in *IG.* xii. 1. 977 (*SIG.* 129) and ii². 1654, and the discussion of the latter leads to a re-examination of the chronology of all the Erechtheum inscriptions, of which Dinsmoor assigns

i². 111, 372, 373, 374 ll. 404-17, and 967 to 409-8 B.C.

i². 374 ll. 1-403 to 408-7 B.C.

ii². 1655 to 405-4 B.C.

ii². 1654 to 394-1 or 377-5 B.C.

He also reviews, with due attention to the relevant inscriptions, the problem of the temples on the Acropolis and the location of the Opisthodomos, which has given rise to at least seven different theories (p. 309). W. Kolbe deals very fully with some of the same problems and evidence in his review¹⁴⁰ of O. Walter's guide to the Acropolis, maintaining that inscriptions support the view that the Opisthodomos is the western *cella* of the Parthenon and disprove the continued existence of the old poros temple after 406 B.C. W. S. Ferguson's *The Treasurers of Athena*,¹⁴¹ the work of an acknowledged master, is, though addressed avowedly to specialists, rightly described¹⁴² by Meritt as 'indispensable to anyone interested in the source-material of

¹³² *JHS.* li. 75 f., 83 f.

¹³³ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 220.

¹³⁴ *JHS.* li. 82 f.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 288 f.

¹³⁶ *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 254 f.

¹³⁷ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 877 ff.

¹³⁸ *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 143 ff., 307 ff.

¹³⁹ On the whole, Dinsmoor finds it difficult to

believe that there was more than a single fire, occurring in the first part of the year 377-6 (p. 172).

¹⁴⁰ *PhW.* li. 71 ff., 101 ff. For W. Dorpfeld's reply see 765 ff.

¹⁴¹ Harvard U.P., 1932: cf. *ClRev.* xlv. 259 f., *JHS.* liii. 134 f., *RivFil.* lx. 543 ff., *Boll. fil. class.* xxxviii. 249 ff., *ClPh.* xxviii. 138 f.

¹⁴² *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 200 f.

Athenian history.' A minute scrutiny of the Attic financial records and inventories ministers to a fresh, and at most points convincing, interpretation both of the organisation of the Athenian Treasury and of the financial vicissitudes of the city during the closing years of the Peloponnesian War. Fresh light is also thrown on the secretary-cycles, on the amalgamation of the boards of ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ and of ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, and on numerous inscriptions, notably i². 91-2, 254-5, 301-2, ii². 1686: a list of these is given in an index (pp. 197 f.), which indicates those, numbering no fewer than 26, in which fresh restorations are proposed. A. C. Johnson rejects ¹⁴³ Ferguson's restoration (p. 13) of 255*a* and suggests another, based on a line of 47 instead of 60 letters: he argues that the consolidation of the two boards of treasurers took place not in 406-5 but at the beginning of 405-4. Ferguson's essay ¹⁴⁴ on 'Athenian War Finance' I know only indirectly.

[IG. ii and iii.]¹⁴⁵ *After 403 B.C.*—A further imposing fascicule ¹⁴⁶ of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, ii et iii (*ed. minor*), edited by that tireless veteran, J. Kirchner, to whom Attic epigraphical studies owe an incalculable debt, contains 1121 texts, of which 196 had been wholly and four partly unpublished. The first part comprises the lists of magistrates (Nos. 1696 ff.), prytanes (1740 ff.), jurymen and arbitrators (1835 ff.), religious officials (1933 ff.), soldiers, sailors, cleruchs, ephebi and guards (1951 ff.), subscribers to common objects (2329 ff.), members of religious or secular associations (2343 ff.) and cognate documents, including the agonistic catalogues relating to the Panathenaea, Dionysia and Lenaea (2311 ff.). The second part is composed of leases (2490 ff.), boundary- and mortgage-stones (2505 ff.), wills and other *instrumenta iuris privati* (2771 ff.), and the work ends with a short but interesting section of *varia* (2777 ff.), tables of archons of the Imperial period (pp. 789 ff.), important addenda and corrigenda to this and the preceding fascicule (pp. 797 ff.) and an invaluable table of concordance (pp. 818 ff.).

Dinsmoor's work on the Athenian archons and Woodward's study of the fourth-century treasure-lists, both of which contain unpublished fragments, will be mentioned below under ii². 649 and 1388 respectively. Nine inscriptions of considerable interest were brought to light when the W. door of the Parthenon, which was narrowed when the temple became a church, was opened to its original width. These are published ¹⁴⁷ by N. Kyparisses and comprise (i) the long *traditio* of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ for 367-6 to their successors in office (IG. ii². 1428), restored by comparison with ii². 1400, 1415, 1421, 1425, 1428, 1429; (ii) a similar *traditio* ¹⁴⁸ for 369-8 (ii². 1424*a*), restored with the aid of, and in turn supplementing and correcting 1425; (iii) a marble base, re-used for an inscription in honour of the augur P. Cornelius Lentulus; (iv) an honorary text for two Vipstani Galli; (v) a phrase dating iii. 112; (vi) an honorary inscription for King Archelaus ¹⁴⁹;

¹⁴³ *AJPh.* liii. 274 ff., 392.

¹⁴⁴ *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* lxiv.: cf. *JHS.* liii. 135, *ClPh.* xxviii. 139.

¹⁴⁵ Following the lead of the *editio minor* of IG., I treat together all Attic inscriptions later than 403, ignoring the dividing line hitherto placed at 31 B.C.

¹⁴⁶ Pars. ii, fasc. 2, Berlin, 1931: cf. *PhW.* li. 106 ff., *Gnomon*, viii. 295 ff., *REG.* xlv. 211 f.

¹⁴⁷ Δελτ. xi. 123 ff., xii. 234 f.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 213.

¹⁴⁸ Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 179 f.

¹⁴⁹ *REG.* xlv. 213.

(vii) an archaic dedication below which was later added ¹⁵⁰ ὁ δῆμος [Λεύκιον] Αἰμίλιον [Παύλλον υἱὸν] Παύλλον (cos. A.D. 1) [ἀρετῆς ἐ]νεκα ; (viii) a record of victories at the Nemea, Isthmia and Panathenaea, and (ix) the epigram iii. 770. On the N. slope of the Acropolis, close to the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, were found ¹⁵¹ a fragment of a dedication and a mutilated decree of 302-1 B.C., while in the Periclean Odeum A. K. Orlandos has discovered ¹⁵² a tripod-base with a perfectly preserved choregic inscription of 176-5 or 175-4 B.C., which enables us to restore a name in ii². 766. The investigation of the Pnyx undertaken by K. Kourouniotes and H. A. Thompson has revealed ¹⁵³ an inscribed sherd, a stamped fragment of a lamp, a votive plaque from the shrine of Zeus Ὑφιστος (two others came to light in the Agora of Caesar and Augustus) and three short rock-cut inscriptions. The epigraphical firstfruits ¹⁵⁴ reaped by the American and the Greek excavators of the Agora consist of a lamp, two weights, a dedication of 172-1 B.C., the two votives above mentioned and a decree, of which the text is not yet published, passed by the ephebi of 172-1 and containing a hitherto unknown archon's name. We eagerly await the extraordinarily rich harvest which is to follow.

Numerous finds, in addition to those already recorded as belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries, have been made in the German excavation of the Ceramicus. A. Brueckner's account ¹⁵⁵ of the work carried out, mainly in the Pompeion, in 1929 includes a number of stamped lamps, graffiti of individuals or of groups of φίλοι, the title Μένανδρος engraved beneath a painting of that poet by Cratinus (p. 12), a votive herm dedicated in 95-4 B.C. (20 f.), a fragment of a Hellenistic calendar (23 f. = ii.² 2782), relics of the cults of τῷ θεῷ, Athena, Artemis, Asclepius and Hygiea (25 ff.), an epitaph in retrograde script and further fragments of the memorial erected by his mother to the sophist Aurelius Rufus, enabling us to complete the fragmentary text iii. 1429. In the same neighbourhood were also found ¹⁵⁶ a dozen grave-inscriptions of various periods and two stones inscribed ὄρος θήκης.

The recent accessions to the National Museum, described ¹⁵⁷ by B. D. Theophaneides, include nine epitaphs from Koukouvaones, Athens, the Piraeus and Old Phalerum. N. Kyparisses registers ¹⁵⁸ numerous additions made to the archaeological collection in the Theseum, found for the most part in the course of building operations at Athens. These comprise, in addition to 58 unpublished epitaphs on stelae, tables, lecythi or κιονίσκοι, a grave-stele (p. 56, No. 217) bearing the epigram ii. 3412, the basis (p. 45, No. 167) of the κώμαρχοι and κωμασταί (cf. *JHS*. li. 223), the base (p. 51, No. 160) of a statue erected by the Council and People, honouring Δροῦσον Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν νέον θεὸν Ἄρη, ¹⁵⁹ a ὄρος χωρίου πεπραμένου

¹⁵⁰ A. Salač, *Listy Filol.* lviii. 381 ff., known to me only from *Historia*, vi. 696, *REG.* xlv. 214.

¹⁵¹ *Hesperia*, i. 45 f.: cf. *BCH.* lv. 460.

¹⁵² Πρακτ. 1931, 7, 35 f.: cf. *AA.* xlvii. 124, *BCH.* lv. 459.

¹⁵³ *Hesperia*, i. 134, 185, 196 ff., 213 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *AA.* xlvii. 118 f., 122 f.

¹⁵⁵ *AM.* lvi. 1 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvii. 130 f.

¹⁵⁶ *AA.* xlv. 93, xlvii. 187 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvi. 352 f.

¹⁵⁷ Δελτ. xi. παρ. 1 ff.: cf. *AA.* xlvii. 124 f.

¹⁵⁸ Δελτ. xi. παρ. 44 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 213 f., where No. 184 is restored.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. A. Salač, *Listy Filol.* lviii. 381 ff. (*REG.* xlv. 214).

ἐπὶ λύσει (p. 51, No. 163), and a basis dedicated by the Council in 357-6 B.C. to the Twelve Gods and later re-used for a private offering (p. 59, No. 226). W. Peek has edited¹⁶⁰ a metrical epitaph, which he dates about 400 B.C., from Athens, and another, seriously mutilated, from Daphni: improved readings of the former are proposed by A. Wilhelm,¹⁶¹ H. T. Wade-Gery and others,¹⁶² of the latter by P. Maas.¹⁶³ Peek has also published¹⁶⁴ two other epigrams, perfectly preserved, from Athens, one of which commemorates an ὀρθογράφος.

At Eleusis K. Kourouniotes has found a fragmentary relief¹⁶⁵ of the Roman period dedicated to Artemis by a πυρφόρος τοῖν θεοῖν, as well as a considerable portion of a contract¹⁶⁶ of about 350 B.C. relating to the repair of the wall and gates of the city, and has entrusted to I. C. Threpsiades the publication¹⁶⁷ of a decree, of which 68 lines survive, dating from the close of the first century B.C., in honour of the δαδοῦχος Themistocles: this gives us a list of twelve successive holders of that office and throws an interesting light on its functions and its family associations. Among the ruins of the temple of Apollo Zoster Kourouniotes found¹⁶⁸ six fourth-century inscriptions,—a dedication, a well-preserved decree (No. 4) honouring a priest and the members of a committee chosen by the demesmen of Halae to carry out the repair of the temple and the adornment of the statues, and portions of four other similar decrees. E. Vanderpool has published¹⁶⁹ a fourth-century palimpsest dikast's ticket found at Liopesi, the ancient Paeania, and now in the University of Illinois, and a dedication bearing the signature of the sculptor Onetorides has come to light¹⁷⁰ in the plain to the N. of Agriliki, where lay the deme Probalinthus.

Even the depths of the African sea pay their tribute to Attic epigraphy. A. Dain discusses¹⁷¹ five inscriptions, now in the Musée Alaoui at Tunis, carried off from the Piraeus soon after 86 B.C., probably as ballast in a pirate ship amid whose wreckage they were found in 1909 and 1910 off Mahdia on the Tunisian coast. They consist of a decree (the text of which is still unpublished) of 363-2 B.C. followed by a list of gifts made by the Athenians to the temple of Ammon at the Piraeus, two honorary decrees of the πάραλοι, of which one appeared in Michel's *Recueil*, 1517, throwing some light on the corporation formed by the crew of the dispatch-boat Paralos, and two epitaphs. E. Michon describes¹⁷² an Attic grave-stele now in the Louvre. Other inscriptions, almost all sepulchral, added to the National Museum,¹⁷³ the Epigraphical Museum¹⁷⁴ or the Theseum Collection,¹⁷⁵ or found in the Cemetery,¹⁷⁶ in the Theatre Square¹⁷⁷ or on

¹⁶⁰ *Hermes*, lxxvi. 474 ff.

¹⁶¹ *Wien. Anz.* 1931, 95 f.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 214.

¹⁶² *Hermes*, lxxvii. 129 f.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 130.

¹⁶⁴ *AM.* lvi. 119 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Δελτ.* xi. 8.

¹⁶⁶ *Ἑλευσινιακά*, i. 189 ff., 268: cf. *RivFil.* lx. 553 f., *REA.* xxxv. 225 ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Ἑλευσινιακά*, i. 223 ff.: for a late vase see *ibid.* 250.

¹⁶⁸ *Δελτ.* xi. 38 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 214.

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

¹⁶⁹ *JG.I.* xxxvi. 293 f.

¹⁷⁰ *REG.* xlv. 214.

¹⁷¹ *REG.* xlv. 290 ff.: cf. xlv. 213 f., *Historia*, vi. 694.

¹⁷² *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 611 ff.

¹⁷³ *J.I.* xlv. 214 f., *BCH.* liv. 453, lv. 452.

¹⁷⁴ *BCH.* liv. 454.

¹⁷⁵ *J.I.* xlv. 214.

¹⁷⁶ *BCH.* liv. 459.

¹⁷⁷ *J.I.* xlv. 213, *REG.* xlv. 213.

the road to the Academy,¹⁷⁸ are at present announced rather than published.

So far we have dealt with new discoveries, but the value of many inscriptions already known has been enhanced by better reading or restoration and by more adequate interpretation. The new edition of two large and important classes of documents in *IG. ii². 2. 2* supplies us with texts which in many cases mark a striking advance over those hitherto available. To W. S. Ferguson's *Treasurers of Athena* I have already drawn attention: his *Athenian Tribal Cycles* came into my hands too late to be dealt with here. P. Graindor has made a further valuable contribution to the study of later Athens in a work¹⁷⁹ which deals with every aspect of the city's life and thought from the reign of Tiberius to that of Trajan, based to a considerable extent on epigraphical data (the index of inscriptions utilised extends to eight pages, 221-8) and illustrated by photographs of seventeen epigraphical monuments. P. Roussel's historical commentary¹⁸⁰ on the decree from Rhamnus dated 236-5 B.C. (cf. *JHS*. li. 222 f.) examines the repercussions in Attica of the struggles which marked the reign of Demetrius II of Macedon (239-29), the limits of the authority exercised by Macedon and by Athens, and the position and duties of the ἐπιμεληταὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις. O. Kern restores¹⁸¹ a phrase in a Delphian oracle of Hadrian's time relative to the tithes owed to Apollo by Demeter Chloe; A. C. Hadjis comments¹⁸² on an interesting fourth-century record from Salamis (*AM*. xlviii. 2); C. Bottin's study¹⁸³ of the dithyrambic choregia in Attica uses the available epigraphical materials; F. Robert traces¹⁸⁴ with the aid of ii. 1649 (*SIG*. 88) the story of the introduction of the Asclepius-cult from Epidaurus into Attica; E. Pfuhl discusses¹⁸⁵ the famous tombstone of Dexileos, who fell at Corinth in 394 B.C. (ii. 2084); P. Roussel makes¹⁸⁶ a slight correction in ii. 2495, and G. M. A. Richter republishes¹⁸⁷ a Lansdowne stele (ii. 4294) recently acquired by the New York Museum. Turning to *IG. iii.* we note that 68c has been explained¹⁸⁸ by O. Walter, 112 and 770 have been disengaged, as we have seen, from the W. door of the Parthenon, and 368 has been amended¹⁸⁹ by A. Bon and H. Seyrig; ii. 3412 has been brought into the Theseum.¹⁹⁰

The following texts in *IG. ii².* have been the object of fruitful study.

101 (*SIG*. 154), a decree for Alcetas, has been discussed¹⁹¹ by G. N. Cross.

236 (*SIG*. 260), the treaty concluded by the Greeks with Philip of Macedon, has been re-examined¹⁹² by W. Schwahn, who followed Wilcken's restoration with three slight modifications: he has devoted¹⁹³ special attention to the interpretation and restoration of the schedule shewing the

¹⁷⁸ *BCH*. liv. 460, *REG*. lxxv. 214.

¹⁷⁹ *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Cairo, 1931: cf. *R.A.* xxxv. 165, *PhW*. liii. 92 ff.

¹⁸⁰ *BCH*. liv. 268 ff.: cf. *RivFil.* ix. 278, *AJA*. xxxvi. 345.

¹⁸¹ *AM*. lv. 207 f.

¹⁸² *Εφην.* 1930, 59 f., 181.

¹⁸³ *RevBelge*, x. 5 ff., 463 ff.

¹⁸⁴ *RevPhil.* v. 137 f.

¹⁸⁵ *AA.* xlvii. 1 ff.

¹⁸⁶ *REG*. xlv. 214.

¹⁸⁷ *Met. Mus. Studies*, iii. 2. 147 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *ÖJh.* xxvi. 89.

¹⁸⁹ *BCH*. liii. 347.

¹⁹⁰ *Δελτ.* xi. παρ. 56.

¹⁹¹ *Epirus*, 103.

¹⁹² *Klio*, Beiheft xxi. 36 ff.: cf. *Gnomon*, ix. 311 f.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 1 ff.

number of votes exercised in the συνέδριον by each of the participating communities—a number proportionate, in his view, to their capacity to render military assistance. M. Segre has made¹⁹⁴ a number of valuable criticisms and suggestions. F. Schehl's article¹⁹⁵ on the Corinthian League of 338-7 also rests mainly on this inscription, which, together with [Demos-thenes] xvii and *IG.* iv². 1. 68, forms the chief source of our knowledge of the content and phraseology of the pacts which underlay the League: it seeks to rebut the attack of Schwahn, who maintains that it was based solely on the κοινὴ εἰρήνη, on Wilcken's view, that its basis was a general alliance concluded by Philip with the Greeks, and to shew that it was in fact built up upon the κοινὴ εἰρήνη and a subsequent general συμμαχία, two acts of state which must be sharply distinguished both in nature and in time.

467 (*SIG.* 327). A. Wilhelm has restored¹⁹⁶ l. 16 of the decree for Timosthenes.

649. The discovery of the right-hand half of this inscription on the western slope of the Acropolis in 1928 not only enabled W. B. Dinsmoor to restore the complete text of this decree for Philippides, but, by proving that Olympiodorus held office as archon in the two years 294-3 and 293-2, shewed that all previous reconstructions of the archon-list of the third century were at fault and so led him to a reconsideration of the whole of Athenian chronology from 307-6 to 88-7 B.C., with frequent excursions beyond these boundaries of space and time. The results are embodied in his massive volume *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*,¹⁹⁷ which relates mainly to Athens save in Chapter IX, devoted to Delphian chronology, and Appendixes G and H, which discuss the Egyptian and the Delian calendar. Its three main sections are concerned with (i) the ἀναγραφεῖς, (ii) the archons, and (iii) the calendar, and are followed by appendixes dealing with the official order of the tribes, the tribal assignment of the demes, the fourth-century priests of Asclepius, the archon-list of 232-209 (ii.² 1706), the archons named in the *didascaliae* (ii.² 2323), etc. Special attention is paid to the tribal cycles of secretaries and priests and to the influence on the Athenian calendar of the astronomical cycles of Meton, Callippus and Hipparchus.¹⁹⁸ It is impossible here to register all the inscriptions, Attic and foreign, which Dinsmoor corrects or restores, dates or discusses (the mere list of them in Index A occupies ten pages), and though authorities such as Kirchner,¹⁹⁹ Roussel²⁰⁰ and Tarn,²⁰¹ to mention but three names, find themselves unable to accept all Dinsmoor's conclusions, yet most will agree with A. B. West²⁰² that 'For the history of Hellenistic Greece the book is indispensable: as a work of reference on the Attic calendar it is far superior to anything hitherto available: the mass of detail, the multitude of mathematical computations, the astronomical niceties, all illustrate the thoroughness of the author and arouse

¹⁹⁴ *Historia*, v. 443 ff.

¹⁹⁵ *ÖJh.* xxvii. 115 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *Bull. Intern. Acad. Pol.* 1930, 145.

¹⁹⁷ Harvard U.P., 1931: cf. *RevFil.* lix. 552, lx. 549 f., *AJPh.* liii. 88 ff., *ClPh.* xxvii. 289 ff., *Lv. Annals*, xix. 139 ff., *Athenaeum*, x. 184 ff., *REG.* xlv.

²⁰⁵, *Historia*, vi. 694 f., *Mondo Classico*, ii. 288 ff

¹⁹⁸ On this aspect cf. *JHS.* liii. 145.

¹⁹⁹ *Gnomon*, viii. 449 ff.

²⁰⁰ *RE.A.* xxxiv. 196 ff.

²⁰¹ *ClRev.* xlv. 123 f.

²⁰² *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 206 f.

the admiration of the reader,' even if they cannot subscribe to U. Kahrestedt's verdict,²⁰³ 'Das Buch ist das Maximum dessen, was Methode und Scharfsinn über einen der schwierigsten Stoffkomplexe der ganzen alten Geschichte menschenmöglich herausbekommen können.'

766. A. K. Orlandos restores²⁰⁴ the mutilated name in l. 35.

922. L. Robert proposes²⁰⁵ a new restoration of l. 1 of the decree for Hicesius.

1028. L. Ziehen discusses²⁰⁶ the phrase ἤραντο τοὺς βοῦς in l. 10 of this honorary decree for the ephebi of 100-99 B.C. and similar documents (1008, 1011, 1029) in the light of Strabo, xiv. 650, and concludes that oxen may actually have been carried to the altar for sacrifice.

1099. The articles of A. Steinwenter²⁰⁷ and G. Beseler²⁰⁸ relate mainly to Hadrian's Latin letter of A.D. 121 to Plotina and not to Plotina's Greek letter πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις (SIG. 834).

1237 (SIG. 921). H. T. Wade-Gery translates and discusses²⁰⁹ the first two 'Demotionid decrees,' resolutions of the Phratry, or 'ecclesiastical parish,' of Decelea, as throwing light on the privileges of blood which survived into the fourth century B.C.

1368 (SIG. 1109). In treating of the Dionysiac mysteries, U. von Wilamowitz speaks²¹⁰ of the rites of the Iobacchi as revealed in their statutes.

1370 ff. The *traditio* of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods for 403-2 B.C. (1370) is discussed and restored²¹¹ by Ferguson. Kirchner has published²¹² restorations of this text and others of the same class, notably 1371, 1377, 1378 + 1398, 1381 + 1386, 1402, proposed by Woodward, who has also re-edited²¹³ the *traditio Hecatompedi* for 398-7 (1388), now in the British Museum; he assigns to it 1408 and a new fragment in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens and calculates that the obverse had about 102 lines and the reverse about 87. He further shews that 1409 is also from a Hekatompedon list soon after 398-7, and that 1393 + 1406 + 1449 form part of a single stele, to which 1448 may also belong. The article closes with revised restorations of 1408 and 1448.

1407 ff. Marked progress has been made with the inventories of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ as reconstituted in 385-4. That for 369-8 has, as we have seen above, been discovered (1424a) and that for 367-6 (1428) more perfectly read, and these contribute to the restoration of other members of the series, especially of 1425. Woodward's article above mentioned is also of value for these lists, and Ferguson has made²¹⁴ numerous suggestions, especially in Appendix II, which contains, *inter alia*, restorations of 1412 and 1413.

1604 ff. The thirty navy-lists, of which 1604* belongs to the fifth

²⁰³ *Gott. Gel. Anz.* cxciv. 305 ff.

²⁰⁴ *Πρακτ.* 1931, 36.

²⁰⁵ *BCH.* liv. 342, note 3.

²⁰⁶ *Hermes*, lxvi. 227 ff.

²⁰⁷ *Σav.* li. 404 ff.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* lii. 284 ff.

²⁰⁹ *ClQu.* xxv. 129 ff.

²¹⁰ *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, ii. 375 f.

²¹¹ *Treasurers of Athena*, 150.

²¹² *IG.* ii². 2, pp. 797 ff.

²¹³ *JHS.* li. 139 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvi. 344, *REG.* xlv.

²¹².

²¹⁴ Cf. *Treasurers of Athena*, 198.

century and the remainder fall between 377-6 and 323-2 B.C., afford K. Schmidt the materials for his thesis ²¹⁵ on the names of Attic war-ships: in his index he collects 282 complete and 34 mutilated names of vessels and 63 of ship-builders. In 1629 is inserted (ll. 165-271 = *SIG.* 305) the decree of 325-4 ordering the foundation of an Adriatic colony, the nature of which is discussed ²¹⁶ by S. Žebelev.

1635 (*SIG.* 153). The 'Sandwich Marble' and also 1634 are analysed ²¹⁷ by V. Groh with a view to determining the organisation of the Delian Amphictyony.

1655 is assigned by Ferguson ²¹⁸ to 407-6, and 1654 to 405-4. Dinsmoor's divergent view has been mentioned above.

1686 also is examined by Ferguson ²¹⁹ and dated in 405-3.

1951 is attributed ²²⁰ by A. Körte to the battle of Arginusae in 406.

2314. Lines 75, 85, 87, 89 of this Panathenaic list are restored ²²¹ by H. C. Montgomery.

III. THE PELOPONNESE

[*IG.* iv.] The excavations carried on at AEGINA by G. Welter and P. Strack have resulted in the discovery of five Hellenistic epitaphs, ²²² of which three are dated by the name of the eponymous magistrate, the month and the day, as well as of other minor finds. ²²³ R. P. Austin has discussed ²²⁴ the word ἱκρία, which occurs in an Aeginetan temple-inventory (*IG.* iv. 39). Among the fruits of the successful excavations of the British School at Athens in the Corinthian Peraea is a sixth-century bronze bull, unearthed at Perachora, bearing a dedicatory inscription to Hera Limenia. ²²⁵

Remarkable progress has been made with the publication of the epigraphical results of the American excavations at CORINTH. A. E. Newhall's article ²²⁶ on 'the Corinthian Ceramicus' contains a votive inscription of about 550 B.C. engraved on a fragment of a bronze bowl, a painted plaque portraying an armed man Εὐκρίνα[ς] and the first extant signature of a Corinthian potter, Echecles, incised on a skyphos. ²²⁷ Other recent finds—an epitaph and inscriptions on lamps, loom-weights, etc.—are recorded ²²⁸ by F. J. de Waele and T. L. Shear. Especially noteworthy is the series of volumes entitled *Corinth*, which contain the definitive account of the work achieved. In that which is devoted to Acrocorinth O. Broneer publishes ²²⁹ a fragmentary epigram and fourteen texts, almost all memorial in character, from Upper Peirene, five of which appear here for the first time and others in improved readings. Inscriptions are also found in I. Thallon-Hill and L. S. King's discussion ²³⁰ of the decorated

²¹⁵ *Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe*, Leipzig, 1931.

²¹⁶ *CRAcSci. U.R.S.S.* 1930, 59 ff.; cf. *PhW.* li. 1575, *REG.* xlv. 212 f.

²¹⁷ *Athenaeum*, x. 148 ff.

²¹⁸ *Treasurers of Athena*, 48 ff., 84.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 77 ff., etc.

²²⁰ *PhW.* li. 1027 ff.

²²¹ *ClPh.* xxvi. 325.

²²² *A.A.* xlvi. 275 f., *JHS.* li. 200, *BCH.* lv. 469.

²²³ *A.I.* xlvii. 162 ff., *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 357.

²²⁴ *JHS.* li. 287 f.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* 194, *BCH.* lv. 471, *A.I.* xlvii. 138.

²²⁶ *AJ.A.* xxxv. 1 ff.

²²⁷ Cf. *A.A.* xlv. 111, *BCH.* liv. 477.

²²⁸ *AJ.A.* xxxv. 412, 436, 440; cf. *A.I.* xlvii. 136.

²²⁹ *Corinth*, iii. 1. 26, 30 ff.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* iv. 1. 16, 29, 36.

architectural terra-cottas, as well as in O. Broneer's publication²³¹ of the terra-cotta lamps, a very large number of which bear the names of their makers. F. P. Johnson's volume on sculpture includes²³² two epitaphs and the memorial bust of Herodes Atticus inscribed Ἡρώδης ἐνθάδε περιεπύεται, while that of Broneer on the Odeum contains a few graffiti, masons' marks and tile-stamps and a theatre-ticket.²³³ Of far greater importance, however, is the volume devoted to the inscriptions brought to light or collected in the course of the excavations (1896-1927). The 400 Latin texts and fragments, edited²³⁴ by A. B. West, fall outside the scope of the present survey. Those in Greek have been published²³⁵ with exemplary care by B. D. Meritt and include the Greek inscriptions of Corinth now preserved there, even though not all discovered by the excavators, with the exception of those on terra-cotta and some of the most recent discoveries made since 1925. Among the 331 texts here presented 228 were not previously published, and, although the great majority of these are too seriously mutilated to have great value, yet some of them (*e.g.* Nos. 11, 14, 15, 75, 76, 130 and 136) are of considerable interest. The largest class is composed of public monuments and dedications (Nos. 23-125), which outnumber the sepulchral inscriptions (Nos. 126-197): a disappointing feature is the very small number of texts, seven in all, which can be assigned to the sixth or fifth century B.C.

A fourth-century bronze bull bearing a votive inscription²³⁶ has been found near the temple of Zeus at Nemea, as well as an early fifth-century bronze vase in the Theatre of ARGOS dedicated to ὁ Ἀραῖβος ὁ Ἀργαί, which W. Vollgraff interprets²³⁷ as an indication of Pheidon's enterprise in bringing to Argos the waters of the river Erasinus. The same scholar examines²³⁸ in detail the oldest extant Argive inscription, rediscovered by him in 1928 after being lost for 95 years (*IG.* iv. 614), assigns it unhesitatingly to the seventh century and regards the nine names which follow the heading ἐνν[έ]φ[α] δ[ι]αμιοργοὶ ἐφ[α]ν[α]σσάντο not as forming a single college but as the successive occupants of the supreme position in the state, inscribed, probably by Pheidon himself, on the gate of the Argive acropolis. An Argive inscription (iv. 556 = *SIG.* 182) forms the starting-point of F. Taeger's book²³⁹ *Der Friede von 362-I.*

No new inscriptions have been found at EPIDAUROS, but J. A. O. Larsen has proposed²⁴⁰ a restoration of the clause in the constitution of the Hellenic League (*IG.* iv². 1. 68. 130 ff.) relative to the future amendment of its terms, according to which the initiative rests wholly with the kings, while the healing-records of the sanctuary of Asclepius have been re-edited²⁴¹ by R. Herzog with a masterly commentary and a valuable

²³¹ *Corinth*, iv. 2 *passim*: esp. 207 ff., 276 ff., 307 ff.

²³² *Ibid.* ix. Nos. 169, 262, 265; cf. *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 370 f.

²³³ *Ibid.* x. 134 ff.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 2 (Harvard U.P.), 1931.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 1 (Harvard U.P.), 1931: cf. *JHS.* lii. 143 f., *ClRev.* xlv. 63 f., *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 369, *PhW.* lii. 361 ff., *Deutsche Litztg.* 1932, 1691 ff., *R.A.* xxxiv. 217 f., *REG.* xlv. 441.

²³⁶ *AJ.A.* xxxv. 44 ff.

²³⁷ *Mnem.* lx. 231 ff. See also *R.A.* xxxv. 333.

²³⁸ *Mnem.* lix. 369 ff.

²³⁹ Stuttgart, 1930: cf. *Klio*, Beiheft xxi. 42, *Gnomon*, ix. 301 ff.

²⁴⁰ *ClPh.* xxvii. 395 ff.

²⁴¹ *Philol.* Suppl. xxii. 3; cf. *ClRev.* xlv. 17 f., *R.A.* xxxiii. 353, *Deutsche Litztg.* 1932, 355 ff., *Neue Jahrb.* viii. 374, *RivFil.* lx. 239 ff., *Mondo Classico*, ii. 204 ff., *Athenaeum*, x. 418 ff.

chapter on the Asclepieum and medical practice, and S. A. Žebelev also has translated and discussed²⁴² the three best preserved stelae recording ἱάματα (*ibid.* 121-3). C. Rüger's article²⁴³ on the Epidaurian miracle-records and the poems of Isyllus is inaccessible to me. The group of hymns recently discovered at the Asclepieum (*ibid.* 129-35), and specially those addressed to Pan (130) and to the Mother of the Gods (131), have been annotated²⁴⁴ by K. Münscher, who thinks that, though inscribed in the second century A.D., they may be the work of Telesilla.

[*IG.* v.] H. Box devotes two articles, based on epigraphical materials prior to A.D. 212, to the question of Roman citizenship in LACONIA; in the first²⁴⁵ he examines the criteria by which *civitas* can be determined and discusses the *nomina* of certain or probable derivation, while in the second²⁴⁶ he deals with those for which possible derivations may be suggested and those which afford no clue. In two appendixes he examines the phenomena of (a) change of the *nomen* of a family and (b) the omission of *praenomen* or *nomen* in epigraphical texts.

A. M. Woodward has published,²⁴⁷ with full commentaries, the remaining inscriptions discovered in the Theatre and on the Acropolis of SPARTA in 1924-7, comprising seven new fragments from the parodos-wall, three of which join texts previously published, nine lists of magistrates from the orchestra-drain, fourteen similar documents of the Imperial period from other parts of the Theatre or from the Acropolis, fourteen statue-bases of officials and athletes (among which No. 58, honouring the proconsul Publilius Optatianus, better known to us as the writer Porfyrius, is especially interesting), sixteen dedications and miscellaneous fragments (of which No. 69 is an archaic epigram, tentatively assigned by the editor to Alcman or Gitiadas, and No. 80 a Latin fragment),²⁴⁸ thirteen architectural inscriptions²⁴⁹ from the Theatre (one of them, *IG.* v. 1. 691, previously published), a large number of stamped bricks and tiles, upwards of 120 votive inscriptions on fragments of vases, mostly of the fifth, fourth and third centuries B.C., and twelve dedications, ten of which were previously known, on bronze or marble. A valuable table²⁵⁰ summarises the contents of the texts from the East parodos-wall, while an appendix, based on nine inscriptions of Sparta and Gytheum, examines the chronological relationship of those who claimed descent from Heracles and the Dioscuri. Woodward and L. Robert have jointly edited²⁵¹ portions of four Hellenistic decrees from Sparta, recording honours paid to Spartans by Arcadian Orchomenus, Eretria, Tralles(?) and Demetrias respectively: to the first, second and fourth of these M. Guarducci has added valuable notes.²⁵² A. Adamantiou has discovered²⁵³ near Sparta a series of frescoes, of the first or second century B.C., representing Apollo and the Muses, with titles

²⁴² *Bull. AcSci. U.R.S.S.* 1931, 321 ff.

²⁴³ *Wiener Blätter*, viii. 29 ff.

²⁴⁴ *PhW.* lii. 1031 ff.

²⁴⁵ *JRS.* xxi. 200 ff., xxii. 182 f.

²⁴⁶ *JRS.* xxii. 165 ff.

²⁴⁷ *BSA.* xxix. 2 ff.

²⁴⁸ W. Vollgraff suggests an emendation of No. 83

bis (*Mnem.* lix. 307 f.).

²⁴⁹ *BSA.* xxx. 185, 188, 209 ff.

²⁵⁰ *BSA.* xxix. 7 ff.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* 57 ff.

²⁵² *Rev. Fil.* lx. 84 ff.

²⁵³ *Практ.* 1931, 21, 92, 95; cf. *A.I.* xlvii. 144.

painted below the figures. F. E. Adcock dates ²⁵⁴ in 427 B.C. the contributions to the Spartan cause recorded in *IG. v. 1. 1*, associating them with Alcidas' expedition to Lesbos, and A. Wilhelm suggests ²⁵⁵ a restoration of a Spartan epigram (*IG. v. 1. 723*). Elsewhere in Laconia no new inscriptions have come to light, but three further contributions to the study of the documents relating to the Caesar-cult recently found at GYTHEUM (*JHS. li. 228*) call for notice, the second section of S. Eitrem's study of apotheosis, ²⁵⁶ K. Stadel's review ²⁵⁷ of Kornemann's edition of the texts in question, and L. R. Taylor's article ²⁵⁸ on Tiberius' refusal of divine honours, in which she emphasises, like Rostovtzeff but independently of him, the absence of finality in the emperor's 'polite demurrers' and the fact that he actually received distinctions which he had apparently declined.

Fresh light has been thrown on two of the inscriptions collected in MESSENE by N. S. Valmin (*JHS. li. 228 f.*): M. A. Levi has drawn attention ²⁵⁹ to the juridical and historical value of No. 1, an arbitration-record from Thuria, and to the close relationship existing between it and another similar document (*Inscr. v. Olymp. 46*), and A. Wilhelm has shewn ²⁶⁰ that No. 19, a dedication from the sanctuary of Apollo Corythus, can be dated in A.D. 153-4. Special attention has been devoted in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's great and final work on Greek religion ²⁶¹ to the famous mystery-inscription of Andania (*IG. v. 1. 1390*).

A. K. Orlandos gives ²⁶² a corrected reading of an honorary inscription discovered at Stympthalus in ARCADIA.

[*IG. vi.*] B. D. Theophrastides records ²⁶³ among the accessions to the National Museum at Athens the bronze helmet, recently brought to light at OLYMPIA, which commemorated the Orchomenian capture of Coronea (*JHS. li. 229*).

A trial excavation at Aegira in ACHAEA, conducted by O. Walter, has produced ²⁶⁴ a dedication to Asclepius, while the discoveries made by A. K. Orlandos at Pellene include a dozen inscriptions, ²⁶⁵ among which are six epitaphs, a list of nine δαιταλεῖς, an honorary inscription set up by ἡ πόλις τῶν Πελληνέων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες, a record of the cult of Isis and a mutilated dedication of a woman's statue which, as P. Roussel plausibly suggests, ²⁶⁶ may well be the work of Euthykrates, son of the famous sculptor Lysippus.

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*IG. vii.*] In his study of the ἐπιμεληταὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις P. Roussel examines ²⁶⁷ an important inscription (Ἐφημ. 1918, 73 ff.) discovered in the sanctuary of Amphiarus at OROPUS.

²⁵⁴ *Mélanges Glotz*, i. 1 ff.

²⁵⁵ *Wien. Anz.* 1931, 94.

²⁵⁶ *Symbolae Oslo.* x. 43 ff.

²⁵⁷ *Gnomon.* viii. 195 ff.

²⁵⁸ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lx. 87 ff. cf. *supra*, footnote 41.

²⁵⁹ *Ru Fil.* lix. 93 ff.

²⁶⁰ Ἑλληνικά, iv. 20 f.

²⁶¹ *Glaube der Hellenen*, ii. 536 ff.

²⁶² *Προκτ.* 1930, 91; cf. *BCH.* liv. 483. *AA.* xlv. 262.

²⁶³ *Δελτ.* xi. παρ. 12 f.

²⁶⁴ *ÖJh.* xxvii. Beiblatt, 226.

²⁶⁵ *Προκτ.* 1931, 74 ff.; cf. *BCH.* lv. 477.

²⁶⁶ *BCH.* lvi. 287 ff.

²⁶⁷ *BCH.* liv. 279 ff.

To C. Barratt we owe a long and valuable investigation ²⁶⁸ of the chronology of the eponymous archons of BOEOTIA, based mainly upon an historical, linguistic and palaeographical study of the inscriptions which name them: this is followed by a note on the age-qualification for the offices of polemarch and polemarchs' secretary in the Boeotian cities, chronological tables of the League-archons and priests of Amphiarus, and an invaluable index. On the Boeotian calendar W. B. Dinsmoor has made some interesting observations.²⁶⁹

A. Plassart publishes ²⁷⁰ a decree found in 1890-1 at Thespiae, the only extant Thespian decree of the Imperial period, bestowing honours and largess upon the νέοι who were about to take part in a campaign of Marcus Aurelius and upon their parents during their absence, followed by a list of the eighty volunteers in question, who are accompanied by a senior officer, two πρεσβευταί and a doctor: the campaign is probably that against the Costoboci in A.D. 170 or 171. W. Peek edits ²⁷¹ a Thespian epigram, of the Roman age but in the best Hellenistic tradition, commemorating a young mother who died in childbirth, and E. Groag shews ²⁷² that in an honorary inscription of the same provenance (*BCH.* l. 443) we must read K. Οὐατέρνιον (not Κουατέρνιον) Πολλίωνα. H. Goldman's definitive account of the excavation of Eutresis contains ²⁷³ an inscribed archaic crater-rim, a boundary-stone, three short epitaphs and a sepulchral epigram of the fourth century on a mole-catcher, of which an alternative explanation is advanced ²⁷⁴ by Peek: unfortunately, J. U. Powell's correction ²⁷⁵ of this poem appeared too late for incorporation in this volume. W. Schwahn has investigated ²⁷⁶ the financial aspect of a record (Δελτ. viii. 182 ff.) of a loan made by Thisbe to Chorsiae and of two documents granting to the city of Acraephia discharge from the obligation of repaying sums borrowed from an Acraephian and a Theban citizen respectively (*ib.* 189 ff.). W. Peek has published ²⁷⁷ a metrical epitaph from Thebes, consisting of alternate hexameter and iambic verses, commemorating an αὐλωδός who died at sea, and has restored ²⁷⁸ another Theban epigram previously known (*IG.* vii. 4247), maintaining that it was engraved beneath a statue rather than upon a grave. The discovery of an inscribed statue-base from a neighbouring site is announced.²⁷⁹ A. Wilhelm has dealt ²⁸⁰ with a Boeotian decree from Thebes (*ib.* 2408), restoring the names of two of the Boeotarchs, Δαιτώνδας and Μιξιλας, contained in it and offering a new edition of the whole: he has also discussed and emended another text (*ib.* 2407) which mentions the same Δαιτώνδας, whom he regards as probably the grandfather of a well-known sculptor of the same name, several of whose signatures have survived (*e.g. ib.* 2472). E. F.

²⁶⁸ *JHS.* lii. 72 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvi. 538. For Ἡσυχύλος (pp. 99 f.) cf. *BCH.* liv. 75.

²⁶⁹ *Archons of Athens*, 416.

²⁷⁰ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 731 ff.

²⁷¹ *AM.* lvi. 128.

²⁷² *Wien. Stud.* xlix. 160 f.

²⁷³ *Excavations at Eutresis* (Harvard U.P., 1931), 237, 279 ff.

²⁷⁴ *AM.* lvi. 120.

²⁷⁵ *ClRev.* xlv. 126.

²⁷⁶ *Hermes*, lxvi. 337 ff.

²⁷⁷ *AM.* lvi. 127 f.

²⁷⁸ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 230.

²⁷⁹ *AA.* xlv. 103.

²⁸⁰ *Bull. Intern. Acad. Pol.* 1930, 139 ff.: cf. *REG.* xliv. 217.

Claffin bases upon *IG. vii.* 3172 her account²⁸¹ of a wealthy Boeotian lady, Nicareta of Orchomenus.

[*IG. viii.*] Remarkable progress has been made since the writing of my last survey in the official publication of the epigraphical discoveries made during the course of the French excavation of DELPHI. The third fascicule,²⁸² edited by G. Daux and A. Salač, contains the inscriptions, wherever found, belonging to monuments which flank the Sacred Way from the Athenian Treasury to the base of Gelo, together with those which have come to light within this area and do not belong to any monument identified elsewhere. Of the texts, which number 178, exactly half were previously unpublished, while many which had been imperfectly read or restored appear here in a more adequate form. Among them are 75 manumissions, most of them dating from the second century B.C., eleven dedications, chiefly of the fourth century, nine honorary inscriptions, seven of which are engraved on the exedra of Herodes Atticus and relate to him or to members of his family, and 67 records of honours or privileges bestowed on individuals or on groups, mainly in the third and second pre-Christian centuries. G. Colin has edited²⁸³ the texts engraved on the monuments of Aemilius Paullus and of Prusias II of Bithynia. The former bore, in addition to its original Latin dedication, 39 inscriptions, of which twelve, consisting mainly of proxeny-grants and manumissions, find here their *editio princeps*, while 27 were previously known. Of these some are of outstanding interest, especially the famous Greek version of a Roman law dealing, *inter alia*, with the extirpation of piracy (No. 37), the *dossier* relating to the feud between Thronium and Scarphea (Nos. 38–42), the incomplete amphictionic decree regarding wrongs alleged to have been done to the Delphian sanctuary (No. 43) and a manifesto on the origins of the war against Perseus (No. 75). On the monument of Prusias were engraved its dedication (*SIG.* 632), dated soon after 182 B.C. (No. 76), a decree in honour of Nicomedes III of Bithynia and of Laodice (*OGI.* 345), probably passed in 94 B.C. (No. 77), a manumission and eight records, four of them hitherto unpublished, of the bestowal of citizenship and other privileges in the second century B.C. (Nos. 78–86). The fascicule ends with valuable indexes, addenda and corrigenda and a table of concordance. An ample tome²⁸⁴ is devoted to the fourth-century accounts, ably edited and fully commented by E. Bourguet. The introduction deals with the provenance and condition, chronology, script and classification of the relevant documents, and the work ends (pp. 318 ff.) with tables shewing the Delphian archons and the Amphictionic representatives of the fourth century B.C. and full indexes. Of the 93 inscriptions, many of them long and detailed, here published many are new and the rest shew a striking advance in reading and restoration over the texts already known. They include records of contributions from states and individuals for the rebuilding of the temple (Nos. 1–13), of payments of the indemnity imposed on

²⁸¹ *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lx. xxiv.

²⁸² *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii (3), Paris, 1932.

²⁸³ *Op. cit.* iii (4), Paris, 1930: cf. *RevPhil.* v. 393 ff.

²⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* iii (5), Paris, 1932.

the Phocians at the close of the Third Sacred War (No. 14) and of leases of confiscated property (Nos. 15-18), together with fragments of the accounts of the Delphian Council, the *ναοποιοί* and the *ταμίαι* (Nos. 19-87), portions of the specification for the building of the temple (No. 88) and a considerable part of two lists of *ναοποιοί*, one geographical and the other chronological (Nos. 91-93).

R. Flacelière has added ²⁸⁵ two new fragments to the text of the alliance between Aetolia and Boeotia (*SIG.* 366) and has sought to shew that, of the various views held about its date, that of Beloch is the most probable: 'the writing, the very redaction of the text and what we know of the political situation of Greece at this period, all agree in leading us to date the treaty to the years 301-299.' The article concludes with a careful examination of the later relations between Boeotia and Aetolia down to 278 B.C. Elsewhere ²⁸⁶ the same scholar publishes ten new Delphian texts, most of them dating from the third century B.C.; these comprise two dedications, a decree in honour of an *ἐπιμελητὰς τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλεως* appointed by the Aetolians about 200 B.C., an unfinished honorary decree, an Amphictrionic decree for an Athenian hieromnemon and pylagoros, two grants of *προξενία*, two fragments of accounts and a fresh portion of the record of a tachygraphic system. He has further published, ²⁸⁷ in collaboration with P. de la Coste-Messelière, six fragments of a base, found near Castalia, bearing on top and in front the word *Γᾶ* and has brought it into connexion with a statue-base of Themis previously found near the same spot. ²⁸⁸ G. Daux has edited ²⁸⁹ an interesting decree, by which, in response to a request brought by a Sardian embassy, Delphi acknowledged, about 162 B.C., the addition of an *ἄγων ἵππικὸς ἰσο[λύμπιος]* to the Sardian festival of the *Παναθήναια καὶ Εὐμένεια*, instituted in 166 in honour of Eumenes II, and bestowed on Sardis and its envoys praise and privileges; he has also given a full revised text of the decree which originally recognised the festival and has corrected or added to two further decrees, one Aetolian and one Delphian, engraved side by side with them on the monument which bore the gilded statue of Eumenes.

A number of other Delphian texts have been more accurately deciphered, more correctly restored or more adequately interpreted. J. Audiat has subjected to a minute scrutiny ²⁹⁰ the dedication of the spoils taken by the Athenians at Marathon (*SIG.* 23) and has shewn that the original text differed very slightly from its third-century renewal. R. Vallois has devoted a lengthy discussion ²⁹¹ to the paean of Philodamus of Scarphea, which he regards as an 'oeuvre de circonstance,' part of a series of interconnected innovations, several of which aim at giving to Dionysus a more important place in the Delphian cult: he dates the main portion of the poem in March 334 and strophes x, xi in March 328, and essays ²⁹² a reconstruction of the whole text, including those stanzas whose mutilated

²⁸⁵ *BCH.* liv. 75 ff.: cf. *A.I.* xlv. 104, *RevBelge*, x. 347.

²⁸⁶ *BCH.* liv. 392 ff., 529: cf. *A.J.A.* xxxvi. 344.

²⁸⁷ *BCH.* liv. 283 ff.

²⁸⁸ *Fouilles de Delphes*, ii. 164.

²⁸⁹ *Mélanges Glotz*, i. 289 ff.

²⁹⁰ *BCH.* liv. 296 ff.: cf. *A.J.A.* xxxvi. 344 f.

²⁹¹ *BCH.* lv. 241 ff.

²⁹² *Ibid.* 357 ff.

condition led Vollgraff to refrain from any such attempt. Yet even now finality has not been reached, and P. Roussel calls attention²⁹³ to a fresh discovery which will lead Vallois to a modification of some of his suggestions. One of M. Holleaux's last tasks was to give a full and definitive confirmation,²⁹⁴ directed against Beloch's criticism,²⁹⁵ of the view that at the beginning of the second century B.C. the Roman calendar was two to four months in advance of the astronomical calendar, and to provide revised texts of four valuable documents which figure largely in this discussion, the letters of the praetor Spurius Postumius (Albinus) to the Delphians and to the Amphictions (*SIG.* 612 A, B), the *senatus consultum* 'of May 4' engraved below them (*SIG.* 612 C) and the letter addressed to the Delphians by the consul C. Livius Salinator (*SIG.* 611). P. Roussel's detailed treatment,²⁹⁶ suggested by Holleaux's article, of the repercussions exercised at Delphi by the war between Rome and the Aetolians involves a fresh examination of the four inscriptions just mentioned: to them is added a revised text of a fifth important document (*SIG.* 609, 610), containing the concluding passage of a letter, probably from the consul M. Acilius, and a list of houses and lands given to the Delphian god and city after the Aetolian defeat. The Amphictiony, though losing all authority over Delphi, continued to exist officially, but it is doubtful whether any sessions were held between 190 and 186, when two envoys visited Rome to consult the Senate about its reconstitution and the repartition of the votes. To this occasion *SIG.* 826 K, usually dated in 116 B.C., may possibly belong. A. Wilhelm has investigated²⁹⁷ the date of a Delphian decree in honour of a notable Lycian, assigning it to the middle of the third century rather than, with Nikitsky, to 169 B.C., and has restored²⁹⁸ two Delphian epigrams, one of which (*Fouilles*, iii (1). 523), commemorating Patron of Lilaea, has been less satisfactorily handled by W. Peek,²⁹⁹ while the other records a Tarentine dedication previously misunderstood. Elsewhere³⁰⁰ he has made a slight correction in a Soteria-list (*BCH.* xlvii. 2). J. Carcopino has discussed³⁰¹ the historical significance of the 'piracy-law' (*Fouilles*, iii (4). 37), accepting and developing the view of G. Colin that it 'aimed at preparing, for Marius' benefit, the war against Mithridates which Sulla and then Pompey were to conduct later': he believes that the bill was proposed in January, 100 B.C., and carried in the following month, and that it may be confidently assigned to Saturninus and Glaucia.

The problems of Delphian chronology in the third century B.C., and especially that of dating the renewal of the Soteria, continue to evoke debate and to divide opinions. L. Robert discusses³⁰² the extant decrees (*SIG.* 402, 408, *Fouilles*, iii (1). 481-3) of Athens, Chios, Tenos and two other states accepting the reconstituted Soteria: the two states in question are, he thinks, one of the Cyclades, probably Ios, and Smyrna, and on this

²⁹³ *BCH.* lvi. 289.

²⁹⁴ *BCH.* liv. 1 ff.: cf. lv. 1 ff., *AJ.A.* xxxv. 460 f., *Reg. Belge*, x. 379.

²⁹⁵ *Klio.* xxii. 464 ff.

²⁹⁶ *BCH.* lvi. 1 ff.

²⁹⁷ *Πρακτ.* 'Ακαδ. 'Αθην. vi. 329 f.: but see *REG.* xlv. 218.

²⁹⁸ *Wien. Anz.* 1931, 78 ff., 95: cf. *PhW.* lii. 1308 f., *REG.* xlv. 218.

²⁹⁹ *Hermes.* lxvi. 476 f.

³⁰⁰ *Bull. Intern. Acad. Pol.* 1930, 141.

³⁰¹ *Melanges Glotz*, i. 117 ff.

³⁰² *BCH.* liv. 322 ff., 351.

basis he argues that the foundation of the Aetolian Soteria cannot be prior to 246 B.C. M. Segre, on the other hand, after interpreting and to some extent restoring the mutilated text of *Fouilles* iii (1). 483, which he too assigns to Smyrna, places³⁰³ the renewal of the Soteria tentatively about 255, a dating in which P. Treves concurs.³⁰⁴ Finally, W. B. Dinsmoor restudies in detail the whole question in Chapter IX of his work on the Athenian archons,³⁰⁵ to which reference has been made above, and exhibits in a useful table (p. 113) the variant lists of Delphian archons for the sixty years 279-8 to 220-19 B.C. drawn up by Pomtow, Colin, Johnson, Beloch, Flacelière and himself. The Soteria-problem naturally occupies a prominent place in the discussion, in which Dinsmoor claims that 'the new Athenian evidence for the date of Polyeuktos, 249-8 B.C., makes it necessary to adhere to Roussel's classification of the Soteria inscriptions, placing all the purely Amphictyonic lists earlier than this year, and all those of the Aetolian *agonothetai* later' (p. 129).

[*IG. ix.*] W. Peek has edited,³⁰⁶ and A. Wilhelm has more correctly punctuated,³⁰⁷ a metrical epitaph from Daulis in PHOCIS, now preserved in the Chaeronea Museum. C. A. Forbes discusses³⁰⁸ the ἀντιγυμνασιαρχία, an office mentioned only by Strabo and in an inscription of Halae in E. LOCRI (SEG. iii. 421); J. G. O'Neill re-examines³⁰⁹ the law (*IG. ix. 1.* 334) regulating the colony planted by the Opuntian Locrians at Naupactus, with a view to determining the date of the settlement of the Messenians there, and E. Fraenkel emphasises³¹⁰ the linguistic interest of a well-known law of the Western Locrians regarding the distribution of land (Solmsen-Fraenkel, *Inscr. Gr. Sel.*¹. 46). A fragment of an inscribed bronze tablet has come to light³¹¹ at Molycreum, on the borders of Locris and AETOLIA. An event of the utmost importance was the appearance, early in 1932, of the first fascicule of the *editio minor* of *IG. ix.*, ably edited by G. Klaffenbach, after valuable preliminary work by O. Weinreich and K. Rhomaios.³¹² This comprises all known Aetolian inscriptions, both those found in Aetolia and those discovered beyond its frontiers, numbering 171 and 35 respectively: of the texts belonging to the former class no fewer than 89 are here published for the first time. The remarkable growth in the number of Aetolian inscriptions, due largely to the excavations carried on at Thermum by G. Soteriades, may be realised from the fact that in the first edition of *IG. ix. 1.*, edited by Dittenberger in 1897, the Aetolian texts numbered only 39. Klaffenbach's work, carried out with characteristic thoroughness, includes detailed *Fasti Aetolici* (pp. ix-xlviii), tables of the Aetolian στρατηγοί and ἱερομνήμονες (pp. xlix-lv) and indexes which leave nothing to be desired. Elsewhere³¹³ he discusses afresh the knotty problem of the Aetolo-Acarnanian alliance (*IG. ix.*². 1. 3 = *SIG.* 421), which he dates about 262 B.C.; the Thyrrhean boundary-demarkation between Oeniadae and

³⁰³ *Historia*, v. 241 ff.

³⁰⁴ *RivFil.* lx. 277 f.

³⁰⁵ *The Archons of Athens*, 112 ff., 521 f.

³⁰⁶ *AM.* lvi. 128 f.

³⁰⁷ *SBBerl.* 1932, 813.

³⁰⁸ *ClPh.* xxvi. 89 ff.

³⁰⁹ *Ancient Corinth*, i (Baltimore, 1930), 250 ff.

³¹⁰ *Glotta*, xx. 84 ff.

³¹¹ *BCH.* lv. 451.

³¹² *Inscriptiones Graecae*, ix. pars i, fasc. 1 (*ed. minor*), Berlin, 1932.

³¹³ *Kho.* xxiv. 223 ff.: cf. *RivFil.* lx. 276 f.

Metropolis, engraved on the back of the same bronze stele, he places between 235 and 230 B.C. S. Žebelev has written, in Russian, an historical commentary³¹⁴ on a series of Aetolian decrees (*IG.* ix². I. 13, 135, 136) granting *προξενία* to individual Achaeans, *ἀσυλία* to Lusi and *ισοπολιτεία* to Tricca; F. Poulsen has given us³¹⁵ a revised text, a translation and a detailed discussion of the interesting Calydonian inscription (*ib.* 138) recording the verdict in a case of disputed succession, and W. Vollgraff has added a note³¹⁶ on the same text.

Of the inscriptions found on the island of ITHACA,³¹⁷ mainly votives to Odysseus and to the Nymphs, we still await a full publication. H. Frisk proposes³¹⁸ to read and restore *ῥό[θιον πόρε κύμα]* in the archaic epitaph of Menecrates at CORCYRA (*IG.* ix. I. 867).

THESSALY has proved less productive than usual. N. I. Giannopoulos, who for many years has worked indefatigably for the discovery and preservation of Thessalian inscriptions, has published in a noteworthy article³¹⁹ thirteen texts, including seven epitaphs, two manumissions and a Latin inscription on a milestone of Augustus, found at Larisa, Tricca, Pherae, Armeni, Eretria and Halmyros and now housed in the Museums of Larisa, Volo and Halmyros. One of these, an epigram of the Roman period from Larisa, has been corrected and explained by A. Wilhelm.³²⁰ In two other articles Giannopoulos has edited³²¹ an archaic stele from Karademirdji, two fragmentary manumission-lists from Iolcus, two epitaphs, a dedication to Ποσειδῶν Μυῖος and an emancipation-record of the Augustan age from Larisa, together with five dedications and eight epitaphs from Crannon, Euhydrium (Κτοῦρι, some seven miles from Pharsalus), Meliboea, Pherae, Demetrias and Gonni. Of other Thessalian documents³²² no formal publication has yet appeared. At Palaikastro of Karditza a votive stele,³²³ re-used in a grave of Roman times, has come to light bearing a dedication Ἀγυιῇ Παῖδι κατὰ χρησμόν, and a number of stamped tiles have been unearthed at Euhydrium.³²⁴ G. A. Soteriou's full account³²⁵ of 'Christian Thebes' in Thessaly deals with the results of his fruitful excavations at Nea Anchialos, near the ancient Pyrasus, and contains a chapter (pp. 139 ff.) in which N. I. Giannopoulos surveys the published inscriptions of the site and adds about forty new discoveries, seven of which date from the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods and seventeen from Roman times. An epitaph of a doctor, discovered at Volo, has been edited³²⁶ by the same scholar.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[*IG.* x.] In his work³²⁷ on EPIRUS G. N. Cross utilises 'the scattered references and the handful of inscriptions on which our knowledge of Epirus

³¹⁴ *BullAcSci. U.R.S.S.* 1930, 489 ff.: cf. *PhW.* li. 1575, *REG.* xlv. 218 f.

³¹⁵ *BCH.* liv. 42 ff.

³¹⁶ *Mnem.* lix. 426.

³¹⁷ *AJA.* xxxv. 92 f.: *AA.* xlv. 266; *BCH.* liv. 488 ff.

³¹⁸ *Eranos*, xxix. 31 f.

³¹⁹ *Δελτ.* xi. 55 ff.

³²⁰ *Ἑλληνικά*, iv. 22 ff.: cf. *Δελτ.* xi. 67.

³²¹ *Ἐφημ.* 1930, 96 ff., 176 ff.

³²² *BCH.* lv. 487, 493; *AA.* xlvii. 154 f.

³²³ *AA.* xlv. 123.

³²⁴ *AA.* xlvii. 151; *BCH.* lvi. 131.

³²⁵ *Ἐφημ.* 1929, 1 ff.: cf. *Πρακτ.* 1930, 35.

³²⁶ *Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν*, 1931, 130: cf. *REG.* xlv. 210.

³²⁷ *Epirus*, Cambridge, 1932: cf. *ClRev.* xlv. 261 f., *Gnomon*, ix. 328 f.

in antiquity depends,' and devotes an appendix (pp. 109 ff.) to some inscriptions of Dodona in which the decisions of Molossian or Epirot legislative bodies are recorded. The excavations carried on at Dodona by D. Euangelides in 1929 led to the discovery³²⁸ of an archaic silver ring engraved with the name Ἀντίοχος and of 23 leaden tablets, mostly fragmentary, ranging from the sixth to the third century B.C. and bearing inscriptions relative to questions asked of the oracle, as well as to the rediscovery of an important Epirot decree (*SGDI*. 1339). Three further questions came to light³²⁹ in 1931, including one of the late sixth or early fifth century inscribed *boustrophedon* in Corinthian characters, in which the enquirer asks τίνα κα θεὸν ποτθέμενος γενεά Φοι γένοιτο ἐκ Κρεταίας ὀνάσιμος πὸτ τᾷ ἐάσσαι, while in a second a father asks how his son may recover from his disease. At Paramythia the same excavator has found³³⁰ an inscription in honour of Diocletian and Maximian.

P. Collart has studied³³¹ the epigraphical evidence for the παρακαυσμός practised in MACEDONIA at the festival of the *rosalia*, shewing that the term ῥόδοις used in this connexion must be rendered 'at the *rosalia*' and not 'with roses.' An epitaph has been discovered³³² at Dium; a letter of 248-7 B.C. found at Beroea (*SIG*. 459) has been discussed³³³ by P. Roussel in his essay on the κυνηγοί; a stamped pithos-lip has come to light³³⁴ at Florina, and a text from Moranli in Eordaea has been corrected³³⁵ by A. D. Keramopoulos. N. Vulić has published³³⁶ a fuller copy of an interesting document of A.D. 192 (Demitsas, Μακεδονία, 262) from a village lying between Prilep and Vitolia, leaving a fund in trust for the celebration of an annual festival, and has found a second similar record. R. Egger has published³³⁷ an important, though mutilated, monument of the fourth century A.D., originally erected at Stobi but now at Drenovo, honouring as χάρμα μέγα Δαρδάνων καὶ Μαυριτανίης μέγα δῖμα, Σαξονείης λυτῆρα καὶ γένους Κελτῶν one in whom Egger recognises the *magister equitum*, Theodosius, father of the emperor Theodosius I: this identification is confirmed³³⁸ by G. De Sanctis, who offers an improved punctuation and interpretation of the text, and by A. Solari, who discusses³³⁹ the history and death of the elder Theodosius. A fragment of a Megarian skyphos from Florina has been added³⁴⁰ to the National Museum at Athens.

In or near Salonica minor discoveries have been made,—a late epitaph,³⁴¹ Christian mosaics in the Monastery τοῦ Λατόμου,³⁴² and three inscribed vases of the fifth century B.C. from Mikro Karaburnu.³⁴³ D. M. Robinson has published³⁴⁴ a number of new finds from Olynthus and its environs, including a well-preserved deed of sale of a house, dating from

³²⁸ Πρακτ. 1929, 122 ff.: cf. *A.A.* xlv. 122, *BCH.* liv. 493.

³²⁹ Πρακτ. 1931, 89 ff.: cf. *A.A.* xlvii. 148.

³³⁰ Πρακτ. 1930, 63.

³³¹ *BCH.* lv. 58 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvi. 531.

³³² Πρακτ. 1931, 44.

³³³ *REG.* xliii. 366 ff.

³³⁴ *A.A.* xlvii. 155: cf. *BCH.* lv. 453.

³³⁵ Ἐφημ. 1930, 181.

³³⁶ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 869 ff.

³³⁷ *Byz.* v. 9 ff.: cf. *R.A.* xxxiv. 347 f. (where 'VI^e' must be altered to 'IV^e').

³³⁸ *RivFil.* lviii. 487 ff.

³³⁹ *Byz.* vi. 469 ff.

³⁴⁰ Δελτ. xi. παρ. 4.

³⁴¹ *A.A.* xlv. 271, *BCH.* lv. 494.

³⁴² Δελτ. xii. 158 ff., Pl. v-viii.

³⁴³ *BCH.* liv. 497.

³⁴⁴ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxii. 40 ff.: cf. *ClPh.* xxvii. 284.

400–350 B.C., and fragments of two similar documents, several epitaphs, one of them in Corinthian script of the sixth or fifth century, and inscriptions on a bronze arrow-head and strigil, a silver ring and some leaden weights. In the course of a journey in the Strymon district P. Collart and P. Devambes collected ³⁴⁵ a number of epitaphs at or near Amphipolis and Philippi, and recopied other inscriptions from the same area, notably ³⁴⁶ a dedication ‘to the great gods in Samothrace’ at Yenikeui and a tantalising record (*SEG.* iii. 498) from the acropolis of Amphipolis. P. Collart has also published, ³⁴⁷ together with a number of Latin inscriptions, two Greek epitaphs from Philippi and a Latin tomb-inscription, ³⁴⁸ recording a bequest for the expenses of the *parentalia*, engraved in Greek letters at Selian-Mesorema on the hills which bound the Philippian plain on the East. W. Peek has proposed ³⁴⁹ new restorations of an epigram of Philippi (*BCH.* xlvii. 85).

In THRACE also the work of discovery and publication goes steadily forward. Pisani’s discussion of the Ezerovo ring (cf. *JHS.* li. 235) has been reviewed ³⁵⁰ by D. Detchev, who has also put forward ³⁵¹ a new interpretation of it in an article inaccessible to me, as is that ³⁵² of N. Iorga on two unpublished inscriptions from Silistria. In their full account of the excavation of the grave-tumuli at Duvanli in S. Bulgaria, B. Filov and I. Velkov have dealt ³⁵³ with the short inscriptions on various silver vessels and an Attic r.-f. hydria discovered at Bachova-Moghila, and Velkov has elsewhere ³⁵⁴ given an account, in Bulgarian, of the same finds. G. I. Kazarow introduces ³⁵⁵ us to five dedications (to κύριος Ἡρώς, Zeus and Hera, Ἡρώς προπύλαιος and Heracles) from various Bulgarian sites; T. Nikolov and D. Tchontchev ³⁵⁶ to two further reliefs of the horseman-god, and I. Velkov ³⁵⁷ to two recent discoveries made at or near Sofia, one of which is a milestone bearing the names of the Emperor Decius and Herennia Etruscilla. D. P. Dimitrov edits ³⁵⁸ four Greek inscriptions of the Imperial period from Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora), now preserved in the local museum. W. Peek restores ³⁵⁹ a votive couplet from the village of Konino in the Moesian province, and S. Brassloff corrects ³⁶⁰ a curious Greco-Latin dedication on an altar found at Carnuntum (*Röm. Limes in Österr.* xii. 340 ff.).

Wilhelm has explained ³⁶¹ a late epitaph (*BCH.* xxxvi. 635 f.) from Selymbria. A. Müfit, in his report on recent accessions of the Istanbul Museum, mentions ³⁶² several grave-inscriptions from Constantinople and a bilingual epitaph from Proconnesus. W. Peek has edited six epigrams now in the Constantinople Museum: five of them are from Asia Minor and will be referred to below, while the sixth, which he regarded ³⁶³ as an

³⁴⁵ *BCH.* lv. 171 ff.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 179 ff.

³⁴⁷ *BCH.* lvi. 226, 230 f.: cf. lv. 201 f.

³⁴⁸ *BCH.* liv. 376 ff.: cf. *CRAIInscr.* 1932, 432 f., *R.A.* xxxvi. 202, *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 345.

³⁴⁹ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 232 f.

³⁵⁰ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vi. 318 ff.

³⁵¹ *Ann. de l'Univ. de Sofia*, xxvii. 9.

³⁵² *Rev. Hist. du Sud-est Européen*, viii. 226 f.

³⁵³ *Jdl.* xlv. 287 ff., 302 f.

³⁵⁴ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vi. 12 ff., 43.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 117 ff., Nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 15: cf. *A.A.* xlv. 324, No. 7.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 247 f.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 302: cf. *R.A.* xxxvi. 205.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 135 ff.: cf. *R.A.* xxxvi. 203.

³⁵⁹ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 231 f., No. 7.

³⁶⁰ *Wien. Stud.* xlix. 162.

³⁶¹ *Byz.* vi. 466 f.

³⁶² *A.A.* xlvi. 174 ff., 194, 196.

³⁶³ *A.M.* lvi. 129, No. 13.

unpublished epitaph, has been shewn ³⁶⁴ by R. Herzog to be a previously known epigram, probably composed by Antiphilus of Byzantium, found at Balta Liman on the Bosphorus and commemorating not a drowned man but a dolphin. The eighth-century invocation built into a tower in the land-wall of Constantinople, of which R. M. Dawkins gives ³⁶⁵ a reading which corrects and supplements that of H. Lietzmann, ³⁶⁶ belongs rather to Byzantine than to Hellenic studies. A metrical epitaph, discovered in 1928 near Mesembria and now in the Burgas Museum, is of interest for its etymological derivation of Mesembria ἀπὸ [Μέ]λσα καὶ βρία and for its claim that the deceased has become a god, immortal and ageless. It has been published and discussed by G. I. Kazarow ³⁶⁷ and by A. Salač. ³⁶⁸ A decree from Odessus (Varna), dating from 48-42 B.C. and passed in honour of Menogenes of Heraeum, who was καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ βασιλέως Θρακῶν Σαδάλου στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς προσχώρου, is published ³⁶⁹ by Salač with valuable comments on Sadalas, on the history of Odessus and on the language of the decree. K. Škorpil has dealt ³⁷⁰ with an inscribed architrave from the same city and W. Peek has interpreted ³⁷¹ an epigram found there and has contributed ³⁷² to the understanding or restoration of three metrical epitaphs from Tomi (Constanza). In a numismatic article ³⁷³ on Histria S. Lambrino discusses and illustrates two fifth-century dedications—one to Apollo Ἰητρός, the other, hitherto unknown, to Leto—which are the oldest extant inscriptions of this Milesian colony, while E. Pezopoulos examines ³⁷⁴ a metrical epitaph of the same city (*SEG.* ii. 461).

M. I. Rostovtzeff has issued the first volume of a monumental work on SCYTHIA and Bosphorus, ³⁷⁵ containing a critical survey of the literary and archaeological sources. A valuable chapter (Part i, ch. 6, pp. 129 ff.) is devoted to the epigraphical texts and reviews in geographical order the discoveries of inscriptions, emphasising their incidental character and the need for thorough and systematic excavation. A. Wilhelm ³⁷⁶ and W. Peek ³⁷⁷ have dealt with an epigram (*IOSPE.* i². 175) from Olbia. E. Diehl has given a magical significance ³⁷⁸ to a vase and a leaden sphere and cube found at Panticapaeum and now preserved in the Hermitage at Leningrad, but Wilhelm has shown ³⁷⁹ that the vase-inscription at least has no such meaning, consisting of a personal name and five words in the genitive denoting foods or drinks. N. Novosadskij's article ³⁸⁰ in Russian on an unpublished inscription in the Temruk Museum is unknown to me. P. Roussel, ³⁸¹ A. Kocevalov ³⁸² and E. Kalinka ³⁸³ have shewn the error of Semenov's interpretation of the text on a bronze vessel from the Don area

³⁶⁴ *PhW.* lii. 1017 ff.

³⁶⁵ *Byz.* vii. 239 f.

³⁶⁶ *AbhBerl.* 1929 (2), 25, No. 32.

³⁶⁷ *ÖJh.* xxvi. 111 ff.

³⁶⁸ *Listy Filol.* lvii. 436 ff.: cf. *PhW.* li. 649, *REG.* xlv. 219.

³⁶⁹ *BCH.* lv. 43 ff.: cf. *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 538 f.

³⁷⁰ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vi. 80, 88.

³⁷¹ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 230, No. 4.

³⁷² *Ibid.* 231 f., No. 5, 6, 8.

³⁷³ *Arethuse*, 1930, 101 ff.

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

³⁷⁴ *BNGJ.* viii. 182 ff.

³⁷⁵ *Skythien u. der Bosphorus*, i. Berlin, 1931.

³⁷⁶ *Wien. Anz.* 1931, 94.

³⁷⁷ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 233, No. 10.

³⁷⁸ *Acta Univ. Latviensis*, i. 7.

³⁷⁹ *ÖJh.* xxvii. Beiblatt, 261 ff.

³⁸⁰ *CRAcSci.UR.S.S.* 1930, 224 ff.

³⁸¹ *REG.* xlv. 221.

³⁸² *PhW.* lii. 93 ff.

³⁸³ *Ibid.* 1463 f.

(*JHS.* li. 236), and Kalinka has added some valuable notes on ancient goldsmiths: Kocevalov has commented³⁸⁴ on the ω -termination of the genitive in Bosphorus.

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*IG.* xi.] The latest fascicule of the official account of the French excavation of DELOS is that³⁸⁵ in which F. Courby, by whose death epigraphical and more particularly architectural studies have sustained a serious loss, describes and discusses the temples of Apollo on the island. It contains no new texts, but makes full use, especially in Chapter IV (pp. 217 ff.), of the epigraphical evidence relating to the temples in question. Attention may also be called to C. Picard's valuable review³⁸⁶ of the volume in the same series dealing with the sanctuaries and cults of Mount Cynthus. J. Audiat has discussed³⁸⁷ in considerable detail the Delian gymnasium, with special reference to the extant remains and the inventory of its contents drawn up in the archonship of Callistratus (156–5 B.C.): a revised text and a translation of the relevant portion of this document are here given (pp. 97 ff.), together with two hitherto unedited fragments of inventories of a somewhat earlier date. P. Roussel has published³⁸⁸ an interesting list of the $\xi\phi\eta\beta\omicron\iota$ of 119–8 B.C., brought from the gymnasium to the Agora of the Italians, where it was found in 1925: it is the only complete list of this kind to survive and affords a valuable basis for estimating the size and the cosmopolitan character of the population of the island. M. Lacroix has made a further notable contribution to Delian epigraphy in two articles, one of which³⁸⁹ consists of comments, corrections and additions to some sixty inscriptions contained in the two published volumes of the *Inscriptions de Délos*, while in the second³⁹⁰ he discusses the foreign population of Delos during the period of the island's independence, and in particular the part which foreigners played in the industrial, commercial, financial and professional life of the community. An examination of the Delian $\nu\kappa\tau\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\alpha$, with a complete list of the pertinent texts, forms part³⁹¹ of R. Vallois' article, to which reference has already been made, on the Paean of Philodamus, and the same scholar also deals³⁹² at some length with the question of Delian chronology of the period of independence (314–166 B.C.). With the problems of the archons and calendar of Delos during this period W. B. Dinsmoor also deals in an appendix to his work on Athenian chronology,³⁹³ drawing up a table of archons and shewing that the epigraphical evidence for the calendar indicates the employment at Delos of a sixteen-year cycle. The Athenian administration of Delos is

³⁸⁴ *PhW.* li. 1038 f.

³⁸⁵ *Exploration archéol. de Délos*, xii. *Les temples d'Apollon*, Paris, 1931.

³⁸⁶ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* ci. 223 ff.

³⁸⁷ *BCH.* liv. 95 ff.; cf. *RevBelge*, x. 375 ff., 17.1.

xxxv. 461.

³⁸⁸ *BCH.* lv. 438 ff.; cf. 17.1. xxxvi. 540 f., *Syria*,

xiv. 86.

³⁸⁹ *REG.* xliii. 372 ff.

³⁹⁰ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 501 ff.

³⁹¹ *BCH.* lv. 274 ff.

³⁹² *Ibid.* 289 ff.

³⁹³ *Archons of Athens*, 495 ff.; cf. P. Roussel, *REA.* xxxiv. 201.

the subject of an article ³⁹⁴ by V. Groh, based mainly upon epigraphical data. J. Zingerle discusses ³⁹⁵ the form ὕδρω (for ὕδωρ) found in a Delian graffito, and adduces numerous examples of a similar metathesis.

Two perfectly preserved metrical epitaphs now in the Museum at MYCONOS have been published ³⁹⁶ by W. Peek.

[IG. xii.] The activities of the Italian archaeologists in RHODES and the neighbouring islands continue without intermission and some of the results are set forth in the admirably illustrated series of works which bear the title of *Clara Rhodos*. Volume II ³⁹⁷ falls into four sections (the first by A. Maiuri, the others by G. Jacopi) dealing respectively with (a) sculptured monuments in the Rhodes Museum, (b) the temple and theatre of Apollo Erethimius, on the west coast of the island, between Ialysus and Camirus, (c) the cemetery of Pontamo on the island of Chalce, and (d) new inscriptions from the southern Sporades. The first includes the grave-stele of Plutus (pp. 67 f.), with an epigram previously published by A. Maiuri (*Nuova Silloge*, 48); the second contains 21 inscriptions and 20 fragments (pp. 104 ff.), among which are an honorary inscription set up in 57-6 B.C. by τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἰαλυσίων τῶν Ἐρεθιμιαζόντων to record the distinctions granted to a priest,³⁹⁸ a number of honorary and votive texts and a revised reading of IG. xii. 1. 735; in the third is a graffito on a cinerary hydria (p. 160), and the fourth consists of a collection of 143 unpublished inscriptions (pp. 165 ff.), for the most part from Rhodes, but also from Cos, Nisyros, Leros and Castelrosso, comprising four decrees, four catalogues,³⁹⁹ 47 dedications and honorary inscriptions (many with sculptors' signatures), one choregic record (p. 215) and 88 epitaphs (pp. 216 ff.), followed by 74 inscriptions, most of them private dedications (including one of the seventh or sixth and one of the fifth or fourth century B.C.) from the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrius. From the wealth of valuable documents here collected I may call special attention to Nos. 1 (a decree honouring officers, soldiers and sailors who had taken part in an expedition to Aegila), 2 (regulations for sacrifice to Dionysus), 3 (a Termessian decree for Eumenes Soter on the occasion of his victories over Prusias, Ortiagon and the Galatae in 184 B.C.), 4 (honorary decree in recognition of financial services), 5 (commemoration of a Rhodian naval victory), 7 (list of priests of Athena Polias at Camirus), 8 (list of subscribers to the construction of a colonnade and cisterns at Camirus) and 45 (epigram hailing the Emperor Anastasius as a second Heracles). In Volume IV,⁴⁰⁰ devoted to the excavation of the cemeteries of Camirus, Jacopi gives a brief note ⁴⁰¹ on the vase inscriptions and a full account ⁴⁰² of the stele of Crito and Timarista, probably a fifth-century Attic work, which is now one of the chief glories of the Rhodes Museum. Volume V,⁴⁰³

³⁹⁴ *Athenaeum*, x. 148 ff.

³⁹⁵ *Glotta*, xxi. 15 ff.

³⁹⁶ *A.M.* lvi. 121 f.

³⁹⁷ *Clara Rhodos*, ii, Rhodes, 1932.

³⁹⁸ Cf. *A.I.* xlvi, 180.

³⁹⁹ For No. 8 cf. *A.I.* xlvi. 181.

⁴⁰⁰ *Clara Rhodos*, iv, Rhodes, 1931.

⁴⁰¹ *Op. cit.* 29; cf. *A.I.* xlvi. 304, *REG.* xlv. 209.

⁴⁰² *Op. cit.* 37 ff.; cf. *Die Antike*, vii. 331 ff., *A.I.* xlvi. 307.

⁴⁰³ *Clara Rhodos*, v, Rhodes, 1931-2. Vol. vi-vii reached me too late to be included in this survey.

also mainly from the pen of Jacopi, continuing and completing the publication of the sculptured monuments of that Museum, repeats this account (i. 31 ff.) and gives a first edition of a votive relief (i. 76) and six inscribed gravestones (i. 90 ff., ii. 9 ff., 28 f.). L. Laurenzi adds (ii. 59 ff.) a description of the Coan sculptures, among which are four statues or statuettes, found in the temple of Demeter, bearing dedications on their bases (ii. 162, 169 ff., 179 ff.). W. Peek has restored ⁴⁰⁴ a striking Rhodian epigram (*IG.* xii. 1. 75*a*) and A. Wilhelm has corrected ⁴⁰⁵ the text of an honorary inscription of Lindus (*ibid.* 832). Two epitaphs, now at Taormina, are assigned ⁴⁰⁶ by K. Scott to Rhodes, but L. Robert has shewn ⁴⁰⁷ that their original provenance is Celenderis in Cilicia. F. von Hiller's admirable article ⁴⁰⁸ on Rhodes utilises to the full the epigraphical evidence, notably in the appendixes on sources, artists, associations and the eponymous priests of Helios. An Athenian decree from Carpathus (*IG.* xii. 1. 977 = *SIG.* 129) plays, as we have seen,⁴⁰⁹ an important part in the discussion of the fire on the Athenian Acropolis.

A. Orlandos' excavations of three early Christian basilicas on the island of LESBOS have unearthed ⁴¹⁰ ten mosaic inscriptions in their floors, and D. Euangelides has discovered ⁴¹¹ a number of letters, similar to those of *IG.* xii. 2. 273, engraved on the seats of the theatre at Mytilene, and a cylindrical tomb-altar bearing a curse directed against violators. A. Wilhelm has restored ⁴¹² with characteristic felicity some passages in a seriously mutilated decree of Eresus (xii. 2. 527).

To Nisyrus and Lerus reference has already been made. F. von Hiller has summarised ⁴¹³ previous discussions of an archaic inscription of THERA (xii. 3. 762) and, following a suggestion of J. Stamatakis, has argued that the earliest text consisted of the words ἀρχηγέτας Προκλῆς, King Procles, and that the other names are later additions: he also sketches the development of the Theraean alphabet, of which this inscription illustrates the earliest stage. Of J. Braun's dissertation ⁴¹⁴ on the cults of Thera I have no direct knowledge.

For Cos we have only to notice, in addition to the works mentioned earlier in this section, R. Herzog's publication ⁴¹⁵ of a base of about 200 B.C. bearing a prose dedication and a poem in five couplets commemorating the courage and piety of Aeschron, probably a priestess, which had caused the cessation of a severe earthquake, W. Peek's revision ⁴¹⁶ of two previously known Coan epigrams with the aid of new readings due to Herzog, and L. Robert's comments and criticisms ⁴¹⁷ on Herzog's edition (*Hermes*, lxxv. 455 ff.: cf. *JHS.* li. 240) of Coan documents relative to the Pergamene Nicephoria and the Coan Asclepieia.

⁴⁰⁴ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 233 f., No. 11.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ἑλληνικά*, iv. 26.

⁴⁰⁶ *IA.* xxxvi. 25 f.

⁴⁰⁷ *REG.* xlv. 199 ff.

⁴⁰⁸ *RE.* Suppl. v. 731 ff.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. footnotes 138-40.

⁴¹⁰ *Δελτ.* xii. 2, 26 ff., 38 ff., 69 ff., Pl. i-iii.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* xi. παρ 16 ff.

⁴¹² *SBWien*, ccxiv. 4. 10 ff.

⁴¹³ *JdI.* xlvii. 127 ff.

⁴¹⁴ *De Theraeorum rebus sacris*, Halle, 1932: cf. *PhW.* lvi. 684 ff.

⁴¹⁵ *PhW.* lvi. 1011 ff.

⁴¹⁶ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 235 ff.

⁴¹⁷ *BCH.* liv. 341 ff.

F. von Hiller has discussed ⁴¹⁸ the inscriptions of SICINUS, giving a fresh interpretation of the archaic fragment *IG.* xii. 5. 25 and calling attention to the new epigraphical materials contained in Z. D. Gabalas' account of the island, ⁴¹⁹ among which the most important is a very early metrical epitaph, which has also been examined ⁴²⁰ by A. D. Keramopoulos: on this evidence von Hiller bases the conjecture that Sicinus was Dorian down to the sixth century and remained such in part until the Hellenistic period. On Naxos a rock-cut inscription has been found ⁴²¹ marking the boundary of a temple of Apollo. The 'Marmor Parium' is the subject of an interesting discussion ⁴²² by R. Laqueur. A. Hadji's article ⁴²³ on the prehistoric capital of Andros contains, I believe, some epigraphical matter, but is not accessible to me.

D. Euangelides has published ⁴²⁴ 21 inscriptions now preserved in the CHIOS Museum, including an interesting public document of the late fourth century, a group of honorary texts, a dedication to Sarapis and a list of contributions to some public work. Other votive inscriptions, ⁴²⁵ which have come to light at the village of Κοινή, still await satisfactory publication. A. Wilhelm restores ⁴²⁶ a fragment of a fourth-century decree, published by Euangelides, and points out that it must have been brought from Erythrae and that the decree was passed by the Erythraean state, while M. Segre restores ⁴²⁷ a list of victories in which Mithridates the Great figures prominently. To Euangelides we also owe our knowledge of thirteen inscriptions recently found in SAMOS, ⁴²⁸ of which one honours an *ex-δημιουργός*, three are dedications and the remainder epitaphs, and B. D. Theophaneides has added ⁴²⁹ an inscribed sun-dial from the same island. A. Wilhelm has thrown new light ⁴³⁰ on the famous Samian corn-law (*SIG.* 976) and made fresh proposals ⁴³¹ with regard to a Samian decree honouring a doctor (*AM.* li. 28 ff.), and E. Buschor has examined ⁴³² in detail the epigram in honour of Maeandrius, commander of the Samian squadron at the battle of the Eurymedon (*ibid.* 26 ff.).

W. Peek has attempted ⁴³³ to interpret a puzzling phrase in an epigram from Arcesine in AMORGOS (*IG.* xii. 7. 117), and A. Wilhelm has corrected and explained ⁴³⁴ two Amorgine inscriptions (*ibid.* 109, 499).

Of the non-Hellenic script of Lemnos I speak in the opening section of this survey. H. Thiersch devotes a long and careful examination ⁴³⁵ to the Nike of SAMOTHRACE, maintaining that *IG.* xii. 8. 239 is part of the artist's signature and arguing in favour of Pythocritus as its sculptor and of the Rhodian naval victories off Side and Myonnesus in 191-0 B.C. as

⁴¹⁸ *PhW.* lii. 1021 ff.

⁴¹⁹ 'Η νήσος Σίκινος, Athens, 1931.

⁴²⁰ Πρακτ. 'Ακαδ. 'Αθην. vi. 457 ff., vii. 84 f.

⁴²¹ *A.A.* xlvii. 267.

⁴²² *RE.* xiv. 1885 ff.

⁴²³ 'Ανδρ. 'Ημερολόγ. 1930, 171 ff.

⁴²⁴ Δελτ. xi. παρ. 23 ff.: cf. *R.I.* xxxvi. 199, *REG.* xlv. 223 f.

⁴²⁵ *A.A.* xlv. 147, xlvii. 173.

⁴²⁶ 'Ελληνικά, iv. 15 ff.

⁴²⁷ *Mondo Classico*, II. 129 ff.

⁴²⁸ Δελτ. xi. παρ. 29 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 224.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.* xii. 236 f.

⁴³⁰ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 907 f.

⁴³¹ *SBWien*, cxciv. 4. 48 ff.

⁴³² *Philol.* lxxxvi. 424 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 220.

⁴³³ *Hermes*, lxxvi. 125.

⁴³⁴ *SBBerl.* 1932, 842; *Byz.* vi. 465 f.

⁴³⁵ *Gott. Nachr.* 1931, 337 ff.: cf. E. Pfuhl, *Jdl.* xlvii. 69 ff.

the occasion of its dedication. A. Bon's account⁴³⁶ of the ancient ruins on the island of THASOS contains a discussion of its Hellenic towers (pp. 177 ff.), which he regards as anti-piratical refuges and signal-stations, a general sketch of Thasos in antiquity (pp. 191 ff.) and brief references (pp. 170 ff.) to some recently discovered or rediscovered inscriptions, while the report on the latest excavations by Y. Béquignon and P. Devambez includes⁴³⁷ three exedra-inscriptions (two honorary and an artist's signature), some graffiti from the Odeum and a base in honour of Hadrian and Sabina. W. Peek has restored and corrected⁴³⁸ a Thasian epigram ('Εφημ. 1909, 23).

P. Roussel has provisionally published⁴³⁹ an honorary decree of late date from Carystus in EUBOEA, now in a dealer's hands in Athens, and Peek has suggested⁴⁴⁰ revised readings of epigrams from Carystus and Eretria (*IG.* xii. 9. 12, 285).

[*IG.* xiii.] A valuable contribution to the study of Hellenistic CRETE has been made by M. Van der Mijnsbrugge,⁴⁴¹ who examines in detail the history and constitution of the Κοινὸν τῶν Κρηταίων, known to us mainly from epigraphical evidence, in a series of chapters devoted respectively to (i) its organisation, (ii) its membership, (iii) its foreign relations, (iv) the κοινοδίκιον and διάγραμμα which are characteristic of it, (v) the application of the διάγραμμα, prescribing arbitral settlement of all present or future disputes, in accordance with the σύμβολα, or arbitration-treaties, of the states concerned, and (vi) an historical sketch of the κοινόν both before and after the Roman conquest. Two appendices contain texts of two documents of crucial importance for this study (*SGDI.* 5024, 5040).

W. Peek gives an improved reading⁴⁴² of an epigram from Polyrrenia, and M. Guarducci a fresh study⁴⁴³ of the text and meaning of a puzzling epitaph from Aptera. The Apteraean inscription relating to the Scipios, to which I referred in my last bibliography (*JHS.* li. 242 f.), has been further discussed by M. N. Tod⁴⁴⁴ and by E. Cavaignac,⁴⁴⁵ who argues that the fourth person there honoured is the Cn. Cornelius Merenda of Livy, xxxiv. 42 f. M. Guarducci has published⁴⁴⁶ two interesting accessions of the Retimo Museum, a Hellenistic decree of Lappa granting προξενία to Andromachus, probably a brother of that Cassander whose numerous honours are attested by well-known records of Delphi and the Troad (*SIG.* 653), and a fragment of a *boustrophedon* document from Eleutherna relating to debts and payments, both in kind and in money. She has further re-edited⁴⁴⁷ with full textual and exegetical notes the sixth- or fifth-century law of Eltynia (*SEG.* ii. 509) prescribing penalties for assaults committed by boys.

⁴³⁶ *BCH.* liv. 147 ff.: cf. *RevBelge*, x. 374 f.

⁴³⁷ *BCH.* lvi. 242, 263 f., 285: cf. lv. 413 ff.

⁴³⁸ *Hermes*, lxxvii. 132, note 1.

⁴³⁹ *REG.* xlv. 217.

⁴⁴⁰ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 229. For Carystus see also *BCH.* liv. 453.

⁴⁴¹ *The Cretan Koinon*, New York, 1931: cf. *Acropole*, vi. 304 f., *Athenaeum*, x. 420 ff., *ClRev.* xlv. 86 f.,

Mondo Classico, iii. 37 ff., *RevPhil.* vii. 117 f.

⁴⁴² *Philol.* lxxxvii. 237 f.

⁴⁴³ *RivFil.* lix. 511 ff.: cf. lvii. 378 ff., lviii. 352 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ *Greece and Rome*, i. 163 ff.

⁴⁴⁵ *Rev. Qu. Hist.* cxiv. 93 f.

⁴⁴⁶ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* iii. 27 ff.

⁴⁴⁷ *Historia*, v. 218 ff.

GORTYN has, once again, been the scene of the most numerous and interesting discoveries, ably edited by M. Guarducci. Of three previously unpublished inscriptions ⁴⁴⁸ from its territory containing the names of Roman proconsuls of the province of Crete and Cyrene, two are Latin and one is a short bilingual text. Excavations in the Odeum have brought to light ⁴⁴⁹ five archaic *inedita*, of which one is a fragment of, or at least closely associated with, the 'great inscription,' dealing with the distribution of water and with measures of hygiene, another relates to the purification of a house after a death, a third apparently regulates legal procedure in case of debt, a fourth (which seems to be a second edition of a text from the Pythium (*SGDI.* 4984) here republished) refers to public service, perhaps agricultural, rendered by freedmen (and slaves?), for which remuneration is given in kind, and the last, of which the meaning is uncertain, mentions vegetables, wine, oil, honey, etc. Of especial interest is an elegantly written and well-preserved document ⁴⁵⁰ of the early third century B.C., found in the Praetorium though perhaps originally set up in the Pythium: by this the Gortynians concede to the inhabitants of the island of Caudus freedom and independence in questions of internal law and jurisdiction, but impose Gortynian control in foreign relations and demand the payment to Pythian Apollo of a tithe of the produce of the soil with certain exceptions and to Gortyn of a stated annual quantity of salt. Of this document *SGDI.* 5022 is almost certainly the conclusion. G. De Sanctis emphasises ⁴⁵¹ its importance in the history of ancient finance, as affording the first record of a free Greek city whose inhabitants normally pay an impost of a tithe, and draws a striking comparison with the 'satrapic economy' of Aristotle (*Econ.* ii. 1). The same scholar suggests ⁴⁵² a modified interpretation of the clause relating to the distribution of water in the text above mentioned and adds a commentary on another inscription of the same series. A. Olivieri calls in question ⁴⁵³ Comparetti's restoration and interpretation of two early Gortynian inscriptions (cf. *JHS.* xlix. 201), and P. Maas deals ⁴⁵⁴ with the form of the third person of the pronoun and the ellipse of the apodosis after αἱ μὲν in the code of Gortyn.

G. De Sanctis has put forward ⁴⁵⁵ a new interpretation of a Phaestian epigram (*SGDI.* 5112), based on a revised reading due to M. Guarducci, who has also discussed ⁴⁵⁶ afresh the fourteen surviving fragments of two or three stelae of the second century B.C. containing regulations for the ἄγνῃαι and καθαρμοί incumbent on worshippers in a temple at Latos and throwing an interesting, if fitful, light upon Cretan religious thought and practice in the Hellenistic period. On one clause G. De Sanctis adds ⁴⁵⁷ some comments and suggests an alternative restoration. Researches conducted by D. Levi near the village of Vakiotes have resulted ⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁴⁸ *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* i. (Appendix to *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lviii.), 87 ff.

⁴⁴⁹ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* iii. 7 ff.

⁴⁵⁰ *RivFil.* lviii. 471 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 222 f.

⁴⁵¹ *RivFil.* lviii. 483 ff.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.* lx. 80 f.

⁴⁵³ *Atti Napoli*, n.s. xi. 27 ff., 39 ff.

⁴⁵⁴ *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lviii. 266 ff.

⁴⁵⁵ *RivFil.* lx. 222 ff.

⁴⁵⁶ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* iii. 31 ff.: cf. *BCH.* xxvii. 219 ff., *OJh.* xiv. 201 ff., *SGDI.* iv. pp. 1032 ff.

⁴⁵⁷ *RivFil.* lx. 82 f.

⁴⁵⁸ *Annuario*, x-xii. 18 ff., 28.

in the discovery of a gem with a magical inscription and a stele of the third or second century B.C. bearing on the obverse an honorary decree mentioning the πόλις τῶν Ἀρκάδων and on the reverse what is apparently part of a frontier-delimitation. M. Guarducci has published ⁴⁵⁹ a fragment of a beautifully engraved honorary decree of 300–250 B.C., found at Setia and now preserved in the Candia Museum, which enables us to correct a decree of Praesus (*SIG.* 524), and has read and restored ⁴⁶⁰ more correctly a dedication (*OGI.* 119) from Itanus, also now at Candia, which she assigns to the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–181 B.C.) rather than to that of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–146 B.C.).

VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[*IG.* xiv.] From SICILY there is little of importance to record. P. Orsi's account of the plateau of Acrae in antiquity includes ⁴⁶¹ a Christian epitaph and two fragments; J. B. Frey publishes ⁴⁶² a Jewish inscription brought to Palermo, probably from Acragas; P. Marconi edits, ⁴⁶³ with the aid of M. Guarducci, an interesting text of Segesta, very similar to *IG.* xiv. 291, relating to works carried out in a public building; P. Orsi discusses ⁴⁶⁴ a puzzling religious text of the fourth or third century B.C. and a late epitaph from Enna, and G. Libertini ⁴⁶⁵ four epitaphs of Catana, one of which bears the date A.D. 402.

I have no direct knowledge of A. Olivieri's work ⁴⁶⁶ on Greek civilisation in southern Italy. G. Coppola has examined ⁴⁶⁷ in detail the architecture of the heroön of Atilia Pomptilla at Carales (Cagliari) in SARDINIA, together with its Greek and Latin inscriptions (*IG.* xiv. 607, Geffcken, *Gr. Epigr.* 359): his conclusion is that all twelve are the work of the same poet, probably L. Cassius Philippus, exiled by Imperial decree to Sardinia, whither Atilia voluntarily followed him, and that among the sources of their inspiration are Martial, Propertius, Ovid and Euripides. A. Taramelli has republished ⁴⁶⁸ an epitaph (*IG.* xiv. 611) of Turris Libyssonis (Porto Torres).

G. Robinson's article ⁴⁶⁹ on 'Some cave-chapels of Southern ITALY' adduces epigraphical evidence for the persistence of the Greek language in Magna Graecia during Imperial times and publishes a fresco-inscription from Carpignano. P. Orsi points out ⁴⁷⁰ that an archaic stele in the Museum at Reggio, originally published ⁴⁷¹ as coming from Locri Epizephyrii, belongs in reality to Leucopetra, and J. B. Frey discusses ⁴⁷² a bilingual epitaph in Greek and Hebrew from Hydruntum (Otranto). E. Magaldi's article ⁴⁷³ on the wall-inscriptions of Pompeii quotes some

⁴⁵⁹ *Historia*, v. 226 ff.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 229 ff.

⁴⁶¹ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* viii. 292, 296.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.* 122.

⁴⁶³ *NSc.* 1931, 397 ff.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 388 ff.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 369 ff.

⁴⁶⁶ *Civiltà greca nell'Italia meridionale*, cf. *Athenaeum*, x 322 f, *RevPhil.* vii. 109.

⁴⁶⁷ *RendLinc.* vii. 388 ff.

⁴⁶⁸ *NSc.* 1931, 116 f.; cf. *RivFil.* lx. 130 f., *REG.* xlv. 232.

⁴⁶⁹ *JHS.* l. 187 f., 205.

⁴⁷⁰ *NSc.* 1931, 662.

⁴⁷¹ *NSc.* 1909, 324 f.

⁴⁷² *Riv. Arch. Crist.* viii. 119 ff., *RevBibl.* xli. 96 ff.

⁴⁷³ *Atti Napoli*, n.s. xi. 140 ff.: cf. *RendLinc.* vii. 49 ff.

Greek graffiti from that city, while to A. W. Van Buren we owe a new reading and interpretation ⁴⁷⁴ of a graffito from Ostia and to G. Calza the inscription ⁴⁷⁵ on a portrait-bust found in a tomb on the Isola Sacra.

Of the inscriptions, numbering over two hundred, preserved at the American Academy in ROME, of which R. T. Ohl has drawn up a fully annotated catalogue,⁴⁷⁶ nine (Nos. 66, 99-101, 106-7, 166-8) are Greek: they come from Rome, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Cyrenaica, and were all previously known with the exception of one fragment (No. 106). Two epitaphs from Rome have been edited by H. A. Sanders ⁴⁷⁷ and J. P. Kirsch ⁴⁷⁸ respectively.⁴⁷⁹ Special attention has been directed to the epigraphical evidence bearing upon the Jewish community at Rome. H. W. Beyer and H. Lietzmann have devoted a monograph ⁴⁸⁰ to the Jewish catacomb on the Via Nomentana, discovered in 1919 beneath the Villa Torlonia at Rome, and to the 68 incised or painted texts found there, of which 63 are Greek, four Latin and one bilingual. This catacomb has also been studied ⁴⁸¹ by J. B. Frey, who gives one inscription hitherto unpublished and improved readings of two others, together with five Jewish texts in various Roman Museums. Elsewhere ⁴⁸² the same scholar publishes eighteen Jewish epitaphs and a building-inscription, emanating from the Jewish colonies at Porto and Rome: among these the most interesting are Nos. 45 and 47, to the former of which Frey returns in a separate discussion,⁴⁸³ pointing out that it introduces us to a previously unknown Jewish synagogue at Rome and throws new light on the history of Alexander Severus. Much valuable information relative to the Jews settled at Rome is contained in an article ⁴⁸⁴ by J. B. Frey, and also in an essay ⁴⁸⁵ by H. J. Leon, who surveys the recent additions made to our epigraphical sources, which he numbers at 494, and summarises the knowledge they afford of the language, names, organisation and economic condition of the Jewish community. E. Josi has published,⁴⁸⁶ with a general discussion of their nature and content, 120 inscriptions found in the Cimitero dei Giordani on the Via Salaria, of which sixteen are Greek: one of these (No. 9, pp. 188 ff.), now in the Lateran Museum, has been studied ⁴⁸⁷ by O. Marucchi, to whom we owe also the first publication ⁴⁸⁸ of an interesting metrical epitaph, now in the Magazzino Vaticano delle Corazze, commemorating a *beneficiarius* of the prefect of Egypt. P. Styger's essay ⁴⁸⁹ on the origin of the cemetery of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina also refers to some Greek inscriptions. C. Alexander's brief account ⁴⁹⁰ of a Bacchic inscription of the second century A.D., recently discovered in the Roman Campagna and acquired by the

⁴⁷⁴ *Classical Studies in Honor of J. C. Rolfe*, 317 ff.

⁴⁷⁵ *NSc.* 1931, 540.

⁴⁷⁶ *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome*, ix. 89 ff.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.* x. 77.

⁴⁷⁸ *Rom. Quart.* xxxviii. 321.

⁴⁷⁹ On *IG.* xiv. 1853 see *Rh.Mus.* lxxx. 205, note 2.

⁴⁸⁰ *Judische Denkmäler*, I. *Die jüdische Katakomben der Villa Torlonia in Rom*, Berlin, 1930.

⁴⁸¹ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* vii. 235 ff.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.* viii. 83 ff.

⁴⁸³ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lviii. App. 97 ff.

⁴⁸⁴ *Biblica*, xii. 129 ff.

⁴⁸⁵ *Jewish Quart. Rev.* xx. 301 ff.

⁴⁸⁶ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* viii. 181 ff.

⁴⁸⁷ *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* ser. III. vi. 136 f. See also v. 234.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.* vi. 43 ff.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.* v. 108, 121 ff.

⁴⁹⁰ *Bull. Metr. Mus.* xxvii. 240 ff.

Metropolitan Museum in New York (cf. *JHS.* xlix. 202), whets our appetite for the promised publication of the text by A. Vogliano and F. Cumont. At Saint Rémy in Provence Greek masons' marks have been found.⁴⁹¹

A unique Mithraic *tessera* of about A.D. 200, consisting of a silver denarius of Augustus with the Latin inscription erased and the names ΜΙΘΡΑΚ ΩΡΟΜΑCΔΗC ΦΡΗΝ substituted on one side, has been unearthed at Verulamium (St. Albans) and published⁴⁹² by H. Mattingly, and W. H. Buckler has edited⁴⁹³ a fragment of an inscribed sarcophagus of unknown provenance recently found in the grounds of Petworth House.

VIII. ASIA MINOR

A. Cameron has compiled⁴⁹⁴ a useful alphabetical list, with references, of 283 Latin words found in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor, prefaced by a brief discussion of linguistic borrowing and naturalisation.

We turn first to the Greek cities of CARIA. W. Peek has restored⁴⁹⁴ an epigram (Έφημ. 1907, 215) from the Rhodian Peraea. M. Rostovtzeff has edited,⁴⁹⁵ with a full textual and historical commentary, three inscriptions of Theangela, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris: portions of the first and second were known from poor copies made by a Greek agent of T. Bent and published by E. L. Hicks (*CIRev.* iii. 234 ff.). The first contains the latter part of a treaty concluded by a certain Eupolemus with the city of Theangela and the soldiers therein, including the formula of the oath sworn by Eupolemus, perhaps a citizen of Theangela and probably a Macedonian officer, who had established himself as dynast or tyrant of Mylasa shortly after the death of Alexander the Great: by this pact the city and citadels of Theangela are surrendered to him, probably at the close of a siege. The second⁴⁹⁶ is a perfectly preserved decree, dating from the second half of the third century B.C., whereby Troezen honoured a citizen of its colony Theangela, and the third consists of two unpublished fragments of a third-century decree honouring a foreigner, whose name has not been preserved. On the Peucestas named in the first of these documents A. Momigliano has added a historical note.⁴⁹⁷ A. Wilhelm has attempted⁴⁹⁸ to restore a valuable record of Iasus (*BCH.* viii. 455 = *JHS.* viii. 100) commemorating gifts made for the public purchase and distribution of grain; L. Robert tentatively suggests⁴⁹⁹ a restoration of a passage in a decree, probably of Iasus, relating to the Pergamene festival of the Nicephoria and comments on Herzog's recent edition of it (*Hermes*, lxxv. 459 ff.), and E. Derenne claims⁵⁰⁰ for Iasus three ephebic lists in the British Museum (*IBM.* 924-6) hitherto assigned to Didyma. To R. Meister we are indebted for a careful revision⁵⁰¹ of the ten inscriptions engraved on a column of the temple of Zeus Osogos

⁴⁹¹ *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1930, 92, 1931, 192.

⁴⁹² *NumChron.* 1932, 54 ff.

⁴⁹³ *JHS.* li. 106 ff.: cf. *R.A.* xxxiv. 355.

⁴⁹⁴ *AJPh.* lii. 232 ff.

⁴⁹⁵ *Philol.* lxxvii. 234 f., 240 f.

⁴⁹⁶ *REA.* xxxiii. 5 ff., 209 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 222 f., *Historia*, vi. 704 f.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. A. Wilhelm, *ÖJh.* xi. 72 ff.

⁴⁹⁸ *RivFil.* lix. 245 f.

⁴⁹⁹ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 899 ff.

⁵⁰⁰ *BCH.* liv. 338 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vi. 705.

⁵⁰¹ *Serta Leodiensia* (Liège, 1930), 129 ff.

⁵⁰² *ÖJh.* xxvii. Beiblatt, 233 ff.: I do not know E. Gaar, *Oesterr. hoh. Schule*, ii. 11.

at Mylasa, including one (*OGI.* 487) dated by the proconsulship of the historian Tacitus: Meister agrees with Hula-Szanto that Tacitus' *praenomen* is not, as Doublet-Deschamps thought (*BCH.* xiv. 621 ff.), recorded on the stone. Of outstanding interest is a decree, probably of Stratonicea, inscribed on the temple-wall at Panamara, the extant portions of which, ably edited ⁵⁰² by P. Roussel with the assistance of Holleaux, Herzog and other scholars, describe in detail the miraculous interventions, by fire, mist and storm, whereby Zeus Panamaros rescued his temple when attacked by Q. Labienus in 40 or 39 B.C., and possess the twofold value of illustrating the protective power credited to the Carian god and of preserving for us a specimen of the legendary literature which gathered round the Greek sanctuaries. A. Wilhelm has added a supplementary note ⁵⁰³ to his previous discussion ⁵⁰⁴ of a decree of Nysa.

Of the cities of IONIA Miletus and Ephesus are epigraphically the most productive. W. Peek publishes ⁵⁰⁵ a Hellenistic epigram commemorating a priestess, found at MILETUS and now preserved in Constantinople. E. Derenne assigns to Iasus, as we have seen, three lists previously held to belong to Didyma, and attacks ⁵⁰⁶ a problem presented by the decree (*AbhBerl.* 1911, i. 27 ff.) relating to a festival in honour of Eumenes II. A. Oguse criticises ⁵⁰⁷ the restorations offered by Rehm and Wilamowitz of a passage in a decree (*Milet.* i. 3. 33c) dealing with the Cretans, and himself makes a new proposal: he further examines the phrase ἐαυτῶν προτάσει in a dedication (*AbhBerl.* 1911, i. 67) at Didyma and interprets it as 'on their own proposal.' A. Wilhelm comments ⁵⁰⁸ on another Milesian text (*Milet.* i. 7. 249) and restores ⁵⁰⁹ the opening phrase of a metrical epitaph from the same site. In an article ⁵¹⁰ on the Syrian wars of the Ptolemies W. Otto supports Rehm's dating (262-0 B.C.) of the letter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus to the Milesians and their decrees in response to it (*Milet.* i. 3. 139) against Tarn's assignment of them (*Hermes*, lxxv. 446 ff.) to 277-6. J. Keil's unremitting labours at EPHESUS have borne valuable epigraphical fruits, in especial a further instalment of the definitive account of the Austrian excavations. In this fifty inscriptions (seven of which are Latin and two bilingual) are published, ⁵¹¹ all except two for the first time: among the most interesting are Nos. 1 (part of a decree relative to the doctors or the whole personnel of the Ephesian Μουσείον, including an Imperial διάταγμα with a valuable list of Greek equivalents for Roman terms denoting settlements), 6 (a puzzling document of the fourth century A.D.), 23 (an epitaph recording services rendered to the state), 33 (a letter from Justinian to Hypatius, Archbishop of Ephesus) and 34 (a letter, perhaps from Hypatius, relating to a strife between the churches of S. Mary and S. John). Keil's provisional report on the excavations of 1930 contains ⁵¹² a new and better copy of *Ephesos*, ii. 24,

⁵⁰² *BCH.* lv. 70 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 223, *AJ.A.* xxxvi.

539.

⁵⁰³ *ÖJh.* xxvi. 144.

⁵⁰⁴ *ÖJh.* xxiv. 193 f.

⁵⁰⁵ *A.M.* lvi. 131.

⁵⁰⁶ *BCH.* liv. 241 ff., 529: cf. *RevBelge*, x. 379.

⁵⁰⁷ *BCH.* lv. 164 ff.

⁵⁰⁸ Πρακτ. 'Ακαδ. 'Αθην. vi. 333 f.

⁵⁰⁹ *ÖJh.* xxvii. Beiblatt, 80 ff.

⁵¹⁰ *Philol.* lxxxvi. 400 ff.

⁵¹¹ *Ephesos*, iv. 1: *Die Marienkirche in Ephesos* (Vienna, 1932), 79 ff.

⁵¹² *ÖJh.* xxvii. Beiblatt, 18 ff., 31: cf. *R.A.* xxxvi. 210, *REG.* xlv. 221 f.

an Imperial edict, probably of Antoninus Pius, dealing with the account to be rendered by city magistrates to the imperially appointed *curator* (λογιστής), as well as a fragment from the E. Gymnasium. In an essay⁵¹³ on the transition from paganism to Christianity at Ephesus, which he places in the sixth century, Keil makes effective use of an epigram already known (Grégoire, *Recueil*, 104) and of a hitherto unpublished epigram commemorating the services rendered to Asia Minor about A.D. 375 by ὁ περίσεμνος Ἀνδρέας. A gnostic inscription of the fourth or fifth century, engraved on a prehistoric celt obtained for the Toronto Museum in Smyrna and said to come from Ephesus, is discussed⁵¹⁴ by J. H. Iliffe.

W. Peek deals⁵¹⁵ with an epigram from Notium (*SEG.* iv. 573) on a boy who met his death by drowning in a well; A. Olivieri challenges⁵¹⁶ Comparetti's interpretation (cf. *JHS.* xlix. 206) of the famous imprecations of Teos (*SIG.* 37, 38); A. Wilhelm restores⁵¹⁷ a decree of the fourth century in the Chios Museum (Δελτ. xi. παρ. 23 ff.) and shows its Erythraean origin; W. Peek gives⁵¹⁸ us four new epigrams from Smyrna and corrects or restores five already known, and L. Robert proves⁵¹⁹ the Egyptian provenance of an inscription (*IGRom.* iv. 1190) copied at Smyrna by T. Wiegand and by him attributed to Thyatira.

A passage in a decree of Magnesia sub Siplylo in LYDIA is discussed and restored⁵²⁰ by A. Wilhelm. The admirable edition⁵²¹ of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Sardis by W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson contains 220 Greek and eight Latin texts together with four bilinguals (three Latin-Greek and one Lydian-Greek): of these, 126 are here published for the first time and 31 others in completer form or on the basis of fresh copies. The care shewn in the establishment of the texts and in the brief commentaries appended to them, the excellence of the illustrations and the fullness of the indexes render this *corpus* a model of its kind. Elsewhere Buckler gives⁵²² an improved version of an inscription in which the governor of the Lydian eparchy speaks of *Novellae* viii and xvii on the occasion of their first public exhibition at Sardis in A.D. 535.

We pass next to MYSIA. Wilhelm restores and explains⁵²³ a metrical epitaph (*IGRom.* iv. 272) of Elaea, the port of PERGAMUM. S. Reinach summarises⁵²⁴ L. Robert's study of a ritual regulation concerning the cult of Asclepius, which led to the identification of the Pergamene Asclepieum, and his restoration of a votive to Asclepius and the association of the φιλοσέβαστοι from the same neighbourhood. In an important article⁵²⁵ Robert deals with the text and the date of two inscriptions of Pergamum (*SIG.* 629-30), assigning them to 182 B.C. and concluding that the festival of the Nicephoria was instituted in 181: on this basis he dates several documents of that city (*OGI.* 299, 322, 324, 764). He

⁵¹³ *Von der Antike zum Christentum: Festgabe für V. Schultz* (Stettin, 1931), 95 ff.

⁵¹⁴ *AJA.* xxxv. 304 ff.

⁵¹⁵ *Philol.* lxxxvii. 238 ff.

⁵¹⁶ *Atti Napoli*, n.s. xi. 35 ff.

⁵¹⁷ *Ελληνικά*, iv. 15 ff. (cf. *REG.* xlv. 221, *Historia*, vi. 705).

⁵¹⁸ *AM.* li. 122 ff.

⁵¹⁹ *REG.* xlv. 201 ff.

⁵²⁰ *SBWien*, ccxiv. 4. 39 f.

⁵²¹ *Sardis*, vii. 1: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Leyden, 1932: cf. *JHS.* liii. 137 f.

⁵²² *Byz.* vi. 365 ff.

⁵²³ *SBWien*, ccxiv. 4. 26 ff.

⁵²⁴ *CRInscr.* 1931, 60 f.

⁵²⁵ *BCH.* liv. 332 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vi. 705.

also ⁵²⁶ examines a dedication in honour of a priestess of Athena there (*SEG.* iv. 687), which he dates immediately after the war with Aristonicus. B. A. van Groningen explains ⁵²⁷ a disputed passage in an important record of Eumenes I (*OGI.* 266). A. Wilhelm's noteworthy *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, V, ⁵²⁸ is largely occupied with the correction, restoration and interpretation of a series of important Pergamene documents, namely the letter of Eumenes I to the δῆμος of Pergamum and its response (*OGI.* 267) and the decrees passed in honour of Diodorus Pasparus (*OGI.* 764, etc.), Metrodorus (*AM.* xxxii. 274 ff.) and Athenaeus (*AM.* xxxv. 401 ff.): incidentally he examines—and in a number of points rejects—R. Laqueur's treatment of the first of these documents (*Epigr. Untersuchungen*, i ff., 16 ff.). Of even greater interest is T. Wiegand's report ⁵²⁹ on his excavations carried on in the Asclepieum at Pergamum from 1928 to 1932. The epigraphical section (pp. 31 ff.) contains a first publication of 41 Greek and 5 Latin texts, belonging for the most part to the second century A.D. Those in Greek include a letter from P. Servilius Isauricus, proconsul of Asia in 44 B.C., relative to the renewal of the temple's ἀσυλία, twenty-one dedications to Asclepius (Soter), Hygiea, Telesphoros, and other gods (Nos. 3, 19, 23, 24 may be specially noted), and nineteen honorary or similar inscriptions for Emperors (Trajan, Hadrian, L. Aelius, Antoninus Pius, Caracalla) or others, among whom are a φιλόσοφος ἀντιταμίας τῆς κολωνείας (No. 2), a νεωκόρος καὶ σοφιστής (No. 3), the founder προπύλου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὠροσκοπίου καὶ ζυγοστασίου (No. 4), whose military and civil career is fully recorded, a gymnasiarch who had served with special distinction (No. 5), the proconsul L. Vedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus (No. 7), one who had held a succession of six procuratorships (No. 8), and the orator Demosthenes, whose statue was erected by the sophist and rhetor Polemo of Laodicea ad Lycum (No. 14). But the gem of the collection is unquestionably the record of the long and distinguished career of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (pp. 39 ff.), commemorating the numerous offices he held, his part in Trajan's Dacian War, his share in escorting to Rome that Emperor's ashes in 117, and the impressive funeral granted him on his death as governor of Dacia in the following year: to this text a detailed commentary is added by W. Weber (pp. 57 ff.).

L. Robert restores ⁵³⁰ ll. 23 ff. of a royal letter addressed to the city of Ilium (*CIG.* 3605) and assigns it to Attalus II or III. M. Cary examines ⁵³¹ a decree of Lampsacus, found at Thasos, and suggests that the otherwise unrecorded ναυμαχία there mentioned may have been fought in 302, when Demetrius entered the Hellespont and captured the city itself. An honorary decree of Lampsacus (*SIG.* 591 = *IGRom.* iv. 179) also plays a prominent part in E. Bickermann's inquiry ⁵³² into the relations between that city and Rome. W. Peek has published ⁵³³ an epitaph in iambics

⁵²⁶ *BCH.* liv. 346 f.

⁵²⁷ *Mnem.* lx. 336.

⁵²⁸ *SBWien*, cxciv. 4: cf. *JHS.* liii. 140.

⁵²⁹ *AbhBerl.* 1932, 5: cf. *R.A.* i. 134, *JHS.* liii. 125, *Historia*, vii. 294.

⁵³⁰ *BCH.* liv. 348 ff.

⁵³¹ *JHS.* l. 253 f.

⁵³² *Philol.* lxxxvii. 277 ff.: cf. *REA.* xxxv. 119.

⁵³³ *AM.* li. 129 ff.

from Cyzicus and another in elegiac couplets from Panderma and has re-edited a third found at Gueunen: all three are now in the Constantinople Museum. In an article ⁵³⁴ on the history of Antiochus I Soter, M. Segre dates the important Cyzicene record of the bounties of Philetaerus (*OGI.* 748) in 282-1 or 278-7 B.C. Wilhelm supplements ⁵³⁵ his previous treatment (*ÖJh.* xxiv. 188 ff.) of a well-known decree of Cyzicus, and Buckler suggests ⁵³⁶ that the epitaph found at Petworth House may have the same origin. We may also note a native inscription found at Uyujik, W. of Cotiaeum, and published ⁵³⁷ by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, who discuss the script and the language, which may be Phrygian, Mysian, or even Lydian.

E. Pfuhl has compared ⁵³⁸ the tombstone, now in Constantinople, ⁵³⁹ of Menas the Bithynian, who fell in 281 B.C. at the battle of Korupedion, with that of Dexileos at Athens. In a long article ⁵⁴⁰ on the memorials of the cult of Bithynian Zeus, usually termed Ζεὺς βροντῶν, S. Ferri collects a number of inscribed busts and reliefs, and adds (pp. 245 ff.) an unpublished dedication at Brussa to Ζεὺς Δαγουστή(νός).

PHRYGIA and the adjacent portions of inner Asia Minor give rise to many discoveries and discussions. In a long and characteristic article ⁵⁴¹ on Greek gravestones from Asia Minor A. Wilhelm deals with a large number of inscriptions, duly indexed (pp. 864 f.), correcting and interpreting them with a wealth of illustrative material: among them are the epitaphs of the presbyter Nestor from Dinek Serai (792 ff.), of Aurelius Trophimus and his family from the Tembris Valley (816 ff.), of Gennadius and Eugenius (826 ff., 835 ff.), a series of epigrams opening with addresses or questions (809 ff.), a group of inscriptions usually held to commemorate Christian martyrs (826 ff.) and eleven epitaphs containing the phrase τὸν Θεόν σοι, μὴ ἀδικήσης (847 ff.). Both in this article and in his 'Lese-früchte' ⁵⁴² he corrects or annotates many texts in W. M. Calder's *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, i, as do also W. M. Ramsay, ⁵⁴³ P. Kretschmer ⁵⁴⁴ and W. Peek. ⁵⁴⁵ In an archaeological and epigraphical *farrago* ⁵⁴⁶ W. M. Ramsay publishes an epitaph from Boz Eyuk containing a reference to the εἰκὼν Καίσαρος (p. 267), an honorary inscription of Mossyna (281) and a manumission-record (286), and deals, by way of restoration or comment, with a dedication from Iconium (274 f.) and with inscriptions throwing light on the temple of Dionysopolis and on the people and cult of Lairbenos (275 ff.). P. Kretschmer calls attention ⁵⁴⁷ to the initial γδ- of several Phrygian words and A. Cameron ⁵⁴⁸ to the term μανικά reported as Phrygian by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 360B) and to the special

⁵³⁴ *Athenaeum*, viii. 488 ff.

⁵³⁵ *ÖJh.* xxvi. 143 f.

⁵³⁶ *JHS.* li. 108.

⁵³⁷ *Kho.* xxv. 34 ff.

⁵³⁸ *A.A.* xlviii. 1 ff.

⁵³⁹ Mendel, *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Ott.* iii. 1072: cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iv.² 2. 458 ff.

⁵⁴⁰ *Historia*, vi. 238 ff.

⁵⁴¹ *SBBerl.* 1932, 792 ff.: cf. *JHS.* liii. 138 f.,

PhW. lii. 1498 f.

⁵⁴² *Byz.* vi. 459 ff.

⁵⁴³ *JHS.* l. 282.

⁵⁴⁴ *BZ.* xxxi. 117 f.

⁵⁴⁵ *Gnomon*, vii. 524 ff., viii. 64.

⁵⁴⁶ *JHS.* l. 263 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vi. 687 f., *R.A.* xxxiv. 354, *REG.* xlv. 227.

⁵⁴⁷ *Glotta*, xx. 65 ff.

⁵⁴⁸ *ClRev.* xlv. 250.

meaning of μέναι μετὰ γυναικός found in a text of Badinlar. Wilhelm comments ⁵⁴⁹ on a decree of Aludda; Calder deals ⁵⁵⁰ with the epigraphical evidence for the site of Pepuza, the 'New Jerusalem' of the Phrygian Montanists, and with the inscriptions of that sect and neighbourhood, and J. G. C. Anderson's discussion ⁵⁵¹ of the genesis of Diocletian's provincial reorganisation includes an inscription from Laodicea ad Lycum referring to α ἡγεμὼν Φρυγίας τε καὶ Καρίας. M. Holleaux and L. Robert provide ⁵⁵² a new edition of the edict of Eriza, now in the Louvre (*OGI.* 224), which is dated in 204 B.C. and emanates from Antiochus III, and G. Buckler publishes ⁵⁵³ a sixth-century epitaph, found at Synnada, of a member of the important Botaniates family. E. Jastrow ⁵⁵⁴ and A. Wilhelm ⁵⁵⁵ deal with inscriptions (*JRS.* ii. 87 ff.) from 'Pisidian' Antioch, and W. M. Ramsay, returning ⁵⁵⁶ to the famous 'acte administratif' of Iconium (*RevPhil.* xxxvi. 75), declares its first four lines to be a valueless restoration but the remainder genuine, and sees in it the receipt for the last payment of *tributum* before Claudiconium became a colony in A.D. 137: he also edits an epitaph of Azak, twenty hours N. of Iconium.

There is little to report from GALATIA save W. Peek's publication ⁵⁵⁷ of four metrical, or semi-metrical, epitaphs from Ancyra—one of them ⁵⁵⁸ in a revised version, the others as unpublished ⁵⁵⁹—and K. O. Dalman's account ⁵⁶⁰ of recent discoveries there; for, valuable as are the articles on the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (also to some extent on the *Monumentum Antiochenum*) which have recently appeared, they deal rather with its origin,⁵⁶¹ the *impensae* recorded in its central section,⁵⁶² the arrangement of the provincial texts and their relation to the Roman archetype,⁵⁶³ and its style,⁵⁶⁴ or with particular passages in the text,⁵⁶⁵ than specifically with the Greek translation of the Latin original.

W. Peek publishes ⁵⁶⁶ an epigram from Djeida in PONTUS, now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople, and F. Cumont ⁵⁶⁷ six epitaphs from Pedachthoe (Bedochtôn) and neighbouring villages of the Yildiz Dag, between the Halys and the Lycus. A. Wilhelm restores and explains ⁵⁶⁸ epigrams from Amisus, Nicopolis and Neoclaudiopolis commemorating doctors and two prose inscriptions ⁵⁶⁹ from Kavsa in the Phazimonitis giving thanks to Asclepius, the Nymphs and the doctors for

⁵⁴⁹ *ÖJh.* xxvi. 144.

⁵⁵⁰ *Byz.* vi. 421 ff.

⁵⁵¹ *JRS.* xxii. 24 ff.: cf. *R.I.* xxxvi. 212.

⁵⁵² *BCH.* liv. 245 ff., 351: cf. *RevFil.* lix. 278, *ÄJh.* xxxvi. 239, *REG.* xlv. 223, *CRAdInscr.* 1930, 319 f.

⁵⁵³ *Byz.* vi. 405 ff.

⁵⁵⁴ *A.A.* xlvii. 35.

⁵⁵⁵ *Byz.* vi. 467 f.

⁵⁵⁶ *Klio.* xxv. 422 ff.

⁵⁵⁷ *A.M.* lvi. 132 ff.

⁵⁵⁸ Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* 244.

⁵⁵⁹ But Nos. 21, 22 were published in *Mél. Beyrouth.* xiii. 269 ff.

⁵⁶⁰ *A.A.* xlvii. 246 ff.

⁵⁶¹ U. Wilcken, *SBBerl.* 1932, 127, 225 ff.: cf.

Gnomon. ix. 315 ff., *Historia.* vi. 677, *ÄJh.* xxxvi. 547, *PhW.* lii. 1496 f.

⁵⁶² U. Wilcken, *SBBerl.* 1931, 772 ff.: cf. *PhW.* li. 1272, *Gnomon.* ix. 312 ff., *Historia.* vi. 676 f., *Deutsche Litztg.* 1932, 2053 ff.

⁵⁶³ R. Rau, *Klio.* xxiv. 503 ff.: A. von Premerstein, *Klio.* xxv. 197 ff.: cf. *Historia.* vi. 676.

⁵⁶⁴ G. Rudberg, *Symb. Oslo.* x. 148 ff.

⁵⁶⁵ W. W. Tarn, *Mélanges Glotz.* ii. 831 ff.; W. Ensslin, *RhMus.* lxxxi. 335 ff.; K. Scott, *ClPh.* xxxvii. 284 ff.

⁵⁶⁶ *A.M.* lvi. 131 f.

⁵⁶⁷ *Byz.* vi. 529 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ *ÖJh.* xxvii. Beiblatt, 73 ff.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 84 ff.: cf. *Byz.* vi. 464 f.

recovery of health. F. Cumont adds a historical commentary ⁵⁷⁰ to an honorary decree of Greco-Roman date from Anisa in CAPPADOCIA, whose short-lived existence ended before A.D. 17. A curious epitaph from Caesarea published by A. Salač (*BCH.* li. 398 f.) has attracted the attention of B. Ryba, who finds ⁵⁷¹ in it a previously unknown adjective ἱτυς, and of F. Bradač, who suggests ⁵⁷² several new readings, including εὖν for ἱτυν.

No new inscriptions of LYCIA have appeared, but A. Wilhem has restored ⁵⁷³ an epitaph of Arycanda; R. S. Rogers has distinguished, ⁵⁷⁴ by the aid of a text of Cyaneae (*IGRom.* iii. 703), Quintus Veranius, comes of Germanicus and governor of Cappadocia in A.D. 18, from his son and namesake, who was consul in 49 and subsequently governor of Britain; A. Pridik, while admitting a doubt as to his restoration ἐπιτ[ροπον] in *TAM.* ii. 1. 22, reasserts ⁵⁷⁵ his view that Ptolemy son of Lysimachus, governor of Telmessus, was not the son of King Lysimachus but the nephew of Euergetes, son of his younger brother Lysimachus; and A. Wilhelm corrects ⁵⁷⁶ the restoration of a Xanthian text given in *TAM.* ii. 261. A. M. Woodward points out ⁵⁷⁷ that in a Pamphylian dedication (*SEG.* vi. 672) ἀσύλω τόν must be read in place of ἀσύλωτον. For R. Heberdey's article ⁵⁷⁸ on the history of Termessus maior in PISIDIA during the Roman period inscriptions afford invaluable materials: in particular he discusses *TAM.* iii. 66 and makes some additions to his *Termessische Studien.* K. Latte restores ⁵⁷⁹ a record of victories from Adada (*IGRom.* iii. 370. 14 ff.) and W. M. Ramsay interprets ⁵⁸⁰ a medical prescription from Pisidia (*SEG.* vi. 601).

In their great work *Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien* ⁵⁸¹ J. Keil and A. Wilhelm edit three bilingual and 800 Greek inscriptions, the overwhelming majority of which were previously unpublished, from various sites in CILICIA TRACHEA, notably Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Diocaesarea, Corasium and, above all, Corycus. A line-drawing or a photograph is, where possible, given of each text, and though their contents often seem insignificant taken individually (No. 62, however, is important not only for conditions in the priestly state of Olba but also for the history of the last days of the Seleucid Empire) and a very large proportion of them are simple epitaphs, yet taken together they throw a valuable light on the religious, social and economic life of the district. H. L[ietzm]ann comments ⁵⁸² on the Jewish epitaphs in this collection, and L. Robert traces ⁵⁸³ to Celenderis two inscribed grave-stones which have travelled by way of Rhodes to Taormina. F. Cumont adds ⁵⁸⁴ to his list of epitaphs bearing

⁵⁷⁰ *REA.* xxxiv. 135 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxvi. 528.

⁵⁷¹ *Listy Filol.* lvii. 328 ff., *RecPhil.* v. 116 ff.: cf. *Historia*, vi. 706, *PhW.* li. 647.

⁵⁷² *RecPhil.* vi. 375 ff.

⁵⁷³ *SBBerl.* 1932, 856 ff.

⁵⁷⁴ *CIPh.* xxvi. 172 ff.

⁵⁷⁵ *Klio*, xxv. 72 ff.: see *JHS.* xlvii. 212.

⁵⁷⁶ Πρακτ. 'Ακαδ. 'Αθην. vi. 331.

⁵⁷⁷ *CIRev.* xli. 9 ff.

⁵⁷⁸ *Wien. Anz.* 1931, 19 ff.

⁵⁷⁹ *Gnomon*, vii. 117 f.

⁵⁸⁰ *JHS.* l. 264 ff.

⁵⁸¹ *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, iii. Manchester, 1931: cf. *Deutsche Litztg.* 1933, 492 ff., *RA.* xxxv. 166, *Riv. Arch. Crist.* ix. 163 ff., *PhW.* li. 1333 ff., *REG.* xlv. 224 ff., 424 f., *RevBelge*, xi. 766, *AJA.* xxxvi. 581 f., *BZ.* xxxii. 391 ff.

⁵⁸² *Zeits. neuest. Wiss.* xxxi. 313 f.

⁵⁸³ *REG.* xlv. 199 f.

⁵⁸⁴ *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* III. v. 69 ff.

a symbol of prayer to the avenging god an example, dating from the third century A.D., from Salamis in CYPRUS; P. Roussel discusses ⁵⁸⁵ an honorary inscription from Citium (*OGI.* 20), and H. Seyrig publishes ⁵⁸⁶ a leaden weight, now at Larnaca, bearing a royal inscription in Cyprian characters.

IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

No further instalment of Jalabert and Mouterde's *Corpus* of Greek and Latin inscriptions from SYRIA has yet appeared, but several reviews ⁵⁸⁷ of the first fascicule (cf. *JHS.* li. 251) make material contributions to their study. P. Perdrizet discusses ⁵⁸⁸ the Atargatis cult in connexion with the inscribed money-box (*ibid.*) dedicated to that goddess, and H. Seyrig collects ⁵⁸⁹ the evidence for the worship of Nemesis in Syria and examines in detail Nemesiatic reliefs from Palmyra and Dura. P. Maas reviews ⁵⁹⁰ the various interpretations given to the phrase ἐφ' ὃ πάρει, found on a number of Syrian vessels, and himself suggests 'Der Herr segne dein Vorhaben!', while in a later note ⁵⁹¹ he cites a passage from Iamblichus pointing to the ellipse of γένειτό σοι. In a long and valuable article ⁵⁹² R. Mouterde publishes with full commentaries 36 gems, amulets and other objects—all of them except three inscribed and all except three previously unpublished—throwing light upon magical practices in Syria: they come from various sites in N. Syria, but most of them have now found their way to Beyrout or Aleppo. Among the most interesting are a long *devotio* ⁵⁹³ from Beyrout, directed against certain horses and drivers, a well-known theme appearing here with certain novel features, and a leaden *defixio* from Damascus. ⁵⁹⁴

An epigraphical journey from Alexandretta to Tyre, undertaken by Mouterde in preparation for the *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, led to the discovery of some ten new inscriptions, ⁵⁹⁵ mainly in or near Homs, including a third-century dedication of an Aetolian who served Ptolemy IV (No. 11), and the revision of some previously known texts, among them an asylum-boundary (No. 3) published in the *Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria* (III B, 1062): two other inscriptions in the same collection, from Dêr Sim'ân (1160) and Brâd (1185) respectively, are commented on ⁵⁹⁶ by G. Stuhlfauth. The problem of the right of ἀσυλία in the Byzantine period has been exhaustively discussed ⁵⁹⁷ by L. Wenger à propos of a petition for the grant of ἀσυλία to an oratory near Tyre (*JHS.* li. 251). H. Seyrig and M. Holleaux announce ⁵⁹⁸ the discovery, at Seleucia in Pieria, of an edict or πρόσταγμα of Seleucus IV followed by a decree of that city dated 186 B.C. M. Dunand has edited ⁵⁹⁹ 140 texts

⁵⁸⁵ *REG.* xliii. 361 ff.

⁵⁸⁶ *Syria*, xiii. 189 f.

⁵⁸⁷ *REA.* xxxiii. 402 f.; *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 295 ff.; *Mél. Beyrouth*, xv. 302 ff.; *PhW.* li. 140 ff.

⁵⁸⁸ *Syria*, xii. 267 ff.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.* xiii. 50 ff.

⁵⁹⁰ *BNGJ.* viii. 99.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.* ix. 64.

⁵⁹² *Mél. Beyrouth*, xv. 53 ff.; cf. *PhW.* li. 375 f.
J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.* 106 ff., No. 34: cf. *R.I.* xxxiv. 358 f.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 124 ff., No. 35.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.* xvi. 83 ff.; cf. *R.I.* xxxvi. 212. For Emesa (Homs) see also *Mél. Beyrouth*, xv. 210.

⁵⁹⁶ *BNGJ.* viii. 57 f.

⁵⁹⁷ *Philol.* lxxxvi. 427 ff.

⁵⁹⁸ *CRAcInscr.* 1932, 57 f.

⁵⁹⁹ *RevBibl.* xli. 397 ff., 561 ff.

copied in the course of his repeated journeys in the Jebel Druz and Hauran, chiefly at Maximianopolis (Shaqqa), Orela (Djouneine), Kanatha (Qanawat), Mardocha (Mourdouk), Namara (Nemre) and Moushanef: four are revised versions of inscriptions already known, while the remainder (for the most part epitaphs, but also building-inscriptions and dedications to Greek and Syrian gods) are new.⁶⁰⁰ Dunand's memoir⁶⁰¹ on the Roman road in the Ledja deals with a number of milestones and with a Greek inscription of Menara Henvu containing the name of Avidius Cassius, legate of Syria under Marcus Aurelius. Mouterde has published⁶⁰² a dedication Διὶ σωτῆρι καὶ φωσφόρῳ from Soada-Dionysias (Souweida) and an altar from 'Ahiré recording a death by lightning in A.D. 225-6; F. Cumont has discussed⁶⁰³ an inscription from the Hauran appealing to heaven for vengeance on the murderers of an innocent man, and W. K. Prentice has added⁶⁰⁴ an epitaph from Kaşr Burka in the Syrian desert.

In his *Caravan Cities*⁶⁰⁵ M. Rostovtzeff gives an account of caravan-trade in antiquity followed by brilliant sketches of four of its main centres—Petra, Jerash, Palmyra and Dura—based to some extent on inscriptions, while elsewhere⁶⁰⁶ he discusses twenty honorific texts which tell us much about the organisation of the caravan-trade which passed through PALMYRA. Among the most interesting of these is the bilingual decree (cf. *JHS*. li. 252) found 22 km. from Palmyra on the ancient trade-route from Hît to Palmyra: a revised text of this, edited⁶⁰⁷ with full comments by R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, proves the use under Antoninus Pius of a route running between Palmyra and Vologesias, gives new data for Palmyrene history and topography and recalls the services of a doughty merchant-prince, who blended the diplomat and the soldier with the trader. J. Dobiáš's article⁶⁰⁸ on the same inscription I know only at second hand: a subsequent examination of the stone by H. Seyrig has proved correct a suggestion⁶⁰⁹ made by A. Wilhelm. T. Wiegand's impressive report⁶¹⁰ on the results of the German expeditions to Palmyra in 1902 and 1917 contains a building inscription (p. 28), sixteen epitaphs from the vast cemeteries of the city (pp. 55-70), a fragment (p. 115) from the Corinthian temple E. of the Theatre and the dedication of the great temple of Bel (pp. 138 f.); all of these, except one epitaph (p. 70, No. 191), were already known. J. Cantineau has undertaken the useful task of issuing, in topographical order, revised texts, accompanied by translations and brief notes, of all inscriptions still found in or near Palmyra: ⁶¹¹ seven fascicules have already appeared, dealing respectively with (i) the Temple of Beel-Shemin, (ii) the Honorific Columns, (iii) the

⁶⁰⁰ Among the most interesting are Nos. 76, 80, 106, 115. In No. 63 δ' (= 4) should, I think, be read in place of δ(50).

⁶⁰¹ *La voie romaine du Ledja (Mémoires présentés à l'Acad. xiii. 2. 539 ff.)*, Paris, 1930: cf. *R.A.* xxxii. 380.

⁶⁰² *CRAInscr.* 1931, 141 ff., *Mél. Beyrouth*, xvi. 75 ff.: cf. *Syria*, xiii. 226, *REG.* xlv. 228.

⁶⁰³ *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* III. v. 73 ff.

⁶⁰⁴ *AJA.* xxxv. 48 ff.

⁶⁰⁵ Translated by D. and T. Talbot Rice: Oxford

U.P., 1932.

⁶⁰⁶ *Mélanges Glotz*, ii. 793 ff.

⁶⁰⁷ *Syria*, xii. 101 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 227.

⁶⁰⁸ *Listy Filol.* lviii. 1 ff.

⁶⁰⁹ *Byz.* vi. 465.

⁶¹⁰ *Palmyra*, Berlin, 1932.

⁶¹¹ *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*, Beyrouth, 1930-1: cf. R. D[ussaud], *Syria*, xii. 78 ff., 190; R. Mouterde, *Mél. Beyrouth*, xv. 300 ff.; *REG.* xlv. 227.

Great Colonnade, (iv) the Valley of the Tombs, (v) the Transverse Colonnade, (vi) the Camp of Diocletian, and (vii) the N.W. and N. Cemeteries. He has also devoted two articles to inscriptions from Palmyra: in one ⁶¹² he publishes, in addition to a number of documents in the Palmyrene script only, five bilingual texts copied in 1928 and the surviving fragments of the Greek inscription on the tomb of A'ailami and Zebida, dated A.D. 149, while in the other ⁶¹³ he deals with the epigraphical results of the excavation of the temple of Bel in 1930, including three brief but interesting bilingual honorary inscriptions and two fragments. J. B. Chabot criticises and annotates ⁶¹⁴ a number of texts, mostly Palmyrene or bilingual, contained in Cantineau's *Inventaire* and articles, and calls attention to the appearance in one of them of a *corrector totius Orientis*. H. Seyrig gives ⁶¹⁵ a fuller reading of a Greek text published ⁶¹⁶ by Cantineau, shewing that it records the completion of Diocletian's baths at Palmyra under the auspices of the governor of Phoenicia, Sossianus Hierocles, well known as a persecutor of the Christians: he also discusses ⁶¹⁷ a Palmyrene votive relief, now at Brussels, bearing a representation of Nemesis. Two valuable theses have been written by J. G. Février, in one ⁶¹⁸ of which he deals in detail with the religion of Palmyra, for which the sources are largely epigraphical, surveying the pantheon (the Arabian gods, Bel and his congeners, the Syrian and foreign gods), the organisation and ritual of the cult and its relation to other religions, and concluding with a sketch of the development of the Palmyrene religion: in the other ⁶¹⁹ he examines the political and economic history throughout the whole of the city's existence, paying special attention (pp. 29 ff.) to the fiscal law (*OGI*. 629) of A.D. 137.

The excavation of DURA-EUROPUS, carried on jointly by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, provides us with a series of thrills. I must not here linger over the historical and juristic value of the parchments, to the interpretation of which P. Koschaker ⁶²⁰ and E. Schönbauer ⁶²¹ have made valuable contributions, and over the cartographic record on a leather buckler (cf. *JHS*. xlvii. 215), further discussed ⁶²² by R. Uhden. C. Hopkins has made a special study ⁶²³ of the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods, and H. Seyrig has examined ⁶²⁴ an inscribed relief attesting the cult of Nemesis at Dura. Two more Preliminary Reports have appeared, almost belying that title in the fullness with which the discoveries are discussed and the excellence of their

⁶¹² *Rev. Assyr.* xxvii. 27 ff.: cf. *Syria*, xii. 79. This is reprinted in *Inscriptions palmyréniennes* (Damascus, 1930), in the latter part of which work Cantineau adds 22 inscriptions in Greek and Palmyrenian or in Greek alone.

⁶¹³ *Syria*, xii. 116 ff.

⁶¹⁴ *CRAIInscr.* 1930, 312 ff.

⁶¹⁵ *Syria*, xii. 321 ff.

⁶¹⁶ *Inscriptions palmyréniennes*, p. 33, No. 49.

⁶¹⁷ *Syria*, xiii. 51 ff.: cf. 62 ff.

⁶¹⁸ *La religion des Palmyréniens*, Paris, 1931: cf. *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cv. 108 ff., *Rev. Ét. Juives*, xciii. 108 ff.

⁶¹⁹ *Essai sur l'histoire politique et économique de Palmyre*, Paris, 1931.

⁶²⁰ *ŹSav.* li. 427 ff. (cf. li. 460 ff.): *Über einige griech. Rechtswirkunden*, Leipzig, 1931; *Chron. d'Égypte*, vii. 202 ff.; *Actes du XXIIIe Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes*, 1931, Leyden, 1932.

⁶²¹ *APF.* x. 201 ff.: cf. *Mél. Beyrouth*, xv. 287 ff., *PhW.* liii. 266 ff.

⁶²² *Hermes*, lxxvii. 117 ff.

⁶²³ *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* li. 119 ff., *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lx. pp. xvi f.

⁶²⁴ *Syria*, xiii. 53 ff.

illustrations. One ⁶²⁵ deals with the season 1928-9 and includes a publication by C. Hopkins (pp. 83 ff.) of one Latin and 63 Greek inscriptions found in the Roman temple, the temple of the Palmyrene gods, the Baths and the N.W. tower of the Citadel; the majority are graffiti, but the Latin building-inscription of the Roman temple (No. 1), the text on an altar erected to Ζεύς Ὑψίστος after an earthquake in October, A.D. 160 (No. 2), and a dedication to Iaribol (No. 3) are of unusual interest. J. Johnson edits (pp. 114 ff., 217 f., Pl. xvi) 143 Greek inscriptions from the Palmyra Gate, mostly short graffiti but occasionally indicating the dates, ranging from 183-2 B.C. to A.D. 182-3, or the status of the writers, and discusses (pp. 151 ff.) their significance for the history of Dura: to these he adds (pp. 161 ff., Pl. li) a horoscope of July, A.D. 176, inscribed on the wall of a private house, an inscribed store-jar, six new inscriptions from the temple of Artemis and notes on 21 texts published by Cumont (*Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, ch. vi). M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles summarise (pp. 201 ff., Pl. xxviii) their publication of a parchment loan-contract of A.D. 121 and add notes on parchments and a papyrus found in 1928-9, and a useful epigraphical index completes the volume (pp. 219 ff.: for inscriptions on pottery see pp. 52 f., Pl. xiii). The principal Greek texts discovered in 1929-30 were surveyed ⁶²⁶ by H. T. Rowell, and more adequately published ⁶²⁷ by him and A. R. Bellinger in the third Preliminary Report (pp. 40 ff.): they number 24, including a dedication to Iaribol (No. 143), one to Atargatis by a *legatus Augusti* (No. 145), the inscription beneath a statue of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (No. 149), a fragment bearing the name of Seleucus Nicator, founder of the Seleucid dynasty (No. 151), and other votive and building-inscriptions. The remarkable finds made in the 'House of the Archives' were discussed ⁶²⁸ by Rostovtzeff and Welles and have since appeared in the fourth Preliminary Report, which, issued in 1933, falls outside the scope of this survey. J. Johnson has published ⁶²⁹ three valuable studies based on materials brought to light at Dura: these deal with (i) the Dura horoscope and the Seleucid calendar (1 ff., Pl. i); (ii) the hereditary στρατηγία and the genealogy of a family which played a prominent part in the city's life for two centuries (17 ff., Pl. ii); and (iii) Parchment II, of which a revised reading and restoration is offered (35 ff., Pl. iii). The results of later campaigns still await publication. ⁶³⁰

F. M. Abel's address ⁶³¹ on recent epigraphical finds in PALESTINE specially stresses those from Gerasa (Jerash), where fresh mosaic and other inscriptions have come to light in the American excavation and have

⁶²⁵ *Excavations at Dura-Europos: Prelim. Report of Second Season*, by P. V. C. Baur and M. I. Rostovtzeff, Yale U.P., 1931; cf. *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 349 f., *Syria*, xii. 286 f., *Rev. Belge*, xi. 234 ff., *Mél. Beyrouth*, xv. 287 ff., *Gnomon*, ix. 101 ff., *RA*. xxxiv. 369, *REG.* xlv. 227 f., 333 ff.

⁶²⁶ *CRAIInscr.* 1930, 265 ff.

⁶²⁷ *Excavations at Dura-Europos: Prel. Report of Third Season*, by P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff and

A. R. Bellinger, Yale U.P., 1932: cf. *Gott. Gel. Anz.* cxciv. 327 ff., *Journ. d. Sav.* 1932, 374 ff., *Syria*, xiii. 305 ff., *RA*. xxxvi. 123.

⁶²⁸ *CRAIInscr.* 1931, 162 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 228.

⁶²⁹ *Dura Studies*, Philadelphia, 1932: cf. *RA*. xxxv. 339.

⁶³⁰ *CRAIInscr.* 1932, 314 ff., *Syria*, xiii. 223, *AJA.* xxxvi. 336 f.

⁶³¹ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* x. 1 ff.

been published ⁶³² by C. S. Fisher and C. C. McCown; the latter has also edited ⁶³³ two texts found at Beit Râs, probably Capitolias of the Decapolis,—a dedication of a chapel and statue in honour of Commodus, and a sarcophagus-inscription. H. Seyrig has commented ⁶³⁴ on a Gerasene inscription published ⁶³⁵ by A. H. M. Jones, whose article ⁶³⁶ on the urbanisation of the Ituraean principality rests mainly on epigraphical foundations. S. Krauss's discussion ⁶³⁷ of recently discovered synagogues in Palestine deals (pp. 405 ff.) with the inscriptions found in those at Jerash and at Beth Alpha, the latter of which is illustrated ⁶³⁸ by E. L. Sukenik. M. Avi-Yonah has begun the publication ⁶³⁹ of an annotated list of Palestinian mosaic pavements, giving the texts of any of them which are inscribed, while the mosaic inscriptions of Shiloh and Mukhmās have been separately studied by H. Kjaer ⁶⁴⁰ and by R. W. H[utchinson] ⁶⁴¹ respectively. To A. Alt we owe a scholarly essay ⁶⁴² on the beginnings of Christian epigraphy in Palestine and Arabia. A metrical epitaph from Caesarea Philippi has been edited ⁶⁴³ by J. Jeremias.

Considerations of space debar me from speaking at length of the διάταγμα Καίσαρος from NAZARETH (cf. *JHS*. li. 252), which has evoked a wide variety of opinions regarding its author, date and occasion, the place where it was originally exhibited, the nature of the document and its juristic interpretation. An admirable survey of the conflicting views will be found in an article ⁶⁴⁴ by F. de Zulueta, who inclines to regard the διάταγμα as an Augustan rescript set up at Samaria or in the Decapolis. L. Zancan, indeed, denies ⁶⁴⁵ its authenticity, but this scepticism has won no support. To the bibliography ⁶⁴⁶ of the document drawn up by de Zulueta I have only to add brief notes by J. Carcopino, ⁶⁴⁷ E. Cuq, ⁶⁴⁸ E. Levy ⁶⁴⁹ and S. R[einach], ⁶⁵⁰

Some epigraphical finds have been made ⁶⁵¹ by G. M. FitzGerald at Beth Shan (Scythopolis), including a mosaic of A.D. 521-2, the chronological value of which has been pointed out ⁶⁵² by A. Alt. The mutilated

⁶³² *Bull. Am. Schools Or. Res.* xlv. 6, 8, *Ann. Am. Schools Or. Res.* xi. 43 ff., 57.

⁶³³ *Bull. Am. Schools Or. Res.* xlv. 13 ff.

⁶³⁴ *Syria*, xii. 318 f.

⁶³⁵ *JRS*. xviii. 145, No. 2.

⁶³⁶ *JRS*. xxi. 265 ff.

⁶³⁷ *Rev. Ét. Juives*, lxxxix. 385 ff.

⁶³⁸ *Art and Arch.* xxxiii. 210: cf. *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* ii. 144 f., No. 22.

⁶³⁹ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* ii. 136 ff., 163 ff.

⁶⁴⁰ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* x. 137 f., *PEFQS*. 1931, 71 ff.

⁶⁴¹ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* i. 103 f.

⁶⁴² *Palastinajahr.* xxviii. 83 ff.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.* 81 f.

⁶⁴⁴ *JRS*. xxii. 184 ff.

⁶⁴⁵ *Atti R. Ist. Veneto*, xci. 2. 51 ff.

⁶⁴⁶ To the items mentioned in *JHS*. li. 252 and above add: A. S. Barnes, *Discovery*, xii. 395 ff.; F. E. Brown, *AJPh*. lii. 1 ff.; V. Capocci, *Bull. Ist. Dir. Rom.* xxxviii. 215 ff.; J. Carcopino, *Rev. Hist.*

clxvi. 77 ff., 434 f.; S. A. Cook, *PEFQS*. 1932, 85 ff.; G. Corradi, *Mondo classico*, i. 56 ff.; G. Costa, *Bilychnis*, xxxiv. 466 f.; E. Cuq, *Rev. Hist. Droit*, xi. 109 ff.; G. De Sanctis, *RivFil.* lix. 134, lx. 129, *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* vii. 13 ff.; R. Dussaud, *Syria*, xi. 306 f.; M. Goguel, *Rev. Hist. Phil. Rel.* x. 289 ff.; A. Momigliano, *L'opera dell' imperatore Claudio*, 73, note 1; G. Pasquali, *Cultura*, n.s. x. 253; R. Tonneau, *RevBibl.* xl. 544 ff.; L. Wenger, *Σαυ.* li. 369 ff.; J. Zeiller, *Recherches de science rel.* xxi. 570 ff. Useful notes on these articles will be found in *REG.* xlv. 228 f., *AJA.* xxxvi. 186, *Historia*, v. 466, vi. 152, 688, 707.

⁶⁴⁷ *CRAInscr.* 1931, 42.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 44 f.

⁶⁴⁹ *SBHeid.* 1930-1, 5. 41 f.

⁶⁵⁰ *RA.* xxxv. 339: I have been unable to consult F. M. Braun, *Vie Intellectuelle*, 1932, 8 ff. and S. Klein, *M Schr. Gesch. Wiss. Jud.* lxxv. 369 ff.

⁶⁵¹ *PEFQS*. 1931, 59 ff., 1932, 148 and Pl. v.

⁶⁵² *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lv. 128 ff.

inscription on a third-century triumphal arch at Caesarea (Turris Stratonis) has been copied ⁶⁵³ by F. M. Abel and A. Barrois, two epitaphs from Joppa by E. L. Sukenik, ⁶⁵⁴ and a fragment from the monastery of St. Euthymius in the Wilderness of Judaea by D. J. Chitty. ⁶⁵⁵ Jerusalem is represented by two epitaphs ⁶⁵⁶ from a cemetery at Karm al-Shaikh, five Greek inscriptions now in the Archaeological Museum, edited ⁶⁵⁷ by J. H. Iliffe, one of which is a milestone of the early fourth century found at ez-Zib on the coast, H. Seyrig's re-edition ⁶⁵⁸ of a curious hymn the genuineness of which was doubted by P. Thomsen, and L. H. Vincent's collection ⁶⁵⁹ of the occurrences of the names Jesus and Joseph in Greek ossuary-inscriptions. H. Lamer offers ⁶⁶⁰ a new interpretation of puzzling graffiti found in a tomb at Marissa; F. M. Abel and J. B. Chabot discuss ⁶⁶¹ a Christian epitaph from Ghôr es-Sâfy, S. of the Dead Sea; an interesting grave-epigram from Gaza, now in the Jerusalem Museum, is published ⁶⁶² by J. H. Iliffe and commented on ⁶⁶³ by R. Mouterde, who rightly assigns it to the Ptolemaic period, and the record of a late repair of the wall of Gaza is studied ⁶⁶⁴ by Abel. Alt dates ⁶⁶⁵ in A.D. 503 a mosaic from el-Jādûde and thus determines the era used at Philadelphia ('Ammān).

One Greek inscription has come to light ⁶⁶⁶ among a number of Nabataean votives in the temple of Allat at Iram, S. of Petra and E. of Aqaba. M. Rostovtzeff has published a remarkable essay, ⁶⁶⁷ in which he collects, classifies and discusses the official *bullae* and seals of clay or bitumen found in Babylonia, chiefly at Orchi (Warka, Uruk), and now preserved in various European and American museums, notably at Chicago: very many of them bear short Greek inscriptions throwing light upon the record-office and the taxation of the Seleucid Empire. In an excursus (pp. 98 ff.) R. H. McDowell deals with the *bullae* from Seleucia-on-Tigris, adding 62 further examples to the 18 previously published ⁶⁶⁸ by him. A Greek text, found in the temple of Nabû at Nineveh but now lost, has been published ⁶⁶⁹ by R. W. Hutchinson. It remains to mention a group of inscriptions unearthed at Susa and edited in four articles by F. Cumont. The first ⁶⁷⁰ records the rediscovery of *OGI*. 747, copied by Loftus in 1857, and contains a tantalising fragment of a poem relating to Phraates IV and Tiridates, probably the general who usurped the Arsacid throne and finally fled to Rome: the poem may refer to the repulse of Antony in 36 B.C. The second ⁶⁷¹ contains two texts of the Parthian period

⁶⁵³ *RevBibl.* xl. 294 f.

⁶⁵⁴ *PEFQS.* 1932, 83 f.: cf. *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* ii. 187 ('Isawiya).

⁶⁵⁵ *PEFQS.* 1932, 197.

⁶⁵⁶ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* i. 4 and Pl. xvii.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 120 ff.: cf. *Zeits. Neutest. Wiss.* xxxi. 308.

⁶⁵⁸ *Syna.* xii. 319 f.

⁶⁵⁹ *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* vii. 222 f.

⁶⁶⁰ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lv. 59 ff.

⁶⁶¹ *RevBibl.* xl. 95 ff., *CRAcInscr.* 1931, 44.

⁶⁶² *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* i. 155 f.

⁶⁶³ *Mél. Beyrouth*, xvi. 98 ff.

⁶⁶⁴ *RevBibl.* xl. 94 f.

⁶⁶⁵ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lv. 132 ff.

⁶⁶⁶ *CRAcInscr.* 1932, 225 ff.: cf. *RevBibl.* xli. 582 ff.

⁶⁶⁷ *Yale Cl. Studies*, iii. 1 ff.

⁶⁶⁸ *Prel. Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq*, ch. iv.

⁶⁶⁹ *Archaeologia*, lxxix. 140 ff.

⁶⁷⁰ *CRAcInscr.* 1930, 208 ff.: cf. 1931, 243, 246, *REG.* xlv. 228.

⁶⁷¹ *CRAcInscr.* 1931, 233 ff., 278 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 226, *Historia*, vi. 707.

—an honorary inscription of 98 B.C. erected by a company of the Palace Guard, and an epigram engraved in A.D. 1-2 by the guard of the Acropolis below the statue of Zamaspes, who had successfully carried out irrigation works—and seven fragments from the shrine of Artemis Nanaia, dating from the Seleucid period, one of which records a dedication of 183 B.C., Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Δαίτταις. The third ⁶⁷² provides a provisional publication of a rescript written in A.D. 21-2 by Artabanus III to the city of Susa, confirming an election the validity of which was challenged: it is the only letter of a Parthian king of which the text survives and is of outstanding historical interest. The fourth ⁶⁷³ comprises seven documents from the donjon which crowned the southern point of the hill on which rose the royal city,—that beneath a statue of the daughter of Timon τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ βασιλέως, an epigram on a statue of Apollo, four dedications of slaves to Nanaia, and an inscribed sherd of pottery. A parchment from Dura enables Rostovtzeff to restore ⁶⁷⁴ the prescripts of two Greek inscriptions of Babylon, one of which is now in the British Museum (*IBM*. 1052).

X. AFRICA

Greek inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia I summarise in my biennial bibliography in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

G. Oliverio's report ⁶⁷⁵ on the excavations carried on at CYRENE in 1928 includes forty Greek and three Latin inscriptions, together with a number of brick-stamps: most of these are dedications on stone or earthenware, inscriptions on statue-bases, or lists of names (Nos. 8-12 are especially interesting). At the close (pp. 230 ff.) is an index of all proper names and technical terms found in the inscriptions contained in the four preliminary reports on the excavation of Cyrene. S. Ferri comments ⁶⁷⁶ on one of the texts published by Oliverio (pp. 182 f., No. 9), interpreting the phrase λόχος ἀπὸ τῶς ἐπίσεσι μάχας as referring to athletic contests rather than to war, and restores the signature of Alcamenes on a fifth-century statue-base found near the temple of Apollo (*Afr. Ital.* i. 156).

But the most interesting recent find is a perfectly preserved marble stele, discovered near to Apollo's Fount, bearing the text of the will by which King Ptolemy ὁ νεώτερος (known to us as Euergetes II or Physcon), younger son of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and brother of Ptolemy VI Philometor, prays that by the grace of heaven he may fitly punish those who have plotted to rob him not only of his kingdom but of his life, and leaves to the Romans his rightful realm in the event of his dying without heirs, entrusting to them the preservation of his land in case of attack. This remarkable historical document, first published ⁶⁷⁷ by G. Oliverio with a

⁶⁷² *CRAIInscr.* 1932, 238 ff.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.* 271 ff.

⁶⁷⁴ *Jale Cl. Studies*, ii. 40 f.

⁶⁷⁵ *Afr. Ital.* iii. 141 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlv. 231, *CRAIInscr.* 1930, 238.

⁶⁷⁶ *Historia*, vi. 274 f.

⁶⁷⁷ *La stele di Tolemeo Neóteros, re di Cirene* (Docu-

menti antichi dell' Africa Italiana, I. Cirenaica, fasc. i), Bergamo, 1932. Cf. *R.I.* xxxvi. 227 f.; E. B[reccia], *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* viii. 88 ff.; C. Buzio, *Aegyptus*, xii. 271 f.; F. Cumont, *Journ. d. Sav.* 1932, 168 ff.; P. Graindor, *RevBelge*, xi. 766 f.; A. Neppi Modona, *Historia*, vi. 669 f.; W. Schubart, *Gnomon*, viii. 283; M. N. Tod, *Greece and Rome*, ii. 47 ff.

full legal, historical and linguistic commentary, has naturally evoked keen interest both among lawyers and among historians. The date assigned to the will by Oliverio, 155 B.C., has been generally accepted, though S. Ferri regards ⁶⁷⁸ the year 167 as historically preferable and U. Wilcken, to whom is due a valuable re-edition ⁶⁷⁹ of the inscription, argues that it was not actually engraved on stone until after the death of Physcon or, more probably, of Apion, who by his will bequeathed Cyrene to the Roman people. Other important contributions to the study of the document are those of G. De Sanctis, ⁶⁸⁰ F. E. Adcock, ⁶⁸¹ W. Schubart, ⁶⁸² who examines the use of the word παρακατατίθεσθαι in the official language of the Hellenistic age; E. Bickermann, who argues ⁶⁸³ that we have before us not an authentic copy of the will but an official extract, published in 155, of an earlier will, and emphasises the duty imposed upon the Romans of maintaining the existing régime in Cyrene; P. Roussel, who accepts ⁶⁸⁴ Bickermann's main conclusions and challenges Wilcken's view that the stele was engraved long after 155; M. Segre, ⁶⁸⁵ U. Ratti, ⁶⁸⁶ and M. A. De Dominicis, ⁶⁸⁷ who disagrees with Oliverio's interpretation of the document as a *donatio mortis causa* of the Roman type, regarding it as a Greek testament subject to a suspensory condition.

The significance of three Cyrenean documents previously published (the wheat-donations, the 'Magna Carta' and the Augustan edicts) is appraised ⁶⁸⁸ by W. L. Westermann. The 'Magna Carta' has further been discussed by V. Arangio Ruiz in an essay ⁶⁸⁹ which is out of my reach, and the question of *civitas optimo iure* as envisaged by it has been examined ⁶⁹⁰ by A. Gitti. A valuable contribution to the study of the Augustan edicts is A. von Premerstein's critical review ⁶⁹¹ of all the works relating to them which appeared from spring 1928 to the close of 1930, to which he has prefixed a valuable bibliography of the relevant literature and appended some further notes on textual criticism and exegesis. R. Laqueur has put forward a new interpretation ⁶⁹² of the second decree, according to which P. Sextius Sceva, who has hitherto been regarded as proconsul of the province, was in reality a *delator*, whom Augustus commends for his action despite the fact that the charges which he had brought had been disproved. P. Wahrmann makes some observations ⁶⁹³ on the linguistic aspect of the decrees.

Peek corrects ⁶⁹⁴ a Cyrenean epigram (*Sammelbuch*, 5873), which he mistakenly assigns to Egypt. The religion of Cyrene is the subject of a work ⁶⁹⁵ by L. Vitali, who, after marshalling all the available evidence,

⁶⁷⁸ *Historia*, vi. 422 ff.

⁶⁷⁹ *SBerl.* 1932, 317 ff.

⁶⁸⁰ *RivFil.* lx. 59 ff., 420 ff.

⁶⁸¹ *Cambridge Univ. Reporter*, lxii. 1290.

⁶⁸² *PhW.* lii. 1077 ff.

⁶⁸³ *Gnomon*, viii. 424 ff.

⁶⁸⁴ *REG.* xlv. 286 ff.

⁶⁸⁵ *Mondo Classico*, ii. 424 ff.

⁶⁸⁶ *RivFil.* lx. 375 ff.

⁶⁸⁷ *Atti Ist. Veneto*, 1932.

⁶⁸⁸ *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxxv. 17 ff.

⁶⁸⁹ *Atti del primo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*, Florence, 1931: cf. *RivFil.* lix. 551 f., *Klio*, xxv. 85.

⁶⁹⁰ *Aegyptus*, xii. 145 ff.

⁶⁹¹ *ZSav.* li. 431 ff.

⁶⁹² *Hermes*, lxvii. 237 ff.

⁶⁹³ *Glotta*, xix. 182 ff.

⁶⁹⁴ *Hermes*, lxvi. 317.

⁶⁹⁵ *Fonti per la storia della religione Cirenaica*, Padua, 1932: cf. *RA.* xxxvi. 193, *PhW.* liii. 466 ff., *Afr. Ital.* iv. 291, *RivFil.* lxi. 275 f.

literary, epigraphical, numismatic and archaeological, deals with each of the attested cults singly. A. Braun discusses ⁶⁹⁶ at considerable length the 'Aeolisms' in the Cyrenean dialect and in Dorian poetry; E. Fraenkel investigates ⁶⁹⁷ some grammatical questions raised by the inscriptions of Cyrene, supplementing or correcting their treatment ⁶⁹⁸ by G. Devoto, and E. Benveniste's examination ⁶⁹⁹ of the word κολοσσός, and of other Greek terms denoting 'statue' or 'image,' starts from the evidence afforded by the Cyrenean *lex sacra* or 'Decretals.'

From Carthage come an interesting leaden plate, now in the collection of the late Dr. Carton, with a magical inscription fully discussed ⁷⁰⁰ by A. Audollent, sixteen leaden *bullae* and three epitaphs published ⁷⁰¹ by A. L. Delattre, whose death has robbed Carthage of a most picturesque figure as well as of a tireless excavator, an inscribed mosaic ⁷⁰² and a fragmentary dedication. ⁷⁰³ Otherwise, apart from the remarkable submarine finds off Mahdia, to which I have referred above, the western portion of North Africa has remained unproductive save for a sepulchral epigram ⁷⁰⁴ from the cemetery of St. Salsa at Tipasa and a bilingual epitaph ⁷⁰⁵ of A.D. 587 found at Hippo Regius (Bône).

MARCUS N. TOD.

⁶⁹⁶ *RivFil.* lx. 181 ff., 309 ff.

⁶⁹⁷ *Glotta*, xx. 87 ff.

⁶⁹⁸ *RivFil.* lvi. 365 ff.

⁶⁹⁹ *RevPhil.* vi. 118 ff., 381.

⁷⁰⁰ *CRAcInscr.* 1930, 303 ff., *R.I.* xxxiv. 349.

⁷⁰¹ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* vii. 303 f., viii. 127 ff., 347 ff.

⁷⁰² *AJ.A.* xxxvi. 349.

⁷⁰³ *Bull. Arch.* 1928-9, 80.

⁷⁰⁴ *CRAcInscr.* 1932, 84 ff.

⁷⁰⁵ *Bull. Arch.* 1928-9, 90 ff.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1932-1933¹

ATHENS AND ATTICA

THE American excavations in the *Athenian Agora* were resumed in February 1933, and continued till the middle of July. An account of the work up to May 1 has been published in *AJA.* 1933, 305 ff. The work is being carried on in four sectors (see *AJA.* pl. 35).

The wells and cisterns cleared during the latter part of the summer of 1932 are described by Homer Thompson in *AJA.* 1933, 289 ff. These provide clear evidence of the existence of houses where all traces of walls and foundations have disappeared, notably along the north foot of the Areopagus and north-east of the Theseum, and their contents shew that the inhabitation of this area goes back at least to the early sixth century B.C. In some cases (wells closed in the late sixth and early fifth centuries) the pottery found in the wells seems to indicate the proximity of potters' workshops or warehouses, and pots have been found which had contained *miltois*. This is further proved for the fourth century by the presence of misfired vase-fragments and lamps. Several pieces of archaic pottery found in these wells are illustrated in the article mentioned above—notably a large one-piece amphora of the earliest class, decorated with a massive sphinx (*loc. cit.* fig. 3), and from the same shaft an exquisite plastic vase (*loc. cit.* fig. 5, here Pl. XVI)—Ionian, or Ionising, work of about 540 B.C., and without question one of the finest of all existing plastic vases.² The same shaft contained red-figure vases: one of the latest of these, an interesting cup with a woman wearing a veil, and a dwarf slave, is illustrated in *AJA.* p. 293, fig. 5. This would seem to be a little before the end of the sixth century. Finally, some of the many ostraka found are shewn in figs. 6-11, p. 295.

¹ The following account is based on material supplied to me by excavators, on recently published accounts of excavations, and on Professor Karo's report in the forthcoming *Arch. Anzeiger*, typescript and proofs of which Prof. Karo kindly sent me, thus enabling me to fill up many gaps in my own material. This report is also the source of two important sections—those dealing with the German excavations in Athens and on Samos. To him, and to all who have supplied reports and photographs, I wish to offer my sincere thanks. The conduct of two excavations in the summer of 1933 (at Perachora and at Knossos) has made it difficult for me to collect first-hand evidence by visiting excavations in progress.

² Ht. 25.5 cms. The gesture is explained as that

of one binding a fillet on his head, but the position first of the hands, with palms forward, and second of the fingers, makes this unlikely: a less convenient grip for such a purpose is hard to imagine. The explanation would seem to lie in comparison with earlier plastic vases in the shape of kneeling and squatting figures, which were often made for suspension by a cord passed through the hands (*e.g.* Maximova, *Vases Plastiques*, pl. 42, 157, 159): the position of the hands of the Agora figure suits this interpretation, and though the idea seems strange, and in so delicate a figure unsuitable, we have the positive evidence of the earlier vases to prove that it was popular. The later gem, Beazley, *Leaves House Collection*, no. 92, which the terracotta might recall, seems not to be a relevant comparison.

Prof. Shear has kindly sent me the following account of this year's work:—

‘In the Agora during 1933 excavation was conducted in four areas covering about two acres. The most important topographical results were the uncovering of the east front of the Royal Stoa in the northernmost area, the discovery of a long rectangular building in a central area where the Bouleuterion might be expected to be located, and the clearing of a great wall in the eastern area, just south of the Stoa of Attalos. Overwhelming evidence was secured to date the wall in the 3rd-4th century A.D.



FIG. 1.—ATHENS: MARBLE HEAD FROM THE AGORA.

‘An interesting discovery was that of a Mycenaean burial with Late Helladic III pottery and a gold signet ring which was decorated with a group consisting of a man with an animal's head who is leading by a double rope the foremost of two women.

‘Another well yielded a deposit of objects all of which fall into the second half of the fifth century. In addition to a large amount of household pottery of great diversity of shape there were many pointed wine amphoras, some of which were stamped with a seal similar to the coin-type of the Island of Chios, indicating that they were used for the importation of Chian wine.

‘In another well, which contained Roman pottery of 2nd-3rd century A.D., were 45 lead tabellae defixionum. These are tightly folded and have not yet been opened and read.

'The season's work brought to light many pieces of sculpture. Fragments of two statues of winged Nikai were found in front of the south end of the Royal Stoa. The face of one of them is largely preserved (fig. 1), as is also one of the bodies. They were probably akroteria which stood on the projecting south wing of the Stoa. Architecturally the Stoa has been dated at the end of the fifth century and this sculpture may be placed in 5th-4th century B.C.

'The Hellenistic period is well represented by three figures carved in relief on the panels of a triangular base which was evidently the support for a bronze tripod. The figures are a draped man who may be Dionysos, a dancing girl, perhaps a maenad, and a nude youth. A remarkable series of realistic portrait sculptures belongs in the Roman age.

'The epigraphical harvest of the year has been especially rich. The number of inscriptions in the Agora collection now approximates 1100. They include laws and treaties, honorary decrees, sales' lists and dedications, and in addition to much historical data they have furnished information which has necessitated some thirty additions and corrections to the previously accepted lists of Athenian archons.

'Fifteen thousand coins were found during the year, of which the largest groups are coins of Athens, and Roman coins of the fourth century A.D. The entire history of Athenian coinage is represented and there are scattered pieces from all parts of the Mediterranean world. The cleaning and cataloguing of the coins are proceeding contemporaneously with the progress of the excavations.'

In the *Roman Agora*, as is described by Stavropoulos in Δελτίον, 1930-1, Παράρτ. 1 ff., late Roman and Byzantine walls have come to light; also remains of a pottery of the 10th-14th century A.D. which is described by Xyngopoulos. Among the finds are a head of the late fifth century B.C., a Julio-Claudian portrait head, the base of a charagic monument with an archaising inscription of Roman period. The Greek head is in the Acropolis museum; other finds in the Tower of the Winds.

Broneer's excavation on the *north slope of the Acropolis*³ was continued in the autumn of last year, and resulted in the discovery of a Mycenaean staircase which leads to a gate in the Acropolis wall. A quantity of Mycenaean pottery, and some neolithic, was found in the debris above this staircase: it is thought that this comes from a house which was built after the staircase had fallen into disuse. In the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite he found some terracottas, a couple of much-damaged marble figures from the frieze of the Erechtheum, inscriptions and pottery from an unknown sanctuary. These are shortly to be published in *Hesperia*.

Orlandos has cleared the whole north wall of the *Odeium of Perikles*, shewing that its original length was 60.60 m. = 200 feet; the north wall is illustrated in Πρακτικά, 1932, 27, fig. 1, and of the few finds, the most interesting (p. 28) is an early black-figure fragment, with Herakles and an Amazon.

The German excavators in the *Kerameikos* have had an even more

³ *JHS.* 1932, 238: *AA.* 1932, 107.

successful season than last year. A long account, by Kübler, of this year's work will be found in *AA.* 1933. The finds are in the Kerameikos museum, which has been rearranged and greatly improved. The following is an abbreviated version of Kübler's account, which contains much more detail than I am able to give here.

The mound on which the church of Hagia Trias stood proves to be a grave mound, some five metres high and thirty in diameter, which was built over a cist-grave of about the middle of the sixth century. The grave, which lay at a depth of three metres, contained remains of a skeleton, which had once lain in a wooden coffin, and fragments of ivory and amber. The earth of the mound seems to come from a Proto-geometric and geometric necropolis, probably that of the Pompeion, for it contained pottery, bronze and gold objects of this period. Soon after the construction of this mound other graves were sunk in it; these produced amber objects, two Lydian pots, and an unsigned lekythos by the Amasis painter. From the end of the sixth century to that of the fifth, the upper layers of the mound received child burials in amphorae and basins, as well as cist-burials, burnt and unburnt. In the burnt layer of a sacrificial area were found fragments of a very fine black-figure cup with wishbone handles, decorated with a prothesis. A fine late black-figure amphora, decorated with comasts and a mounting horseman, had been used for a child burial.

Before the construction of the mound this area had been relatively flat; on its original surface was found a remarkable grave, a rectangular structure of mud brick, with a poros coping: over the coping, some slanting courses of mud brick, then a flat roof of the same material (see fig. 2). The exterior is coated with poros cement, on which was a layer of reddish stucco. A broad red band ran round the foot of the grave. On the roof lay, in fragments, two dinoi decorated in polychrome technique (matt red on white slip) with plastic figures of mourning women on the rims: they were evidently placed on the grave for ritual purposes (presumably to hold liquid for libations); inside the grave was a Corinthian pyxis of about 600 B.C., a date which suits the style of the polychrome vases. The back wall of this grave is cut by two small earlier grave-mounds, each of which was built over a cremation grave. One of these yielded nothing; the other, however, contained fragments of an Attic crater of the end of the seventh century, decorated with lotus flowers and rosettes; this had been placed on the grave either as a grave-monument or, like the vases mentioned above, as a libation-vase. Carbonised matter from burnt-offerings was found by it.

The wall which bounds this area on the south lies over an earlier grave-monument (seventh century) which was already destroyed when the grave just described was built; like several others in the neighbourhood, this proved to be empty. These graves are, however, of a type which is characteristic of the seventh century in the Kerameikos, the central cutting down the length of the grave (the object of which was to create a draught when the cremation-fire was burning) having cross cuttings at either end (see the plan, fig. 3). The lack of objects from these burials is

explained by the presence of several long sacrificial channels, like gutters, constructed of mud-brick and covered with poros cement, in which the



FIG. 2.—ATHENS: VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE KERAMEIKOS.

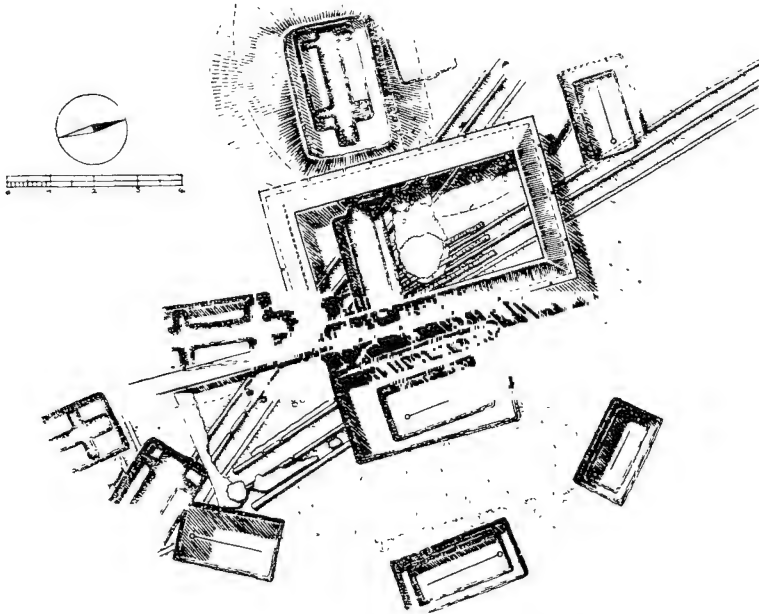


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF TOMBS IN THE KERAMEIKOS.

funerary offerings were placed. Four out of six of these are well preserved and may be seen on the plan, fig. 3; as their relative dates are fixed by

external evidence the offerings which they contained are naturally of great importance for the chronology of the seventh century. It is satisfactory that they confirm one of the existing chronological systems. The terracotta votives were accompanied by burnt bird-bones, charcoal and ashes; and the whole was tightly packed into the channels and covered, as described above. The earliest of these channels contained magnificent Proto-Attic pottery of the first quarter of the seventh century: a large terracotta sphinx with a dish on its head (Pl. XVII), a work of extreme



FIG. 4.—ATHENS: SEVENTH-CENTURY VASES FROM THE KERAMEIKOS.

austerity, and the first evidence that we have for Attic sculpture of this date; and several other thymiateria in the form of standing women, each with a dish on her head. These terracottas are all painted with red, white, and pale brown colours, like some Proto-Attic and Protocorinthian vases. There is also a tall jug with three standing women on the shoulder, whose raised hands support the trefoil mouth of the vase (fig. 4, left). Between the figures are plastic snakes which go through the neck of the vase so as to emerge from its mouth and rest their heads on the rim; painted on the neck of the vase is an heraldic group of lions with a

vertical cable between them, while on the body there is a fine prothesis, with twelve figures. The whole group of objects from this channel is of one date and belongs to the first quarter of the seventh century: it shews several points of contact with the Nessos amphora in New York. The second channel contained a group of vases which are obviously later and shew a decay of the previous style: these are said to be contemporary with the Kynosarges amphora (*JHS.* 1902, pl. 2-4). The third, which is at a higher level, contained a large Corinthian olpe of early transitional style (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 11 *bis*), and a skyphos of late Proto-corinthian type with running dogs (cf. *Necrocorinthia*, p. 23, fig. 9c); the fourth and latest a transitional jug of more developed style, close to early Corinthian (cf. *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 12, 1). It is certain that these channels were not designed to carry blood offerings into the graves, as the only complete example found is closed at either end. Parallels are known from Vourva, Velanideza, and possibly also from Marathon.⁴

In the western area (*AA.* 1932, 193 ff.), two Protogeometric cremation burials in amphorae were found; by the west wall of the Dipylon, a geometric grave; and a sixth-century sacrificial area in front of the Themistoclean wall, which contained vases and votive pinakes.

Fig. 5 shews a stele found below the level of the Sacred Way in front of the grave-enclosure of Antidosis (*AA.* 1932, 190). The surface of the stele, as may be seen, is extraordinarily well preserved; the background is brilliant pale blue, and there are traces of red on the hair and on the edge of the cloth over the chair. There are patterns in the architectural part above; flesh and clothes are unpainted. The stele stands between the decree of 410-9 and the stele of Phainareta (Diepolder, *Att. Grabreliefs*, 22 ff., fig. 4 and pl. 17), and in respect of development is obviously close to the Nike Balustrade. The epigram on the architrave is as follows:

τεκνον εμης θυγατρος τοδ εχω φιλον ομπερ οτε αυγας
ομμασιν ηελιου ζωντες εδεσκομεθα
εχον εμοις γονασιν και νυν φθιμενον φθιμενηχω

Despite the excellence of the scheme, technical competence, and pleasant sentimental quality, the stele is perhaps a trifle disappointing as a work of sculpture; this could not be said of the archaic rider, fig. 6, found built into the foundations of the Themistoclean wall, near the Sacred Gate. This statue is evidently a work of the third quarter of the sixth century, and is rather later than the earliest of the Acropolis riders.⁵ It is of Pentelic marble. Near it was found a lion of Parian marble, which resembles somewhat a lion from the Acropolis (Dickins, p. 282, no. 3832).

Interesting results are being obtained in the Greek excavations, financed by Mr. Aristophron, at the *Athenian Academy*. East of the chapel of Hag. Tryphon, at precisely the distance which Livy gives from the Dipylon, the ancient road leads to an enclosure, the wall of which is built

⁴ *AM.* 1890, 320; *Delt.* 1890, 16; *Sitz. Ak. Bay.* 1900, 267; *AM.* 1893, 53.

⁵ Dickins, p. 124, no. 590.

of good ashlar masonry; it is thought that this cannot be anything but the Academy. On the south there is a short stretch of the wall built in different, apparently earlier, technique, which the excavators identify with the Ἰππάρχου Τειχίον (Suidas *s.v.*). North of this, on the ancient road, there was a series of nine stone sarcophagi, containing gold crowns and gilded clay pine-cones from thyrsi; above these an altar-like structure



FIG. 5.—ATHENS: GRAVE STELE FROM THE KERAMEIKOS.

of large blocks: these are identified as the graves of Agonothetae. To the west there are remains of Roman baths of the early imperial period and of a gymnasium, still further north are what appear to be the foundations of a large colonnade, and part of a small building, to which some late sixth-century antefixes, and a terracotta metope-fragment with a stag painted in black-figure technique, may belong. Further excavation will, it is hoped, make the whole topography of this area intelligible and lead to really important discoveries.

Some recent accessions to the *National Museum* are published in Δελτίον, 1930 ff.: the seated Dionysos mentioned in *JHS.* 1931, 188, and the Athena head from the Pnyx (119 ff., 171 ff.; the paint on the panther-skin of the Dionysos has been retouched in the photo), an archaistic relief of Dionysos from near Chalandri (*l.c.* parartema 15 and ff.; cf. *ASA.* 1932, pl. E). Of other accessions⁶ the most important is undoubtedly an archaic Herm which was stolen from the Museum of Siphnos (Lullies, *Die typen der Gr. Herme*, pl. 2); some small geometric bronzes from Zakynthos (nude male figures with pointed helmets, presented by Miss Benton); from Athens, fragments of an Ionic column with an archaic inscription ἱτίος ἀνε θεκεν ἀνος; fragments of a grave relief of the late fifth century (warrior, [Ἀρ]ιστάνδρος); another, and a loutrophoros, of the fourth century; Roman table-leg with Marsyas bound to the pine tree; colossal head of Hadrian; archaistic Herm-head of early classical style from Taenarum; a Submycenaean amphora, a Protocorinthian jug, a red-figure pelike of the third quarter of the fifth century (silen and maenad; youth and girl); and a fine pointed amphoriskos of the late fifth century (preparations for wedding).

In the *Benaki Museum* is a newly-acquired late geometric amphora—a remarkably fine vase, in excellent preservation: on lip, handles and shoulder, plastic snakes; prothesis-scene; below, a frieze of warriors, each of whom has the very exceptional feature of a white device on his shield.

THE PELOPONNESE

In *Old Corinth* the American School has completed the installation of the new museum, and excavated at several points within the city. Of the two main galleries of the museum one is devoted to sculpture, the other to vases and small objects generally. The vases include such of the material from the Kerameikos as is ready for exhibition (in this are many excellent archaic terracottas, and a fair number of fragments of fine Protocorinthian vases decorated in the animal frieze style) and the fine series of geometric and sixth-century vases from the tombs; these, however, are not yet exhibited in tomb-groups.

The Claudian temple⁷ near the museum has now been further studied by Miss Freeman, who distinguishes two periods; the second in the second century A.D., when the building was completely reconstructed a short distance to the west. To this later temple belong some fragments of gable figures. By far the most interesting finds from this neighbourhood are some fragmentary clay figures found in wells or cisterns close to the foundation of the temple. These are of late archaic style, and are parts of a high relief, or series of high reliefs. They might be from the pediment or pediments of a temple. They are not absolutely uniform in style or technique—some show no traces of paint, while on others the paint is well preserved. The subject was certainly an Amazonomachy: the finest head is that of a fallen Amazon, with closed eyes, which at once recalls the

⁶ Abridged from Karo's list.

⁷ *JHS.* 1932, 239.

Corinthian clay heads of equally fine technique from Delphi, Halae and other sites. These, however, are all acroteria: the figures from Corinth are, as already stated, high-reliefs, and are the first examples of their kind hitherto found on the Greek mainland. The regular use of clay for such purposes in the Greek west, the tradition of the migration of Corinthian artists to the west, and in general the influence of Corinth in that quarter, make this an exceptionally interesting discovery. In this connexion I may mention a fine clay sphinx-acroterion found not long since at Corinth: though headless, it is obviously very closely related to the sphinxes from Calydon, Olympia and elsewhere which have already been thought to be Corinthian.

The largest undertaking of the American School this year has been the excavation of a vast Stoa south-east of the temple of Apollo. This



FIG. 6.—ATHENS: MARBLE HORSEMAN FROM THE KERAMEIKOS.

building is no less than 165 metres long: it faces north, and has a Doric façade with an inner row of Ionic columns. Its date is not yet fixed with certainty; on the one hand, a number of fourth-century architectural terracottas were found in wells within the building (and as these wells were closed in the Roman period when the building was reconstituted, it is thought they belong to its first phase): among the terracottas from these wells are, however, some which, in my opinion, are archaic (so that the contents of the wells not being uniform, they may not be a safe guide to the date of the building). On the other hand, some terracotta statuettes, found below the floor level and thought to be contemporary with the building, have been dated in the third century, and this is the date of a coin (Ptolemy III) found in the same place. It is naturally too early to expect a final solution of these problems, as the building is still in course of excavation. In both Greek and Roman periods the Stoa was divided

internally into a number of compartments which were used as shops: each of these contained one of the wells referred to above. Towards the end of the excavation a large Roman mosaic, in an excellent state of preservation, was discovered. North-west of this Stoa it appears that the Romans erected a Propylon of columns taken from the ruins of the archaic temple: in any case five columns and a capital similar to those of the temple were certainly put up here in Roman times. Not far to the north is a round podium of good style, part of which would seem to be Greek work; it is suggested that this is the base of a Hellenistic monument completed in Roman times.

The area of the fountain Lerna (*JHS*. 1932, 239; *AA*. 1932, 137) has now been completely cleared. On the south side of the rectangular paved area are four tunnel-cisterns, on the west one, which has been fitted up as a museum for many of the objects found here (these are chiefly architectural terracottas, archaic to Roman). The Asklepieion at Troizen (where Welter has recently excavated), with its rooms surrounded by stone benches, and a Hellenistic building at Perachora, which also has a room with stone benches, offer obvious parallels. Karo further compares an archaic scheme of the same kind at Lato in Crete (*BCH*. 1903, 211 ff., 216 ff.; *AA*. 1933). Lastly, I may mention a surprising chance discovery—a group of Mycenaean vases from a tomb or tombs in New Corinth, I believe near the railway station. This site is to be excavated by the American School.

The British School's trial excavation at *Isthmia*, begun in 1932, was completed in 1933.⁸ 'The Byzantine fort (see plan in *BSA*. XXXII), which has up till now been regarded as the site of the temenos of Poseidon, was thoroughly examined both by excavation and close observation of its walls. The conclusions arrived at were these: the earliest settlement which existed on this spot must be dated to the first century A.D.; it lasted until about the middle of the third century A.D., and was flourishing at the time of Pausanias' visit. The area was at that time not enclosed by any wall whatsoever, and formed part of a quite gradual incline towards the west. In the sixth century A.D. Justinian built a fort on the spot to hold the eastern extremity of his great Transisthmian wall: the only portion of the walls of this fort which is anterior to the sixth century is the first-century A.D. Roman arch which was included in their circuit to serve as the north-east gateway. The buildings of Justinian's epoch form the upper of the only two strata discoverable in the temenos: the Roman remains were disposed of by being hurled indiscriminately into the deep fill of the east side of the Byzantine circuit wall, in order to make a level area of the sloping ground enclosed by it; a Roman portrait bust of the middle of the third century A.D. was, however, found in the foundations of a Byzantine house. This fort can no longer be regarded as the ancient temenos.

'The discovery of a handful of sherds deep down in the only pit dug in this area last year led to a hope that these sherds lay on the fringe of a

⁸ The following is the report of Mr. R. J. H. Jenkins, who carried out the excavation.

Greek level: the hope was utterly belied—the total of classical (there were no archaic) sherds found in the extensive digging this year was seven.

‘Westward, two areas were examined and proved to contain remains of Roman occupation of the first to third centuries only. C was proposed by Fimmen as the true site of the classical temenos, but the small wall which bounds this area to the north is of Roman construction, and the large limestone blocks lying in the surface of the field are not connected with any discoverable foundations: there was not one classical sherd.

‘Finally, a site lying on both banks of the Kyras Vryse ravine did yield traces of an extensive archaic and classical settlement, though very badly destroyed by subsequent occupation and earthquake. Evidence was secured from pits in which, however, the occupational soil was exceedingly shallow, and from a classical water channel which, originally entirely subterranean, has been broken open by a fall in the east bank of the ravine. Excavation of a very small area produced sherds of Geometric, Protocorinthian, Corinthian, Attic black-figure, late Corinthian imitation of Attic and Roman wares: also a votive terracotta of late sixth-century date, and a good painted terracotta revetment datable to the end of the fifth century B.C. Some idea of the size of the settlement can be formed by the extent of the space honeycombed by underground water-passages, shafts, etc.

‘As this is apparently the only archaic and classical site in the district, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the archaic temenos of Poseidon was originally near the ravine, about half a kilometre west of its traditional site.’

A short campaign was conducted by members of the British School, in April and May of 1933, at the *Heraeum in Perachora*. The principal objective was the removal of the Chapel of St. John (see *JHS.* 1932, 243, fig. 8); this task was carried out, and the chapel was rebuilt a short distance away, higher up the hill.

Before and during the demolition of the chapel, some trials were made immediately to the south of the triglyph altar, uncovered last year (*JHS.* 1932, 243), which stands between the chapel and the sea (fig. 7). Just below the foundations of the altar some very early Protocorinthian sherds were found, and the whole area was therefore systematically explored. The result was the discovery of a thick stratum of geometric pottery, much of which is obviously earlier than the earliest geometric from the temenos of Hera Limenia. Study of the successive strata will certainly make possible chronological distinctions within the pure geometric. In the upper levels of this stratum were found a great number of bronze spits, some gold rings and discs, and three scarabs—of which last it may be said that, in view of the enormous numbers of scarabs found in the Limenia temenos, their rarity in this geometric deposit is obviously significant: the geometric deposit belongs to a time before the establishment of trade relations with the Near East. But the most remarkable finds from this area—indeed some of the most remarkable which the site has yet produced—are fragments of several clay models of houses, or temples, of the geometric period.

One of these models is comparatively well preserved, being intact, almost throughout, up to the eaves, and there is enough of the roof to indicate the angle at which it stood.⁸¹ The plan is apsidal, and the building narrows perceptibly along the whole of its length towards the apse. The



FIG. 7.—PERACHORA: THE SITE, LOOKING EAST.

In the foreground, the harbour temple; beyond, the triglyph altar and stoa.

door is flanked on either side by an anta, and above it are three small square windows. In front of one anta (the corresponding part on the other side is missing) is a small rectangular base, on which are two slender columns, side by side. Unfortunately the upper part of the columns,

⁸¹ Length 36 cms; greatest height 21; width 21.

together with the capitals, is lost. The exterior is painted with a large maeander, above which is a row of small impressed triangles (cf. the model from the Argive Heraeum).⁹ Although the roof is for the most part lost, it can be restored with certainty from two fragments which are obviously from the roof of another similar model. These shew that the roof rose very steeply, that it was slightly curved, and that a twist of rope ran along the spine: there is good reason to suppose that the actual roof was of thatch. A third model had a roof of a different type. These models were found with geometric pottery and are purely geometric in style: their early date (not later than the middle of the eighth century, and in all probability well before this) cannot be doubted: it may be said,



FIG. 8.—PERACHORA : PART OF THE SITE, LOOKING WEST.
In the foreground, the stoa; beyond, the triglyph altar.

therefore, that they give us our first detailed picture of the architecture of the pure geometric period. One of them, at least, would seem to be Argive, and this may well be true of the others. Fragments of several large Argive geometric vases were also found here, as well as an Argive geometric seal.

It soon became obvious that the geometric deposit just described was a temple deposit, but there was no trace of an early building until the chapel had been removed. Then, almost exactly below the north wall of the chapel, part of the foundation of an apsidal building, about six metres long, came to light, and immediately explained the presence of the geometric deposit, for this foundation can only be that of a geometric temple. The foundation is laid in a stratum of prehistoric (predominantly,

⁹ Oikonomos, *Ἐφημ.* 1931, 1 ff.

at least, early Helladic) pottery, but geometric was found at the level of its upper part, and the foundation itself is certainly geometric.

There can be no doubt that this primitive temple, the earliest of the buildings at the Heraeum, is one of the predecessors of the large harbour-temple uncovered in 1930-31. This, it will be remembered, lies a few yards to the west, and is dated in the third quarter of the sixth century. It is, moreover, certain that this is the temple of Hera Akraia, which is mentioned by ancient authors: in 1932 a fragment of an inscription with the letters AKP had been found in the 'Agora' south of this temple: several similar inscriptions on black-glaze pottery were found there in 1933, and leave no room for doubt as to the deity to whom the successive temples in this area were dedicated.¹⁰ The topography, moreover, confirms this identification, for the site is but a very short distance from the western extremity of the promontory.

Minor excavations were carried out in other parts of the site—in the Agora, and in the cisterns and houses of the town. In the temple of Hera Limenia it was discovered that three of the stones which lined the sacrificial pit (*JHS.* 1932, 240) were inscribed with votive inscriptions of very early date. At some time, as yet uncertain, they had been built into the sides of the sacrificial pit. That they do not belong there is proved by several facts: for example, one of the inscriptions was upside down. Two of these three dedications are comparatively well-preserved, and both refer to Hera as Hera Leukolenos, a unique example of this epithet in a dedication. These two inscriptions are not precisely similar in style: one is as early in appearance as any Corinthian inscription known, except that of Deinias—the other is rather later. That all three are earlier than the latter part of the seventh century is possible, and this would tally with the fact that the only sherds found below the *fourth* lining stone of the sacrificial pit (and this stone was almost certainly put in position after the others) were Protocorinthian.

A large geometric bronze bird was found near the Hellenistic houses west of the temenos. In the Agora, the most interesting discovery was that of a thick deposit of pottery exclusively of 'Transitional' and early Corinthian character: a closed deposit of this kind is naturally of importance for the chronology of new types, and of terracottas, scarabs, etc. found with it. A quantity of Roman pottery was obtained from the small Roman buildings in the Agora. In the town, east of the Heraeum valley, it was established that several of the houses are at least as early as the sixth century.

The Greek excavations at *Sikyon* were continued by Orlandos in the summer of 1932; they are described and illustrated in *Πρακτ.*, 1932, 63 ff. The work was concentrated on a large wall, about 100 yards S.W. of the great Roman ruins, and resulted in the discovery of a considerable terraced area (some 70 × 35 metres), backed on the north and west by a Stoa, and containing on the east a well-preserved spring house (see plan, *Πρακτικά*,

¹⁰ There are some foundations within the sixth-century temple which are evidently remains of an earlier building, intermediate between this and the first, geometric, temple just described.

p. 64, fig. 2). The terrace is reached by a staircase which runs through the middle of the east wall. The spring house contains a cemented basin, which lies immediately behind a façade of two Doric half columns, joined by a parapet over which the water was drawn. The outer façade of the building was formed by two complete Doric columns (cf. *loc. cit.* 68, fig. 6; at the back can be seen the emplacements for the spouts through which the water ran into the basin). The roof is thought to have been flat, and wooden. The date of the whole is not yet precisely defined, but it is thought, in any case, to be Hellenistic.

Some of the objects found during the excavation are illustrated in Πρακτικά: a fifth-century agonistic inscription, several Roman portrait statues, and an Artemis torso (cf. Krahmer, *AM.* 1930, 237 ff.). From a Hellenistic tomb, near the edge of the plain on which the Hellenistic town lay, were obtained a number of terracotta figures and some pottery. Lastly, a survey of the whole site has been carried out.

Orlandos conducted two other excavations in the summer of 1932—one at *Pellene* in Achaëa (Πρακτ. 1931, 76), where the temple of Athena (?) was partially cleared—it is now dated in the archaic period and not in the late fifth century—and traces of a Hellenistic building with a stone grill (Πρακτ. 1932, 62, fig. 1) were found, and at *Alipheira* in western Arcadia, some two hours west of Andritsaina. This is a vast acropolis, with an immense expanse of terraced corn-fields, and some well-preserved walls at the top (Frazer, *Pausanias*, *ad. loc.*).

Near the highest part of the acropolis foundations of a large building were previously visible, and this must, I imagine, be the site of a temple excavated last year by Orlandos. The building measures 29·70 × 10·65, and is a Doric temple of early classical style. Limestone column-drums, capitals, and marble roof tiles and antefixes were found; also five votive bases, in front of the temple, which is thought to be that of Athena. A treaty between Alipheira and Lepreum was found, and confirms Leake's identification of the site. A Hellenistic temple, perhaps that of Asklepios, was found further to the west; the statue base and a table of offerings are preserved. At the foot of the acropolis are some Hellenistic rock-cut tombs, which were cleared and studied.

NORTH-WEST GREECE

The final publication of *Thermon*, by Rhomaïos, is expected shortly: some supplementary digging was done last summer, and is described in Πρακτ. 1932, 55. Some ill-preserved prehistoric apsidal houses were found west of the great temple of Apollo, and the apsidal house found in the previous year was cleared (Πρακτ. 1931, 64). This, like the apsidal building below the great temple, contained clear traces of a burnt votive stratum, and is thought to confirm the view that the geometric temple-cult itself developed out of domestic cults, of which burnt offerings were a regular feature. More fragments of painted metopes were found: there is by now a remarkable collection of fragments of these metopes in the Thermon Museum.

Half an hour south of Thermon (near a chapel of the 'Panagoula') a complex of apsidal buildings was excavated. These contained no pottery but Hellenistic, and if they are of Hellenistic date they afford evidence of the survival at that date of an architectural tradition which at Thermon goes far back into the prehistoric period.

An account of a small excavation at *Dodona* will be found in Πρακτ. 1932, 47 ff. (Evangelidis). The most noteworthy find is a fragmentary archaic torso of a 'kore' (fig. 1, p. 48), interesting owing to the rarity of



FIG. 9.—ITHACA: ORIENTALISING VASE SIGNED BY KALIKLEAS.

marble sculpture at Dodona. The other finds are mostly small fragments of bronze; there are also a number of the usual oracular tablets of lead, with questions and answers (*op. cit.* p. 52).

Traces of a prehistoric settlement have been found at Palaeokastrizza, on the west coast of *Corfu*, by Dörpfeld, who sees in this the Phaeacian town Scherie.

The English excavations on *Ithaca* were not continued in 1933, but it is hoped that they will be resumed in 1934. The mass of pottery found in 1932 contains a great quantity of important geometric and orientalis-

many of which can be restored. Much of this pottery is a local form of Protocorinthian. A singular vase (or stand, perhaps, as it has no bottom), signed by one Kalikleas, is shewn in Fig. 9: the form ποιασε which is there used seems to be unique. The alphabet is Corinthian. The fabric and style point to an Ithacan workshop, imitating Protocorinthian of the early seventh century. An interesting development in connection with the bronze tripods from the Cave of Polis is the discovery that one of them was mounted on wheels, like the tripods which Hephaestus was making in *Il.* xviii, 37—

χρύσεα δὲ σφι ὑπὸ κύκλα ἑκάστῳ πυθμένι θῆκεν
 ὄφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσάιατ' ἀγῶνα,
 ἦ δ' αὖτις πρὸς δῶμα νεοίατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

Some bronze wheels from the Idaean cave in Crete almost certainly also belong to some of the tripods found there: and there is a clay tripod leg from Samos, unpublished, which is evidently part of a miniature copy of a wheeled tripod, as it is perforated at the bottom.

Miss Benton, of the British School, excavated for three weeks at *Astakos*, in Akarnania, at the mediaeval site of Grabes, about half an hour's walk along the road from the sea. On the northern flank the rock had been washed almost bare, but the 6-20 cm. of soil left contained only Early Bronze Age sherds.

Several trenches in a cave below the cliff yielded a big Mycenaean pithos *in situ* and a good many sherds of L.M. IIIB date, and some L.M. IIIa. Below the Mycenaean pottery was an Early Bronze Age deposit. Another cave 500 feet above sea-level, near the Chapel of H. Nikolaos, was excavated; here there was neolithic painted pottery, interesting because of possible contacts with Italy and Thessaly. There were also a 'crusted bowl' and some polished sherds.

The Mycenaean pottery at Grabes included a bevelled kylix stem and shewed other close contacts with Ithaka. It was on the whole earlier than most of the Ithaka Mycenaean. Wish-bone handles suggested connections with Macedonia.

On *Cephallonia* Marinatos has opened two more Mycenaean tombs, south of Lakkithra (*JHS.* 1932, 247; *AA.* 1932, 148), and found a quantity of local Mycenaean, as well as various small objects of gold, glass, fayence and semi-precious stone. There is a sard amulet which resembles Cycladic marble figures of much earlier date. The excavation was continued in July 1933.

THESSALY

Observations on prehistoric sites near *Larissa*, in Thessaly, are reported by Karo in *AA.* 1933. Grundmann, to whom these are due, noted a chain of neolithic settlements running north from the Pagasaeon Gulf, including one on an island in the middle of Lake Boebeis: see *AA. loc. cit.*, and Grundmann's previous observations in *AM.* 1932, 102 ff. Béquignon's researches in the neighbourhood of *Pharsalos* are described in *BCH.* 1932, 89 ff. (cf. *JHS.* 1932, 248).

MACEDONIA

A report on recent work at *Olynthus*, by D. M. Robinson, will be found in *AJA*, 1932, 118 ff. At *Dion*, Soteriades continued, on a small scale, his work in the Basilika, noted a Chapel of St. George at Spi, an hour from Dion, and a chamber tomb at Vergina, where remains of a marble door and painted stucco are visible.

The French excavators at *Philippi* (Collart and Ducoux) have made progress with the task of clearing the forum. The following is taken directly from Karo's longer report. The square is surrounded by a water channel made in part of re-used blocks. The buildings which face it stand on a base of three or four steps. The east side corresponds to the west, excavated previously, and appears, from an inscription, to have contained a library. There is a Corinthian temple similar to the one on the N.W. side: it has a pronaos with two columns on high pedestals, and a wide cella with a bench running round it. In the pediment was a shield in relief: there were marble acroteria (Athena between Nikai). A votive inscription to Victoria Germanica was found. On the north side was a temple on a podium, between two similar buildings. The clearing of the Basilika has also progressed under Lemerle's direction, and should be completed this year.

Near the arch of Caracalla at *Thasos*, Launay and Avezou have completely cleared a building which was discovered in 1911-12. This turns out to be a Doric porch, approached by a broad flight of steps; behind this a room 15 metres across, with an internal peristyle of Ionic columns—in fact a hypostyle hall as at Delos. Fragments of a votive inscription of the third century were found in the previous excavation. This is evidently a religious building, though its purpose has not yet been defined. Near it was found a fine male torso of the first half of the fifth century.

THE ISLANDS

The excavation at Antissa, in *Mytilene*, was continued by Miss Lamb, with the assistance of other members of the British School. The following is Miss Lamb's report:

'I. *The apsidal buildings AC*.—The apse found last year at the foot of the acropolis proved to belong to the later of two buildings, one below the other. The lower, built of small, roughly-dressed stones, has an apse at the east end. On the west a cross wall cuts off a shallow porch, of which the north wall ends in a well-defined anta, while the south wall is destroyed. Another cross wall screens the apse, a third runs diagonally across the middle compartment, and incomplete subsidiary walls outside on the north may possibly represent a side entrance.

'Within the building and immediately below it were found fragments of the native Lesbian bucchero and of imported geometric wares, some of which are Rhodian.

'The apse of the upper or later building (fig. 10) is at the west end, and in the middle of the apse was a door blocked up at a later date. The

walls are of polygonal masonry in its earliest form with occasional small stones filling difficult angles. There appear to have been two cross walls, but the east end is not preserved.

'Beneath the walls was fine bucchero: inside, a very shallow stratum of earth containing bucchero, Protocorinthian and Rhodian; above this stratum came fill, including small stones, Hellenistic pottery, and archaic wares evidently part of the original deposit. There is evidence to shew that the building had been dug into and refilled in the Hellenistic period (*BSA*. xxxii).

'Between the centre and the apse was a flat slab of burnt earth supported by a pile of stones. This looks like an altar. Payne, *JHS*. 1932,

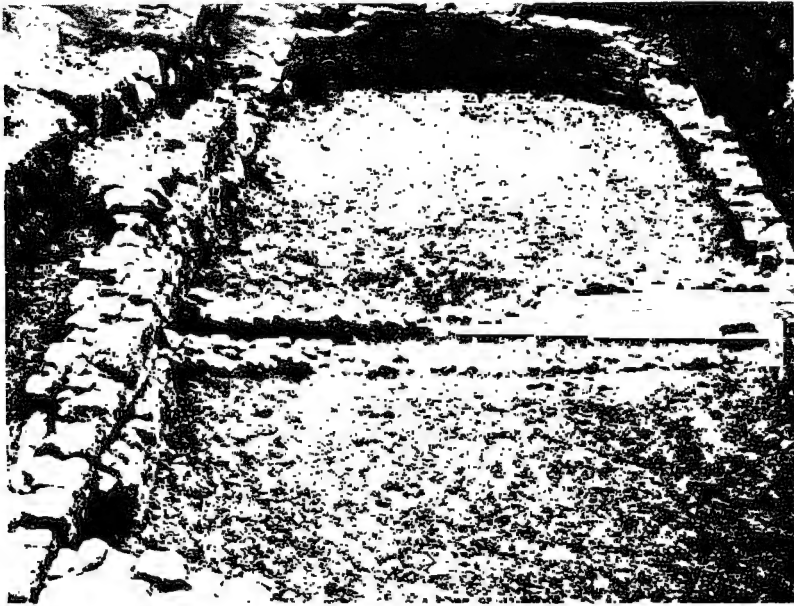


FIG. 10.—MYTILENE: APSIDAL BUILDING.

p. 240, gives examples of altars inside early temples, and epigraphical evidence, for a later date, is provided by an inscription from Cos.¹¹

'The question, however, arises as to whether the two apsidal buildings at Antissa were temples or not. The arguments in favour of their being temples are, (i) a large deposit of fine bucchero, including one or two phialae, in the earlier one; (ii) the presence of good imported pottery in both, and (iii) the repetition of the rare apsidal plan. It is true that practically no votives are present except fibulae, but much may have disappeared when the later building was excavated by the Hellenistic Greeks.

'Other erections on this part of the site include a paved area like a street, below which were found Attic black-figure fragments and pieces of

¹¹ *JHS*. IX, pp. 327 ff.

two or three fine Corinthian craters. On the south of AC is a long narrow structure, probably Hellenistic and evidently used as a Stoa.

'II. *The Necropolis*.—Two main forms of burial were employed: interments in coffins, and cremations in jars. The coffins, usually of the shape associated with Clazomenian sarcophagi, date from the sixth to the fourth century or later. The vases, of various shapes, also belong to the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries. Among the contents were terracottas, Attic lekythoi of various periods, and two small glass jugs. Of these, one was found with an Attic lekythos belonging to the late sixth or early fifth century (decoration lost by corrosion), the other with late black-figure lekythoi decorated with palmettes (first half of the fifth century).'

At the *Samian Heraeum*, Buschor has carried out further excavations below the great altar of the dipteros of Rhoikos and Theodorus. They revealed traces of a sacrificial area which goes back into the second millennium; above the earliest strata is an altar which was reconstructed no less than three times in the geometric period, each time at a higher level, and yet once more before the building of Rhoikos's altar. There were five buildings, presumably treasuries, dating from the seventh century, in the neighbourhood of these early altars. Below the third treasury (*AM.* 1930, 10, fig. 4) was found an electrum owl which is thought to come from a silver vase, as it has holes for attachment and traces of silver oxide at the back. The head, details of the body, and outstretched wings are finely granulated; the eyes were inlaid in another material. The style is considerably earlier than that of most Rhodian jewellery (cf. Marshall, pl. 11), and is comparable to that of jewellery from Ephesus and Lydia (Marshall, pl. 10; *BCH.* 1879, pl. 4 ff.). The earliest pottery is Mycenaean (the presence of which below the geometric altars gives evidence of the continuity of the cult from Mycenaean times), the latest sixth-century: the geometric and sixth-century finds are particularly rich. Clay, bronze, fayence, and limestone figures were found; also a sixth-century marble head, and fragments of bronze, ivory, bone, glass and gold objects. The southern part of the temenos was cleared, and bronze figures of a Laconian warrior (fig. 15) and of a dog were found. The foundations of the apse of the Basilika yielded fragments of the late marble restoration of the Rhoikos altar,¹² and poros fragments of its predecessor.¹³ Near the north-east corner of the south building¹⁴ a poros relief of the Polycratean period was found: the upper part of a draped figure, over life-size. A Kore statue of the third quarter of the sixth century has been acquired from outside the excavation: the Kore is of slight build; she holds her skirt in one hand, and flower in the other, against her breast; the style continues the tradition of the Geneleos statues. The archaic sculpture of Samos will shortly be published by Buschor and the geometric pottery by Eilmann.

Some important chance finds from the necropolis of the town have reached the museum, notably palmettes from stelai, one of which, a work

¹² Cf. *AM.* 1930, Beilage 26.

¹³ Cf. *ibid.* Beilage 25.

¹⁴ Cf. *AM.* 1930, 59 ff.



FIG. 11.—MYTILENE: BUCCHERO CUP.



FIG. 12.—SAMOS: FOUNDATIONS OF EARLY ALTARS.



FIG. 13.—SAMOS: SUBGEOMETRIC TERRACOTTA HEAD FROM THE HERAEUM.

of the early fifth century, recalls the Lydian stele, *Sardis*, II, 78, fig. 92. From a hill near the shore there is the upper part of an archaic statue of a bearded god, nearly twice life-size: though badly damaged this is still a highly impressive piece of work.

Wrede has continued his researches in the town area. The north necropolis (Boehlau, 32 ff.) is now known to cover the whole eastern slope of the hill on which the town wall lies. A couple of sixth-century graves were found (containing unpainted lekythoi), one of which had a poros roof, the other a tile roof; also traces of a large sixth-century rock-altar, and a couple of Hellenistic graves, which contained strigils, terracottas, and Megarian bowls. An ancient road, which emerges from gate 6 in the town walls, leads to this necropolis, and the presence of sixth-century graves in this area is regarded as evidence of the early date of the wall. Trials were made by the western town-wall (*AM.* 1884, pl. 7, south of tower 31). Below the Hellenistic courses were found remains of a massive wall of poros blocks, some flat-dressed, some rounded: the first is thought to be the wall of the sixth century, the second that of the Peloponnesian War (*Thuc.* VIII, 51). The strata were disturbed, but the majority of the sherds were archaic. Their quantity proves that this part was inhabited as early as the sixth century: among them are some prehistoric sherds. Finally, a quantity of waste pottery seems to indicate the existence of a potters' quarter in the immediate neighbourhood.

CRETE

In February of this year a peasant planting vines in a field between *Knossos* and *Fortezza* came upon two geometric tombs, which were subsequently cleared, in the absence of a member of the British School, by the local authorities, Marinatos and Platon. In the summer the field in question was systematically explored by Blakeway and myself, and six other tombs were found: this group of tombs is by far the best preserved, and the most important, of the post-Minoan cemeteries of Knossos, and, as will be seen, yielded a vast quantity of vases and other objects which can be placed with certainty, on external evidence, in their relative chronological sequence.

I will first describe briefly the tombs which we excavated. These are all chamber tombs, with dromoi, cut in the soft rock, and orientated east and west. The hillside on which they lie is the western face of the so-called Acropolis of Knossos, about half a mile due west of the Palace. The plan is roughly as in *BSA.* 1927-8, p. 226, fig. 2. All had collapsed, but in every case the great majority of the vases were lying, or standing, in their original positions; many were unbroken, and in nearly all cases the small vases and other objects which had been deposited could be attributed with certainty to the pithos in which the ashes had been placed. Four of the six tombs were closed protogeometric tombs, never re-used in a later period: in two the earliest vases were protogeometric, and from these there was a continuous sequence, through geometric to early orientalising (about 700 B.C.). The closed protogeometric tombs contained from one

to four burials, the cinerary vases being accompanied by smaller vases (stirrup-vases, kalathoi, etc.), and in some cases containing bronze fibulae and small gold objects; in one instance, the cinerary vase, a large bell



FIG. 14.—SAMOS: ARCHAIC TERRACOTTA HEAD FROM THE HERAEUM.

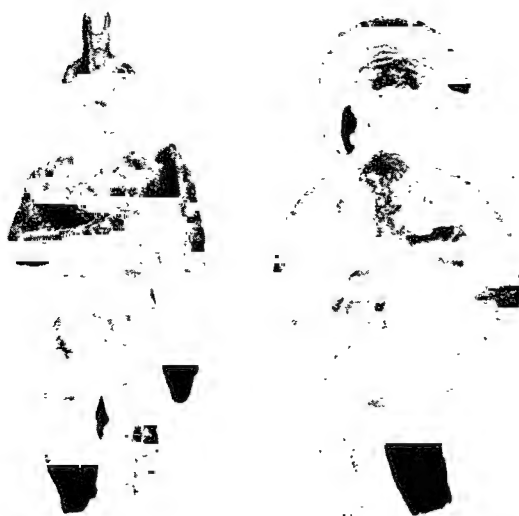


FIG. 15.—SAMOS: LACONIAN BRONZE FROM THE HERAEUM.

crater (decorated with goats in a style directly descended from that of the goat-crater from Moulana¹⁵), contained a bronze cup in which was a fayence ring with hieroglyphs. The protogeometric vases from these tombs shew no great variation in style, and belong, like those from other tombs

¹⁵ 'Εφημ. 1904, pl. 3.

at Knossos,¹⁶ to the latest phase of the protogeometric period. The fact that in each of these instances the stone wall built across the mouth of the tomb chamber was undisturbed, combined with the obvious stylistic unity of the contents of the tombs, is clearly of great importance for the separation of protogeometric from geometric proper, and, it may be added, entirely confirms the reality of the protogeometric category defined, without the aid of such external evidence, in *BSA.* 1927-8, 267 ff.

Of the other two tombs excavated during the summer I will describe only the more interesting. This contained no less than 30 pithoi (each with ashes), standing in position. In the dromos were several polychrome pithoi standing side by side in a recess (with one of these was an early Protocorinthian kotyle)¹⁷ and in the middle of the dromos a bronze bowl, like some from Afrati,¹⁸ in which was a very fine early orientalisising Cretan aryballos. The mouth of the tomb was blocked by a thick mass of stones; in the tomb the pithoi were stacked over each other at four levels: the latest were polychrome orientalisising; some other orientalisising pithoi were decorated with varnish paint, some were geometric, some protogeometric. Much external evidence is afforded by the relative position of these vases, which, further, are of course necessarily all earlier than that found in the dromos. The small objects found include scarabs (from an orientalisising pithos), silver and electrum pins, bronze fibulae, iron pins, engraved stones, and iron spear-heads and daggers. The wooden sheath of one dagger was comparatively well preserved,¹⁹ while in two bronze vases the cloth in which the ashes had been kept was clearly traceable, attached to the sides of the vase.

The larger of the tombs found by the peasants, and excavated by the local authorities, was, however, far richer than any of the others. The vases are not yet mended, and in consequence little can be said of the find as a whole, save that the tomb had certainly contained about eighty burials of the same kind as those described above (cremations in pithoi: protogeometric to orientalisising), over forty of which are orientalisising. An extraordinarily large proportion of these are exceptional for one reason or another—usually for their elaborateness and the fineness of the technique. The tomb is obviously that of a family considerably more prosperous than most. This interpretation is supported not only by the unusually fine painted vases, but by the presence of a large number of bronze vases, and by two very elaborate bronze reliefs—the one a large oblong, diminishing towards the lower end, decorated with five bands of figures—three of helmeted sphinxes, and two like that shewn in fig. 16, top (compare the small relief from Kavousi, which is obviously from the same workshop²⁰); the other is a long narrow strip, decorated in the middle with a square panel with three figures, while on either side is a battle scene: three archers, one above the other, facing chariots moving towards the centre, one behind the other (fig. 16, below). My drawings were not done under ideal conditions

¹⁶ *BSA.* 1927-8, 254 ff.

¹⁷ Type Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, pl. 9, 6.

¹⁸ *Annuario*, x-xi, 128, fig. 110.

¹⁹ Another sheath was apparently of leather.

²⁰ Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, pl. 56e.

(the fragments not yet having been stuck together), but they are, I think, fairly accurate both in the proportions and in the rendering of detail.

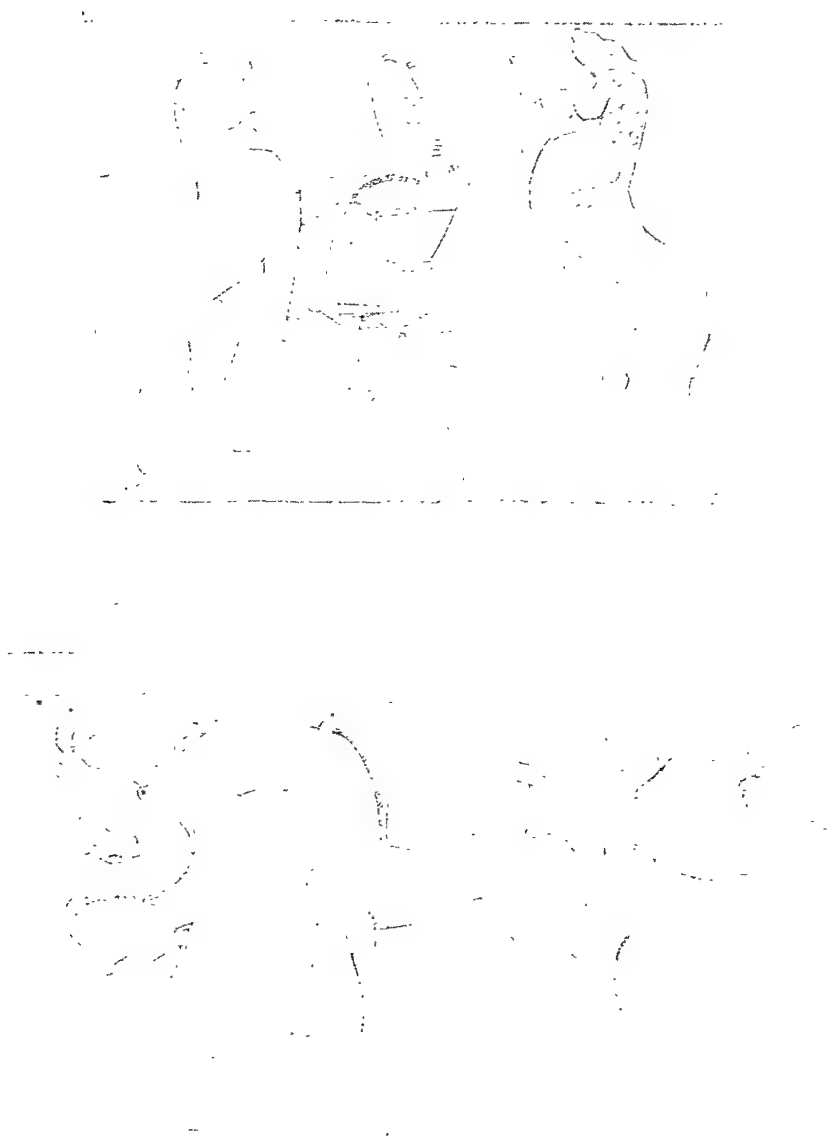


FIG. 16.—KNOSSOS: DETAILS OF TWO BRONZE RELIEFS.

Both reliefs, despite their many oriental features, are certainly of Cretan workmanship.

Of the pottery I can illustrate only one or two examples. The most remarkable vase—one of the finest Greek vases from Crete—is the alabas-

tron (fig. 17). The detail is slightly enlarged: there is a third sphinx between the two here shewn (in an intermediate attitude, half between the two schemes, crouching and walking). Shape and patterns are characteristically Cretan (compare Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 270, fig. 114a), and this is true of the style, and of many of the details, though I know of no Cretan vase that comes so near to Protocorinthian.

The disc shewn in fig. 18 could be used as wall decoration, or as a pithos lid: no doubt it was as such that it came into the tomb. In the centre is a plastic dog's head,²¹ with a star-like ornament between the ears. The decoration of the upper part, with triangular mounds of 'scales' springing from the edge, is obviously derived from late Minoan tradition: compare Forsdyke, *British Museum Catalogue* I, 1, p. 192, fig. 275. The principal decoration shows that the 'lid' is late geometric: a figure (face outlined) approaches a tripod, below which is a human protome: in one hand he holds something which can only be interpreted as fire or water²²—and fire is clearly more probable: a thunderbolt has been suggested, which would make this figure the earliest representation of Zeus. The bird on his other hand may be fortuitous, in the same sense as the other birds on and by the tripod.²³ In addition to the bronzes mentioned above there is a very curious object, shewn in fig. 19, which is presumably oriental; there is also a Phoenician bowl, with goats and palmettes, and a frieze of bulls, a quantity of iron (axes, spears, swords, and thin bars which may be spits), and a deep bowl of pale greenish glass. The whole find will be published in the *Annual* of the British School.

Other early tombs were excavated by us in the same neighbourhood, and close to the main road below Fortezza. One of these last had obviously been partially excavated, but it still contained a number of vases of very early Protogeometric, or perhaps, rather, Sub-mycenaean style; another, of the later Protogeometric period, yielded a quantity of vases and an inhumation burial.

An interesting chance find from near the Royal Tomb at Knossos is reported by Marinatos: a steatite seal in the form of a recumbent lion; engraved below, a squatting figure, with a small globular vase in one hand: in front is a large double loop-ornament. This seal is thought to be Asiatic, not Minoan or Egyptian. Other chance finds are a remarkable fragment of a steatite vase (from *Apodulu* in the province of Rhethymnos), with eleven signs of the Minoan script; a very large Minoan clay statuette of the familiar type with cylindrical body and raised hands (from *Pankalochori*, in the same province); three relief pithoi, gigantic and magnificent, from *Phaistos*, of the same class as one found there a few years ago. These each have an animal in relief on the neck (two bulls and a horse) and relief patterns on the body: the other found previously

²¹ Marinatos, in Karo's report, calls it a bull's head with the Minoan rosette on the forehead. This would, of course, be very interesting, but the head, which is very neatly modelled, cannot be that of a bull.

²² Cf. the tricorpor from the poros pediment on

the Acropolis. For the form of the "fire" we have an almost exact parallel in the Hittite relief, Weber, *Hett. Kunst*, pl. 2.

²³ Marinatos and Platon estimate the total of vases at about 500.

has a cock. They would seem, from the style, to belong to the later seventh century: they are to be published in Karo's report. Fragments of other such relief-pithoi are reported from Kastelli and Astritzi Pediados. In the fields near *Archanes*²⁴ a quantity of Middle-Minoan sherds, fragments of unpainted sarcophagi, and some house-walls, have come to light.

Both at *Phaistos* and at *Mallia* works of conservation have been carried out in the Minoan palaces. At Mallia Chapouthier has established that



FIG. 17.—KNOSSOS: ALABASTRON.

the palace in its present form is not earlier than M.M. III, the plan of the earliest (M.M. I) building being in many details uncertain: he has also excavated a number of M.M. I houses which are partially covered by the foundations of the M.M. III palace. Demargne has cleared more M.M. III houses, south-west of the palace.²⁵ Further excavation at Chrysolakkos has brought to light a number of fragmentary half columns of stuccoed limestone, the first of their kind to be found in Crete, which are naturally of considerable importance in connection with the half columns of Mycenae (Tombs of Atreus and Clytemnestra); unfortunately it has not yet been possible to say how the half columns from Mallia were used. Demargne

²⁴ Cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, 64 ff.

²⁵ Cf. *JHS.* 1932, 253, and *BCH.* 1932, 76 ff.

has also excavated at *Dreros*, where he found an archaic relief, with a winged running figure, a sphinx, and two other figures; below this is a Gorgoneion of very early style.

The task of piecing together the frescoes from Marinatos's excavation at *Amnisos*,²⁶ the harbour-town due north of Knossos, has made remarkable progress, and several very considerable panels have been reconstructed. The motives are entirely floral, and so far no trace of human figures or animals has been found. The style is curiously unlike that of the majority of Minoan frescoes, severely conventional in composition, and more restrained in its choice of colours. The north wall of the room which produced the majority of the fragments was covered by a design of lilies on a dark red ground (detail, Πρακτ., 1932, 88, figs. 8-9); on the west were plants, resembling some kind of mint, which may have been in large vases, as well as lilies and irises (cf. Πρακτ., 1932, 90, fig. 9); on the south, tendrils, crocuses, and a band of circles and papyrus flowers. The lily fresco is executed in a curious impressed technique, carried out with great skill, which gives a remarkable degree of definition to the design.

A general account of the excavation at Amnisos will be found in the article cited above: the villa from which the majority of the finds come yielded little pottery and few other objects, but these are sufficient to show the building goes back to the beginning of M.M. III, and was destroyed early in L.M. I by a violent earthquake. Marinatos connects this with the great volcanic upheaval which destroyed a large part of Thera, and brings down the date of this disaster from 2000 to 1550-1500 B.C.²⁷

At *Hellenes Amariou*, near Rhethymnos, the excavation mentioned in my previous report²⁸ has been concluded. In addition to the early Minoan pottery there mentioned other early Minoan objects, and a grave, were found, as well as Greek sherds of the 6th-5th centuries, and remains of modern times, when the cave was used as a refuge from the Turks.

Lastly, at *Chersonesos*, on the road towards Mallia, Marinatos and Sotiriou have discovered two early churches, one of which appears to cover the sanctuary of Britomartis: it is hoped to excavate these in the near future.

CYPRUS

I have received the following account of recent work in Cyprus from Mr. P. Dikaïos, Director of the Cyprus Museum:

'The archaeological work of this year has been carried out firstly under my direction on behalf of the Cyprus Museum, and secondly under the joint direction of Mr. F. A. Claude Schaeffer, as representative of the National Museums of France, and of myself representing the Cyprus Museum.

'The work carried out by the Cyprus Museum is marked by the important discovery of an extensive Neolithic settlement at Erimi, eight

²⁶ *JHS.* 1932, 255.

²⁷ See Marinatos in Karo's report, *AA.* 1933.

²⁸ *JHS.* 1932, 255; *AA.* 1932, 177.

miles west of Limassol, and not far from the site of ancient Curium. Trial digging at the beginning of the work revealed several layers, and



FIG. 18.—KNOSSOS: GEOMETRIC LID.

during this year's season we reached the depth of about two metres in an area of 400 square metres. In this I have been able to distinguish four

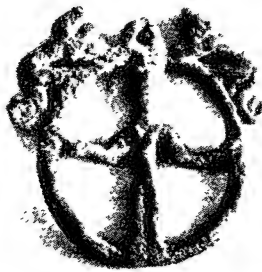


FIG. 19.—BRONZE RING FROM KNOSSOS.

superimposed layers, each of which is marked by a house of a circular type with substructure built of stones. The first house was of a very developed type and had several divisions. The second layer house was

simpler and had been destroyed by conflagration. A third house again of a circular type with a grinding place in the centre, and lastly a fourth house, were laid bare. The most important documentary results will be those given by the pottery. All the four layers yielded abundant pottery, including a fair number of whole vases. This pottery is both painted and unpainted. The painted is covered with a thick buff slip on which red paint, sometimes turning to brown, was applied. The unpainted is covered by a slip either creamy or red-polished. The shapes are mostly deep bowls with flat base and spreading or convex sides. Besides these there are jars with ovoid body, narrow concave neck, and raised pointed base. Remarkable is the vase fig. 20 from the second-layer house. Among the finds are abundant stone and flint implements, steatite ornaments, idols, spindle whorls, etc. The excavations will be continued next year into the deeper strata.

‘The importance of this discovery is evidently great. It will be possible to make a complete study of the Stone Age in Cyprus for which evidence has been more or less scanty. The Bronze Age and the question of its origins will also be greatly illuminated. As regards the date of the Neolithic settlement of Erimi, it will be difficult to express any opinion as yet, since it will first be necessary to go through all the strata. The date of 3000 B.C. for the upper layers may be considered as the lowest limit, but a close examination of the finds and the establishment of statistics of the pottery are necessary before we come to definite conclusions.

‘Excavations have also been carried out in a site near Curium, where tombs of the transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age have been opened.

‘The joint archaeological work carried out by Mr. Claude Schaeffer and myself was devoted to the opening of some tombs in the Early Bronze Age necropolis of Vounous-Bellapais, where interesting discoveries were made during excavations carried out by the Museum in 1931 and 1932 (see *Syria*, 1932, p. 354 sq.).’

TROY

The excavations at Troy conducted by Professors W. T. Semple and C. W. Blegen for the University of Cincinnati, to which the German Archaeological Institute last year ceded its prior claims, were resumed during the months of April, May and June 1933. Professor Blegen has kindly sent me the following:

‘In this second campaign the chief attention of the expedition was devoted to the examination of the stratification of the site, continuing what had been begun in 1932. In the central part of the citadel, in area E 6,²⁹ some 2 m. of accumulated deposit were removed layer by layer, the successive floor levels being carefully recorded together with all the material found upon them. These floors belonged to the Fifth and Fourth Cities of Schliemann’s and Dörpfeld’s enumeration; some of the walls were still preserved, and each room contained an oven or a hearth. The

²⁹ As marked on the plan, Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*.

material recovered comprised objects of bronze, stone, bone, terracotta, and an abundance of pottery, including many complete vases. The evidence brought to light made it clear that the Fifth City must be

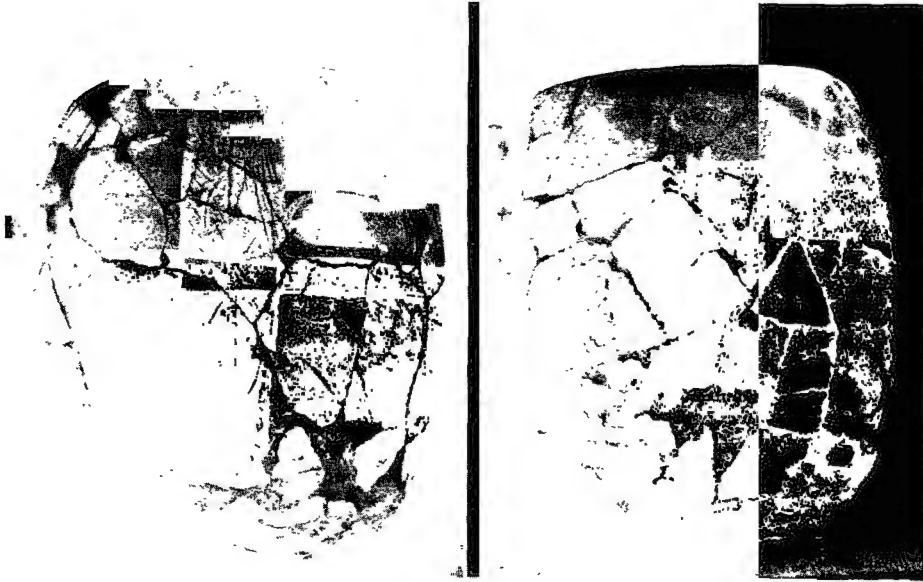


FIG. 20.—CYPRUS: NEOLITHIC VASE.

regarded as transitional between the Early and the Middle Bronze Age. The discovery of a late type of Early Helladic ware on floors belonging to the earliest stage of Troy V gave a valuable chronological clue for dating

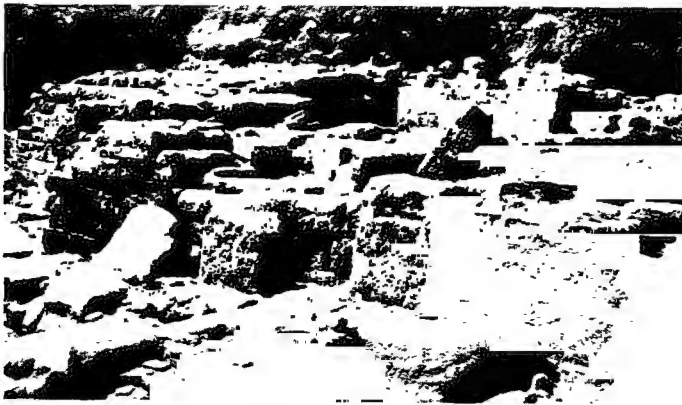


FIG. 21.—STONE PILLARS OF TROY VI.

the beginning of the Fifth City. Work was also continued in the broad cut begun last year through squares F 8-F 9 on Dörpfeld's plan, in the outer part of the citadel. Toward the southern end of this cut the upper courses of the Sixth City wall were finally reached. Inside the wall part

of a house of the Seventh City was laid bare, on the floor of which a mass of shattered pottery came to light, permitting the reconstruction of a good many vases. A short distance to the eastward of this cut the great South Gate of the Sixth City and its flanking tower were investigated; the Roman walls uncovered by Dörpfeld in 1894, which, to a great extent, concealed the earlier remains, were partially removed and the constructions of the Sixth City have now been fully exposed to view. The roadway leading through the Gate has preserved three successive stone pavements, the earliest of which, provided with a well-built covered drain, probably belongs to a reconstruction carried out in Troy VII. The great stone pillars, or *baetyls*, which Dörpfeld discovered outside the south wall of the flanking tower were completely cleared (fig. 18): four are still more or less well preserved, and there may originally have been one or two more. These *baetyls*, of impressive dimensions, constitute one of the most remarkable features of Troy VI, and their significance for the religious cults of the Sixth City has not hitherto been adequately recognised. Probably to be associated with the *baetyls* is a massive, altar-like base surrounded by a circular stone-paved area inside the tower. At various points along the eastern and southern course of the wall of Troy VI pits were dug to examine the stratification, and some useful evidence was recovered to co-ordinate the ceramic periods with those established on architectural grounds by Dörpfeld. According to the evidence of the pottery the Sixth City began a long time before the walls and towers were built. The early pottery of Troy VI, chiefly grey and black Minyan ware together with some yellow and red and a few matt-painted sherds, corresponds closely to that of the Middle Helladic stage on the Greek mainland, and the beginning of Troy VI must consequently go back well into the first half of the second millennium B.C. A small area in square J 5 was excavated very carefully; the deep deposit here contained many successive layers belonging to Troy VII, and probably VIII, which yielded a ceramic sequence of considerable interest. Along the western side of Schliemann's great North-South Trench the undisturbed layers of Troy I were meticulously examined down to the native rock. Troy I was clearly a very long period; at least four successive phases were recognised, the pottery of which appeared to show a regular development. It seems clear that there was no break between Troy I and Troy II, but a continuity of occupation. Two large trenches were begun on the northerly slopes of the hill in squares A 2-A 3 and D 2-D 3 in order to ascertain if any remains of the circuit walls of Troy II and Troy VI were still preserved on this side. Neither trench was completed this season, but in D 2-D 3 great masses of stones came to light, apparently fallen material from the Second City wall. In squares A 2-A 3 no fortification wall has yet been identified, but a thick layer of debris extending a long distance down the slope of the hill was recognised as having been thrown over the edge of the citadel at the time when the Romans levelled off the top of the acropolis and cut away the layers of Troy VII and VI. Professor Dörpfeld's explanation of the disappearance of these layers is thus fully substantiated. On the western slope below the acropolis some further

investigation was carried out beneath the undercut ledge of rock discovered in 1932. A large levelled space below the ledge was revealed, and immense quantities of shattered pottery were recovered, apparently a pure deposit dating from Troy II. Further digging will, however, be necessary before the significance of this deposit can be understood.

‘On the plateau to the south of the citadel many exploratory trenches were laid out in a search for tombs. In all these trenches Hellenistic and Roman remains came to light in abundance, and it is clear that the Agora of later Ilion lay in this region; part of it seems to have consisted of a great open square surrounded by colonnades, from which a roadway led to the acropolis. To the west of the Agora the basilica-like building found last year was almost completely excavated. It appears to be part of a palaestra with *thermae* adjoining. Several periods are represented by successive floor levels, one of the earlier of which includes some fairly well preserved mosaics—boxers, wrestlers, pygmies and cranes, etc. In the large Roman theatre the western half of the orchestra was cleared. Among the objects found here may be mentioned some fragments of inscriptions and of sculpture of late Roman times: a headless herm, a torso of a colossal Herakles, etc. Several complete inscriptions in Greek and in Latin ranging from the second to the fourth century A.D. were found on marble blocks which had been re-used in the substructure of a late Roman building erected over the Sixth City wall on the south side of the citadel. Some architectural fragments from the temple of Athena were also recovered from this same region. All the identifiable remains of the Temple, both at Troy itself and in the surrounding villages and cemeteries, were carefully studied and drawn by the architect, H. Schleif, who was sent out by the German Archaeological Institute to complete the preparation of this material for the definitive publication of the Temple. The University of Cincinnati’s excavations at Troy have not yet been finished, and the Expedition hopes to continue its work next year.’

H. G. G. PAYNE.

A Portrait of Ptolemy III Euergetes.—A small glazed earthenware portrait-head of a man, found accidentally on the site of the Middlesex Hospital, has been acquired by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, as a gift from Mr. C. E. Grunspan. It is 32 millimetres ($1\frac{1}{8}$ inches) in height: and is made of buff clay, covered all over with a vitreous glaze which varies in colour from brownish-green to bright blue. The neck is broken off from the nape to the base of the chin. The back of the head is cut off obliquely, but evenly, as though for attachment to a flat background; the oblique cut gives the face a quarter turn to the left. The head is hollowed out behind, and even this cavity is blue-glazed.

The man represented has a fleshy jowl, rather projecting lips, prominent eyes, and a somewhat retreating forehead, over which the straight hair

Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*. In his notice of my edition of this play, your reviewer questions the emendation, which Headlam proposed and I adopted, of v. 370 (Τυφῶνα θούρον, θεός ὃς ἀντίστη θεοῖς for MSS. Τυφῶνα θούρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντίστη θεοῖς), and says: 'Even if we suppose that Typhon could be called a god, yet the word comes awkwardly after the accusative θούρον.'

The first point was fully dealt with by Headlam himself in *C.R.* 1900, pp. 106–7, where he notes that Typhon is called a god by Hesiod (*Th.* 824, κρατεροῦ θεοῦ, 871 ἐκ θεόφιν γενεή) and by Hesychius (Τυφῶν: θεός τις γηγενής), and that his divinity is implied by Aeschylus in *Theb.* 497–501. In the same article he refers to copious examples of the insertion of πᾶσι *contra metrum*.

With regard to the second point, postponement of the relative pronoun is not common in Aeschylus, though it is found in *P.V.* 501, 1102, *Pers.* 601, 874, *Ag.* 170, and perhaps



FIG. 1.—HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

is combed forward in a roll, held in position by a plain rounded diadem. His left ear is preserved, but the right is cut off by the oblique slice at the back. The tip of the nose is broken. Otherwise the features are distinguishable, though superficially indicated.

The material points to Egypt: we may compare it with the miniature portrait from Naucratis, also in the British Museum and identified as Arsinoe II (*JHS.* xlviii (1928), pp. 239 ff. and pl. xv). The diadem shows that it represents a Ptolemy. Comparison with coins (e.g. *BMC. Ptolemies*, pl. xii. 2–5) indicates Ptolemy III Euergetes as the most probable subject. The only certain marble portrait of this monarch is the bust at Alexandria (Fuhl in *JdI.* xlv. (1930), p. 35, figs. 18–19); and this little head is thus a valuable, if modest, document for the study of Hellenistic iconography.

R. P. HINKS.

in *P.V.* 914. But it is very common in Pindar: *O.* v. 12, καὶ σεμνοῦς ὀχετοῦς, Ἴππαις οἷσιν ἄρδει στρατόν; viii. 75–6, χειρῶν ἄωτον Βλεψιάδαις ἐπίνικον, ἔκτος οἷς ἤδη στέφανος περίκειται; *P.* ii. 4–5, ἀγγελίαν τετρασρίας ἐλελίχθονος, εὐάρματος Ἰέρων ἐν ᾧ κρατέων; iii. 113–14, ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδενῶν τέκτονες οἷα σοφοὶ ἄρμωσαν; *I.* i. 12–13, καὶ τὸν ἀδείμαντον Ἀλκμήνα τέκε παῖδα, θρασεῖαι τὸν ποτε Γηρυόνα φρίξαν κύνες; vii. 24–5, μάτρῳ θ' ὁμωνύμῳ δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλος, χάλκασπις ᾧ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμιξεν; see also *O.* ii. 8, 99, ix. 33–4, *P.* i. 74, 99–100, v. 10, 40–2, ix. 44–5, *N.* iii. 20–2. It is indeed characteristic of his style, and therefore is not out of place in the Aeschylean passage, which is probably intended to be reminiscent of Pindar's First Pythian (see my note on 364).

I regret that I did not deal with this matter more fully in my commentary, but I think there is no doubt that Headlam's emendation is right.

GEORGE THOMSON.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Chamber-Tombs at Mycenae. By A. J. B. WACE. (*Archaeologia*, vol. lxxxii.) Pp. xii+242; 58 plates, 50 illustrations. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1933.

This magnificently produced volume completes the account of the excavations conducted by Mr. Wace at Mycenae on behalf of the British School from 1920 to 1923, the researches on the Acropolis and in the tholos-tombs having already been published in Volume XXV of the *Annual* of the School. This final instalment contains in the first place a description of the chamber-tombs, with a plan and section of each, or, where stratification was observable, as in Nos. 517 and 529, plans of the different levels, and a full description of the objects found in each. This is followed by a discussion first of the structure of the tombs and the methods of burial, and next of the material under the appropriate headings—pottery, metal-work, etc. The book is what we should expect of the author's unrivalled knowledge of prehistoric Greece and rigorously scientific methods of research.

A good deal was already known of the chamber-tombs from the excavations of Tsountas in the 'eighties and 'nineties, in the course of which about two hundred were opened; but in those days the methods of excavators were apt to be somewhat rough-and-ready and their records were frequently defective. In the excavations of the British School twenty-four tombs of the Bronze Age were opened and subjected to a rigorous scrutiny, with the result that we have a far more complete and detailed account of Late Helladic burial practice than any hitherto available. The main results may be summarised as follows:—Nothing runs counter to 'Tsountas' original hypothesis that the chamber-tombs, which are found in small clusters, are the burial-places of clans or townships grouped around the royal residence; for the Acropolis of Mycenae was no more than that.¹ Some half-dozen of the tombs excavated by Mr. Wace were in use from LH. i. down to the end of LH. iii. or near it, and, in common with those more numerous ones which only cover the LH. iii. period, shew no trace of

hostile disturbance or change of population. That the separate chambers are family tombs is a natural inference, which derives some support from Professor Furst's observation² that in No. 529, which was in use from LH. i. to LH. iii., all the measurable skulls had the same cranial index, 74. While emphasising the scantiness of the Mycenaean material which for the Late Helladic period consists of twenty-two skulls, Professor Furst feels fairly confident that these represent at least two racial strains. Combined with the archaeological evidence of peaceful continuity, this suggests that fusion had taken place before the opening of Late Helladic I.

A careful examination of the tomb-structure shews that while some variations appear to be arbitrary, the proportions of the dromos have a chronological significance. The dromoi of the tombs which contained LH. i. and LH. ii. material are short and relatively wide, those of the LH. iii. period are long and narrow, a difference also observed at Asine. A similar change of proportions occurs in the dromoi of the tholos-tombs, and for these the evidence from the chamber-tombs confirms the chronological sequence proposed by the excavator.³ Sepulchres which remained in use for periods varying from two to four or five centuries were inevitably subject to clearance or rearrangement. This was done in various ways: the bones and offerings of earlier interments might be transferred to a repository pit excavated in the chamber or dromos; or they might be removed and packed in one part of the chamber, or again they might be merely swept out into the dromos. There can be no doubt that on these occasions valuable grave gifts were frequently removed; for the small objects of value recovered, which presumably had been dropped or overlooked, suggest that the dead, especially in the case of the earlier burials, were richly equipped at the time of interment. The most valuable finds from an artistic point of view were a number of engraved gems, found in LH. ii. and LH. iii. contexts.

Pottery naturally bulks largest in the contents of the tombs. A remarkably large number of vases were recovered entire or in a condition

¹ The notion of a 'Lower Town' of Mycenae has long been exploded, though the misleading term crops up from time to time.

² Appendix, pp. 230-1.

³ See *BSA.*, XXV, pp. 387 ff.

admitting of reconstruction, and form a welcome addition to our knowledge, especially of the LH. ii. and LH. iii. periods. Fürtwangler and Loeschke published the vases from the shaft-graves, but from the later periods hardly anything but fragments, while with a very few exceptions the finds of Tsountas have not been published at all. The re-emergence in LH. iii. of Middle Helladic designs and vase-shapes suppressed in LH. i. and LH. ii. is a significant feature of that vigorous if inartistic age.

Mr. Wace has added a brilliant chapter to the long history of Mycenaean exploration and has so presented his material as to make the book an invaluable work of reference. The completeness of the bibliographical notes and the perfection of the index lay under deep and lasting obligation all students in the field in which he is an acknowledged master.

For the admirable plates which illustrate the volume as well for the figures in the text we are indebted to the generosity of an American benefactor, Miss M. B. Wright of Washington, who undertook the cost.

Προϊστορική Ἐλευσίς. By G. E. MYLONAS. Pp. vii + 184; 2 plans, 128 illustrations. Athens: Hestia, 1932.

Dr. Mylonas is to be congratulated on this clear description of his finds at the prehistoric settlement of Eleusis. House-remains, pottery and miscellaneous objects of the Middle and Late Helladic periods came to light in well-stratified sequence over a fairly large area, as well as some Middle Helladic burials and one Late Helladic burial of a child. The report also includes some account of finds made by Skias, Philios and Kourouniotes. In general the finds conform to those already known to be proper to the periods in question. Especially interesting are: the incised Cycladic sherds in the lowest levels; the evidence that at Eleusis, at any rate, grooved Minyan follows plain: the apsidal ends of Middle Helladic houses; the analogies between the latest M.H. burials and the Shaft-graves of Mycenae.

A discussion of the problem of Minyan ware occupies several pages, and Dr. Mylonas returns to his arguments in defence of a Southern origin for the Minyan ware found in Chalcidice. He may be right, and the priority at Eleusis of plain to grooved Minyan is a point in favour of his case, but one of its chief supports has since been removed by the final publication of Eutresis, in which nothing is said about such priority there in the case of goblets, while in the case of cups and bowls, only the use of *pronounced* rings is held to be a later development. More proof, therefore, is required before Dr. Mylonas' view can be

accepted. Dr. Mylonas recognises (p. 56, note 1) the parentage of Minyan in the Macedonian Early Bronze Age pottery, but does not give Childe the credit for having first detected it. In my forthcoming book on Macedonia I hope to be able to shew that this Proto-Minyan element was far stronger than is realised, and if the developed Minyan of Chalcidice really came from the South, it merely speeded up an internal process already far advanced.

That 'hand-made pottery is not always a proof of priority' (p. 56, note 2) is not an original discovery, but an elementary fact known to most excavators.

Since Dr. Mylonas has gone out of his way (p. 56, note 1) to criticise the method of excavation by soundings adopted in Macedonia, it may not be out of place here to say that he has completely misunderstood the scope of the work, which has been in the nature of a reconnaissance. For this purpose soundings are the only possible method. The next step—intensive excavation, site by site—should now be undertaken by Greek archaeologists, who have not so far paid as much attention to Macedonia as it deserves.

The book is well illustrated and printed, and M. Travlos' plans and sections are admirably clear. Incidentally it is shewn what a suitable medium is modern Greek for archaeological reports. It has almost the clarity of French and almost the flexibility of English.

W. A. H.

Greek Geometric Art; its symbolism and its origin. By ANNA ROES. Pp. 128; 104 figs. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, and London: H. Milford, 1933. 9s.

The earlier work of Miss Roes, *Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst*, was reviewed in this *Journal* eighteen months ago (lii. 129). In it she found among the earliest ceramic remains of Elam a series of striking parallels to the more complicated motives of Greek geometric art and hence was led to conclude that some relationship existed. Her thesis has aroused considerable interest, though there is a nasty chronological gap which at the moment she has not succeeded in bridging. Still, it is becoming increasingly evident that the geometric art of Greece is not the simple home-grown product it was once thought to be, and the possibility of Asiatic elements is by no means to be disregarded. In the present essay, which is written in English, she returns to the charge but along a different line of attack and with a wider sweep in material, incorporating the geometric art of Italy. She begins with the assumption that the motives and forms of

geometric art are so few and so constant that they must be symbolic representations with set meanings; to which many of us will give a measure of assent. She then explains the whole geometric repertory as symbolic of sun-worship—not only the swastikas, circles, and rectangles, but also the horses, birds, fish, etc.; on which *quot homines, tot sententiae*. However, Miss Roes states her case very fairly, and for those to whom the difference in time is an insuperable bar to the acceptance of her Elamite-Greek theory she brings up a new argument—why is it that the same symbolism recurs on the native coinage of Gaul, which has no apparent relation to the Greek geometric age? It will be admitted that she has tackled a difficult problem with courage and resourcefulness.

Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern.

By HEINRICH BULLE. Photographs and drawings by H. Wirsing. Sections by K. Lehmann-Hartleben, H. Möbius, W. Wrede. (*Abh. d. Bay. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl. xxxiii Bd.*) Pp. xii + 351; 47 plates in separate case, 34 illustrations. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1928.

Despite its modest title this is one of the most important books on the Greek theatre that has appeared since Dörpfeld and Reisch laid the foundations of the study in 1896. Within the limits of this review only the broadest aspects of Bulle's conclusions can be indicated. About two-thirds of the book is filled with detailed descriptions of some twenty theatres in Greece proper and the West, almost all studied first-hand by Bulle and Wirsing, though in many cases very rapidly. The most important new observations concern Athens and Segesta. Bulle insists on the urgent necessity, on almost all the sites, of fresh investigation, and emphasises the fact that many of his conclusions may be upset by new knowledge. The last third (from p. 209) is a systematic study of development, down to Augustus, followed by a discussion of the inner significance of the external changes in theatrical architecture. Great use is made of the evidence of Vitruvius and Pollux, and also of Pompeian paintings and mosaics. There is an excellent table of contents and admirable indices, and the plates are exceedingly good.

Athens naturally occupies most space, being of the greatest intrinsic importance. Here Bulle believes himself to have found remains of a long rectangular altar on two steps, cutting off an arc of the well-known early orchestra on the stage side. He connects this altar with Thespis, and regards its erection as the decisive step which turned the old cyclic dance into a

drama played before a background. He assumes that the altar was soon expanded by wooden additions and adorned with scene-painting. To this period he assigns polygonally-arranged wooden benches on the hill-side, which twice collapsed, first about 500 and again in 458. About 465 Agatharchus produced for Aeschylus a more developed wooden skene, adorned with perspective painting, and probably anticipating the general shape of the earliest stone skene, which he would assign to 458, and which he calls 'skene I'. This 'skene I' is an inference from scanty remains: Bulle holds that it had paraskenia like those of its successor, skene II, but shorter.

With skene II we reach firmer ground, for it is no other than Dörpfeld's 'Lycurgeoan' skene, a solid structure whose general ground-plan is not disputed. Bulle puts it back to the time of Nicias, about 420 B.C., and makes detailed suggestions for its restoration, based partly on the evidence of the plays, partly on the remains of other theatres of the same general type. He concludes that it had a low wooden stage, three steps higher than the orchestra, between the paraskenia, and that the main back-wall carried a pediment, used for theophanies: and he believes these features to have been inherited from skene I and even from Agatharchus's scheme. To Lycurgus himself, besides the completion of stone seating in the koilon, begun by Nicias, Bulle ascribes a complete remodelling of the skene wall, with columns and statues, and the erection between the paraskenia of a much higher wooden stage, with panelled front. For these conclusions also the direct archaeological evidence is slight. After Lycurgus there was at Athens no important change till the Sullan destruction, and Hellenistic developments must be studied elsewhere. The so-called 'Hellenistic' proskenion at Athens is post-Sullan, and its columns are all re-used, most of them coming from a dismantled choregic monument. The Roman stage is Neronian, and important modifications took place under Hadrian and again in the early fourth century A.D.

For the reconstruction of the fifth-century skene at Athens, Bulle relies chiefly on the poorly-built Eretria I, which he dates between 441 and 411. He argues from its doors (three in the back-wall and two in each paraskenion) that it had a wooden stage one step high. For the fourth-century Athenian skene he has chiefly used Segesta, whose skene is remarkably well preserved. While assigning it to the third quarter of the third century, Bulle maintains that it follows the Lycurgeoan model more

faithfully than Epidaurus, where the paraskenia have lost their importance: Epidaurus, however, provides the crucial evidence for a high wooden stage before the end of the fourth century, since its ramps are demonstrably original, though its half-column proskenion is not earlier than 200 B.C. The introduction of the high stage is connected by Bulle with the elimination of the chorus and the dominant importance of the New Comedy.

The restoration of the Segesta skene (plates 23-25, with some modifications in the text) is astonishing, but well documented: many authorities, however, would date it much later than the third century. A high wooden stage, with panelled front, connects the lower parts of the stone paraskenia. Above this an engaged Doric colonnade runs along the face of the skene, and is continued as a partly open colonnade round the paraskenia. Higher still is a similarly arranged Ionic colonnade, and the upper part of the skene wall is set back to provide a second stage: a large pediment rises over the central portion and a small one over each paraskenion. The main stage is approached by three doors in the back wall, the upper stage by one. To this general type, Bulle assigns the skenai of Syracuse, Tyndaris, and many others, all attributed to the third century B.C. or a little later, and mostly in the West. The Sant' Angelo terracotta at Naples, if rightly assigned to the late fourth century, gives important support to Bulle's arguments.

In sharp contrast with all these stands the third-century Eastern group, Delos, Priene, Assos, and Ephesus, which have no paraskenia. Of these Delos was at first of wood, and has not been adequately published. All the rest have been remodelled, and the original appearance of their skene fronts is uncertain, but Bulle believes that pilasters were the usual decoration. It should be observed that he rejects von Gerkan's reconstruction of the original form of the Priene skene, and agrees with Dorpfeld in supposing that the stone proskenion, with half-columns engaged to pillars, has there replaced a wooden logeion. Such stone proskenia were probably invented at Alexandria, and first appeared at Delos in the middle of the third century, and a little later at Oiniadai. They were added to many old theatres during the second century.

In the second and first centuries the skene with 'thyromata,' familiar from Oropus and from the later forms of Ephesus and Priene, becomes dominant. In this type the skene wall is reduced to plain pillar-like stretches between three, five, or even seven large openings.

The oldest example may be of the late third century, at Oiniadai, but the date of this theatre is disputable. Simultaneously with this type we find at Magnesia a ground-plan which suggests the combination of side thyromata with free-standing columns in front of the central part of the skene wall. Thasos, at an uncertain date, seems to have had similar arrangements, together with an open proskenion of free columns, a late type known from several second-century examples. The Magnesian skene anticipates Roman forms, and Termessos, in the Augustan age, goes further in the same direction. Vitruvius's Roman theatre closely resembles the Termessos type, and was probably based on Pompey's theatre at Rome, which was adapted from the theatre at Mitylene. The height of the Termessos logeion lies between the Greek and Roman limits, but is nearer the Greek: Pompey probably adopted the low Vitruvian pulpitum, descended through the Atellana from the Phlyakes. In this connection Bulle proposes to shift Vitruvius V 6. 8. to after V 7. 2 (from the Roman to the Greek section), a somewhat arbitrary suggestion.

The closing sections, which are largely concerned with the evidence for stage production and decoration provided by Pompeian and other paintings and mosaics, are among the most novel parts of the book. Bulle is excellent on such definitely theatrical pictures as the Dioskurides mosaics, but he seems to exaggerate the general influence of the stage on Greek and Campanian mural decoration. He produces, however, much evidence in support of his view that the theatre was the main inspiration of spatial representation in ancient painting. The chief difficulties in his interesting attempts to connect various types of painting with the periods of theatrical architecture seem to lie in the *number* of the thyromata in many theatres (seven at Ephesus) and in the rarity of indoor scenes in the New Comedy: he may be right in falling back on the little-known requirements of the mime.

This sketch gives no adequate idea of the range and quality of Bulle's work. His mental alertness shews itself again and again in brilliant flashes of insight and in ingenious combinations of fragmentary evidence. One notable merit of the book is the fact that he never forgets the importance of the non-dramatic uses of Greek theatres, which is especially relevant to the understanding of Megalopolis, Sparta, and Tyndaris. It should be added that he regards the whole book as preliminary to an intensive study of the internal evidence afforded by Greek drama of the classical period.

In conclusion a few slips may be corrected. In the last line of p. 150 'Hieron I' should be 'Dionysios I': on p. 133 n¹. Pollux 3, 154 is wrongly said to refer to horse-rolling; and in the neighbourhood of p. 200 the order of the pages is utterly chaotic, though nothing is lost.

D. S. R.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos: preliminary report of the fourth season of work, Oct. 1930-March 1931. Edited by P. V. C. BAUR, M. I. ROSTOVITZ, and A. R. BELLINGER. Pp. xvi + 290; 26 plates, 17 figs. Yale University Press, and London: H. Milford, 1933.

Once again the excavators of this famous site have a rich harvest of finds as the reward of their labours. First of all comes an important addition to the history of the town; Rome occupied it in 115 or 116, and erected a triumphal arch of which fragments of the inscription have been recovered. This discovery compels the editors to abandon their previous view that Roman troops first entered the city in 165 under Lucius Verus; but the evidence remains that during the interval the city was in Parthian hands, and it is probable that Dura was one of the Trajanic conquests abandoned by Hadrian. Further work has been done on the fortifications and on various shrines; the frescoes of the temple of the Palmyrene Gods have now been removed and safely bestowed, part at New Haven, part in the museum of Damascus. The Palace and several blocks of interesting private houses have been cleared; from one of these came the best single find, a large silver vase with two garlands in repoussé work, perhaps Syrian work of the early third century of our era.

A large fresco in one of the houses represents a battle in which heavy cavalry of Iranian type are victorious. Mr. Little is inclined to identify them as Sassanians rather than Parthians, in which case the capital importance of the fresco as filling a gap in the remains of Sassanian art requires no emphasis. In any case the painting was left unfinished at the time of the catastrophe of 256. A large number of inscriptions are again published, mainly graffiti from the House of the Archives; they include interesting horoscopes and several trading accounts; there is also a dedication to Zeus Betylos, a deity who appears here for the first time. The sensational find of Christian frescoes was made at a later date and will presumably be published in a future report.

J.H.S.—VOL. LIII.

Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Irak. Pp. 62; 13 plates, 6 figs. **Second Preliminary Report.** Pp. xii + 72; 26 plates, 12 figs. By LEROY WATERMAN. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931 and 1933. Each \$1.50.

Saul's emotions when instead of his father's asses he found a kingdom must have been reproduced by the excavators who set out to locate Babylonian Opis and came upon that great city Seleucia. The first two reports of the joint expedition of the University of Michigan and the Museums of Toledo and Cleveland have now appeared; they are well illustrated and tell briefly and simply what has been done. The main operation was the examination of a single large *insula* of which the uppermost level, built in the early first century of our era, is described in the first report. The uncovering of a second and a third level, thought to begin about 43 B.C. and 142 B.C. respectively, forms the subject of the second report. The first and second layers reveal an Oriental civilisation, in the third the Greek *megaron* occurs; and below all is a fourth stratum still to be dug and of which we are only told that it is 'purely Hellenistic.' In addition, the first report contains a note on a Parthian villa; sealings with Greek inscriptions; coins and terracottas, Greek and Parthian; while the second adds an account of the numerous burials found within the house, in accordance with Babylonian custom, and of some interesting jewellery discovered among the burials.

In the Mountains of Greece. By H. D. F. KITTO. Pp. 150; 4 plates, 1 map. London: Methuen, 1933. 6s.

To write a good book on modern Greece, it is necessary (1) to travel off the beaten track, appreciatively and at leisure, (2) to record one's experiences before they lose their novelty, in other words before the country becomes really familiar. Such a combination is rare, for the more adventurous travellers usually postpone writing till too late. Fortunately the author and his wife made their first trip in the wild country round Vardousia, from which they went to Akarnania, and then to the Peloponnese; they acquired sufficient command of the language to make friends with the many amusing people they met; and they had enough leisure to stop as long as they liked wherever they liked. While their journeys were still vivid in their minds, the author wrote this book wherein he recorded, with just the right amount of detail, those characteristic sights and sounds, those enter-

taining encounters, that make Greece irresistible. The preface contains some useful practical hints; the rest of the book I will not forestall except to recommend you to meet without delay the pig-dealer who was enraptured by the Olympia pediments, the Leipzig park-keeper whose enthusiasm carried him round Greece on tenpence a day, and, if you can bear his kind, the American Greek who woke the travellers in order to borrow their opera-glasses for his mother-in-law to look at the moon.

One criticism: a less inadequate map should have been provided. One correction: it is inaccurate to say that the inhabitants of the Maina do not speak Greek. Finally, one warning to those who know Greece well: the book will cause a nostalgia acutely painful. But do not omit, on that account, to buy it and put it in your pocket where it will comfortably fit.

W. L.

La frise ionique. By R. DEMANGEL. Pp. x + 609; 13 plates, 114 drawings in text. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1933.

This is a book which should be carefully studied by all archaeologists. It deals extensively with a large subject. One might wish on certain points for greater detail, but the method of treatment and the plan of the work are excellent, and the lack of detail is counterbalanced by the full references. The illustrations are numerous and for questions of subject, composition, etc., the line drawings are sufficient, for the subtler problems of lighting, colouring, and perspective are explained by the single coloured and twelve photographic plates. This book gives an admirable frame-work into which more detailed studies might well be fitted; for instance, the chapter on composition with its insistence on the distinction between Ionian and Dorian methods is excellent as far as it goes, but it needs completing with a detailed study of the same character as Hermine Speier's *Zweiggruppenkomposition*, and the chapter on *horror vacui* might well have more reference to vase painting: it is after all remarkable that, while sculptors were frightened of the vacuum, painters, like those of the Fikellura group, exploited it to the full. But a study of this size cannot be expected to answer all these questions. The main lines of the work are admirably clear: it is an inquiry into 'bandeaux sculptés, conçus comme élément décoratif d'un ensemble architectural.' The first half of the book discusses the origin of the Ionian frieze in Eastern parapets (*i.e.* it was originally not ornamental but protective), discusses the

Eastern and Creto-Mycenaean forms of frieze, traces the development of the Ionian frieze from the decorated parapet (terracotta or stone) through the great friezes of the fifth century B.C., on to the Roman period. The contrast of climatic conditions in Asia Minor and the mainland of Greece and their effect on the architecture is excellently written. The theory that the abandonment of terracotta for stone friezes caused a wholesale migration of Ionian potters to Etruria is interesting. The second half of the book deals with the decoration, subjects, composition, *horror vacui*, *isokephalia*, perspective, colouring. Here too there are excellent ideas: the gradual change of the character of the decoration, apotropaic, religious, ethical, formal (perhaps there might have been more references to literature, particularly for the fifth century); the change of decoration when the stone frieze, where exact repetition of ornament was no longer economical, supplanted the terracotta; the account of the elements which go to the composition of the Parthenon frieze; the gradual development of the sculptured frieze from painting to sculpture (though here there might well have been a word on the technical and stylistic differences between Ionian, Athenian, and Peloponnesian relief). This is a suggestive book and its neat phrasing sticks in the memory: 'L'Ionie, c'est déjà la Grèce, et c'est encore l'Orient'; 'au récit s'oppose le drame; à la frise ionique la métope.'

T. B. L. W.

The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture.

By STANLEY CASSON. Pp. xiii + 246: 96 illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 25s.

The author has here expanded the earlier, briefer exposition of the results of his scrutiny of technique, and embodied the previous conclusions of other scholars; adding a systematic catalogue of the tools and their functions. It is the first complete account which has been attempted, and should be a useful, if rather lengthy, compendium of our knowledge. The most important original contributions are the study of prehistoric sculpture, in which, when iron was unknown, stone tools were used; and the observation of the extent and effect of the employment of stone tools, particularly rubbers of emery, in the archaic and early classical periods. It was known that the surface of nearly all finished sculpture of marble or limestone was smoothed by rubbing with soft stones, such as pumice, but it has not been remarked before that

hard stones were sometimes used for one stage of the carving.

Not much new knowledge has been added to the earlier account, but the aims of this book are wider and rather different, and it might be described as a survey of early Greek sculpture from the technical point of view. Two objections might be suggested to an essay of this kind: it is bound to be largely hypothetical and uncertain, and too much importance is apt to be attributed to technical methods. Blümel usually confined himself to the observation of the marks left by tools on unfinished surfaces, and drew conclusions which are mainly sound. Here the author, often dealing with finished sculpture, is forced to rely on guess-work about the first stages of the carving. Theories, for which the evidence is wanting or vague, are often introduced as hypotheses and later assumed to be facts.

The serious consideration he gives to the nebulous descriptions of wooden 'Xoana' in ancient authors (which he believes may be Mycenaean statues which survived into Hellenic times) appears to have influenced him in his assertion that soft stones were regarded by the Greeks as similar to wood and carved with the same tools. But the hardness or softness of a substance affect its tractability less than its texture does, and it is the grain of wood to which the particular character of wood-carving tools is due. The punch is as suitable for the first stages of limestone sculpture as for marble, and there is no evidence for the positive statement made here that it was not used. The surface of all finished statues, where the marks of chisel or knife are not visible, must have been smoothed by rubbing with stone. The suggestion that a 'fine surface finish' was unnecessary, because it would have been covered with paint, is misleading: paint need not obscure fine qualities of modelling.

While the author is no doubt correct in the importance which he gives to the use of stone rubbers in marble sculpture, there is no decisive evidence for the statement that in many early works only a punch and rubber were employed. It is difficult to be certain that a claw or flat chisel were not used at an intermediate stage, especially for details in the face and drapery. A gouge or flat chisel would have been convenient for the ear of the Dipylon head, for example, and some other tool, besides the punch, must have been used in the hair. Sometimes the author seems uncertain in his own mind of the advantages and limits of stone tools, how far they were used to shape and when only to smooth. He speaks in some places of the method of rubbing as 'long and laborious,' in others as much quicker than working with iron.

Much less convincing is the assertion that the flat chisel alone was used to carve low relief. It is based mainly on the observation of eccentric and unimportant works, as the archaic Spartan reliefs, or slight works, decorative adjuncts in very low relief, like the *Athletes basis*, the style of which has much in common with draughtsmanship. There is no reason to suppose that in works like the *Ludovisi Throne* and most parts of the frieze of the Parthenon, where mass and contour are used in a wholly sculptural way, the point and the claw were not employed for the first stages. On the archaic grave stele in New York there are marks of a claw on the unfinished part of the youth's head and marks of a file on the ground. It is misleading to say that it is quicker to work with a flat chisel; up to a point, for removing material and blocking out a figure, the punch is quicker. Almost all low reliefs were smoothed by stone, including the Parthenon frieze (see p. 201).

Kluge's main conclusions about the technique of bronze-casting are accepted and reproduced here. It is difficult to form a judgment at second hand and from written accounts only; but even if, by the beginning of the fifth century, the Greeks had not perfected the *cire-perdue* process of casting, it is hard to see what reason there would be for using a wooden, instead of a clay, model. Since the model is only a medium for the metal, the definition of the qualities of a statue as 'plastic' or not is beside the question; the shape of the drapery of the charioteer at Delphi, for example, is perfectly suitable to the bronze material. The description of the treatment of the surface of the bronze after casting, and the tools and methods used in finishing and chasing are the author's most interesting contributions. It is not easy to decide whether the Greeks used artificial patination. It can scarcely be said that bronze has a 'native colour'; when cleaned and burnished it has a dazzling glitter, proper only for a particular kind of sculpture, and probably unbearable in brilliant sunlight; while the natural tarnish due to exposure cannot be called very beautiful.

It is doubtful whether the 'important chronological results,' claimed in the Preface, can be obtained by an analysis of technique; the conclusions are usually too vague and too uncertain. On the other hand, many of the dates here assumed, and on which important conclusions are often based, are disputable. Reasons could be given for placing the *Acropolis torso* 593 in the sixth instead of the seventh century, and most of the seated figures from *Branchidae* in the first half of the sixth century, instead of the second; for believing that the *Kore* with the *peplos*, no.

679, is considerably later than 560 B.C., and that the majority of the Korai were made between 520 and 490 B.C., rather than between 540 and 520. The sculptures of the Nereid Monument are more often dated to the late fifth than to the fourth century.

The least convincing passages are those in which aesthetic conclusions are drawn, especially the theory of the influence of technique and style upon each other. The thesis that technique often controls and forms style is put forward at the beginning and is made very prominent throughout; and an enormous importance is attributed to surface detail. The artist naturally selects the material he can get best suited to his work and the tools with which he can best execute his designs; it is his mind which forms his style, and technique is no more than a means to it. Surface details, which are here so emphasised, are only really effective when they define the main proportions of the sculpture: as modern sculptors never cease to tell us, 'Sculpture is the Composition of Masses, defined by planes.' It is easy to illustrate and prove that mere technique is not decisive by comparing the statues reproduced in figs. 34, 36, 38 and 39: the technique is said to be the same in all, but the styles are widely different. The artistic qualities of the statue dedicated by Cheramyes and of that illustrated in fig. 38 are not at all alike, although the drapery has been carved in the same way. The early Attic Kore in the Berlin Museum may be a 'masterpiece of craftsmanship,' but that does not make it good sculpture. The contrast drawn here between the face of Cleobis and that of the Sunium Apollo is unimpressive, because the face of the Sunium Apollo is almost entirely restored.

There are signs of lack of revision and co-ordination (*e.g.* on the same page the Dipylon Head is said to be made of Island and Pentelic marble); this is probably the reason why, in some cases, it is so difficult to discover what the author himself believes. On a number of important and controversial problems a later passage seems to contradict or modify an earlier. This may be due to a too great desire to reach certainty on points for which there is no evidence. The parts of the book where real observations are recorded, such as the use of the tubular drill in prehistoric works, are valuable and important; others, in which vague generalisations or unfounded theories are made, are regrettable, because they tend to obscure and detract from the good. Some of the unaccountable and startling expressions may be due to the style, which is almost too dashing and picturesque; but what is one to make of such a statement as:

'certainly Polycleitus devoted a major part of his energy to hair' (pp. 163-4)? H. J.

Dar Kleophradesmaler. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. 30; 32 plates. Berlin; Heinrich Keller, 1933. 16m.

Campana Fragments in Florence. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. 35; 3 plates, 17 transparencies. Oxford University Press, 1933. 15s.

The *Kleophradesmaler* is the sixth number of the series *Bilder griechischer Vasen*, edited by J. D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal. Text and illustrations are of the high standard which we have been led to expect from the preceding 'Berlin painter' and 'Pan painter.' The painter's development is traced forwards and backwards from the two magnificent cups in Paris, one with the Amazonomachy of Heracles, the other with the deeds of Theseus. There are appendices discussing the arrangement of the fragments of which these two cups are composed and the cups are published complete for the first time. The list of the painter's works in *Attische Vasenmaler* has been increased by one neck amphora, two pelikai, two calyx craters, two lots of fragments and eight black-figure Panathenaic amphoras. The list has been rearranged and renumbered, the vases now being arranged chronologically inside the shapes. Small misprints may be noted: p. 14, Taf. 24 bis should be Taf. 24; p. 26, 43 (45) should be 43 (40); p. 27, 57 should be 57 (52); p. 29, 82 (66) should be 83 (66).

The *Kleophradesmaler* should be popular; it is an invaluable contribution to the interpretation of Greek art. Professor Beazley doubts if the *Campana Fragments* will ever be really popular. This may be true, but it is certainly a masterpiece of scholarship. In form it is a commentary on Dr. Doro Levi's catalogue of the Campana fragments in Florence. This has necessitated the renumbering of Dr. Levi's figures in all but twelve plates of the catalogue: seventeen 'flimsies' are provided to put over the other plates; they have tracings of the outlines of the fragments and the new numbers. The commentary describes 'first, joins and pertinences; second, subject, when not obvious, and interpretation; third, period, style, and authorship.' The labour and the kind of scholarship involved can be understood when it is realised that well over a thousand fragments in Florence are described and attributed, many of them about a quarter of an inch square, and that fragments joining them 'crop up all over Europe and America';

for instance the frontispiece is a fairly complete cup by Olto, composed of fragments in Rome, Florence, Heidelberg, Brunswick, Baltimore, and Bowdoin College. In the commentary various lists of attributions are given: the most important are—p. 24, the Splanchnopt painter; p. 30, the painter of Tarquinia RC 1121; p. 31, the Comacchio painter.

T. B. L. W.

Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg: Band I, die Rotfigurigen Attischen Vasen. By WILHELM KRAIKER. Pp. 64; 48 plates. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1931.

The collection, in great part the gift of Paul Hartwig, consists of 17 complete vases and many fragments. The publication is excellent, both text and plates. Many archaeologists do not mind what their pictures look like: they leave that to the block-maker, and concentrate on higher things; but if they can spare a moment let them look at these plates, and they will learn what collotype can do, and should be expected to do. A word of praise too for the printing, paper, and linen binding.

A collection of fine fragments gives a good view of the development of the vase-painter's art, and draws the eye to beauties of detail that might escape notice. Many of the best artists are well represented at Heidelberg; there are characteristic and useful examples of the rank and file; and there is no restoration. A relief from row on row, or page after page, of half-bogus antiques.

Dr. Kraiker is not of those who count time spent on fragments time frittered away: his catalogue shows not only the right care, but a nice feeling for distinctions of style. Work on fragments exercises this sense and develops it. For amusing proofs of Kraiker's acumen see my *Campana Fragments* (CF.) pl. 7, 29, on his nos. 76 and 77; and CF. pl. 3, 1, on his no. 18.

I had already been able to connect 21 of Kraiker's numbers with fragments in other collections, as belonging to the same vase or even joining (*JHS.* 51, pp. 39–56; *BSR.* 11, p. 16 note 1, on his no. 2). I was later able to place 22 others (see the index to CF. under Heidelberg). With these 43 one may mention a few fragments till lately in Heidelberg, but not catalogued by Kraiker, as they had already been ceded to other museums in exchange (see *CV.* Oxford, ii, p. vii, on pls. 25, 1, and pl. 60, 1).

On the painter of 10, see *CV.* Oxford, pl. 51, 1; of 143–145 and the inside of 146, *CF.* pl. 16, 29; of 149, *CF.* pl. 20, 26; of 160,

CF. pl. D, 2; of 209, *CF.* pl. 17, 22, and add a cup in Athens, from the Stables (I, women; A–B, centauromachy); of 211, *CF.* pl. 18, 55, 20 is now shewn to be by the Cerberus painter, not the Euergides painter (*CF.* pl. 1, 8). The inscription of 32 plus the Dresden fragment joining it, reads $\text{Αντ[ιμ]αρχος κ[α]λ[ος]}$. On 67: the Perugia Euphronios cup seemed to me, when I last saw it, as far as one can tell in its ruined state, to be by Onesimos himself. In 85, the thing hanging is a diptychon, on end, not a flute-case. 88 now seems to me by Douris, not Makron. 90, 91, 92, are by a single hand, but not from a single cup. 110 and 112 would be better in place in the next section. 115 is perhaps from a column-krater. 118 is close to Myson, but by a follower rather than himself. 131: the plate-reference, 20, has dropped out. The lip of 151 did not seem black to me. 178 is nearer to the Altamura painter than to the painter of the Berlin hydria, a later member of the same school. On 197 see *CF.* pl. 14, 21. On 205: the Palermo dinos is now figured by Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias* pl. 5. On 216: a clay object in Eleusis, 314, of the geometric period, appears to be a rattle of this kind. 217: see *CV.* Oxford, pl. 52, 2; Capua 239 is another replica. 243, now that it has found its place as a bit of the Villa Giulia-Florence-Castle Ashby Phrixos cup (*CF.* pl. 15, 24), must go back into the fifth century.

Dr. Schaal has just published an eye-cup (*Vasen in Bremen*, pl. 11), which is by the same hand as Heidelberg 10, and which confirms the connection, noted on *CV.* Oxford pl. 51, 1, between the Heidelberg cup and eye-cups in Winchester and Dresden.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 12 = Musée du Louvre 8. By E. POTTIER. Pp. 52; 47 plates. Paris: E. Champion, 1933.

Corinthian and Attic.

III C a. Corinthian. The relative chronology of proto-Corinthian and Corinthian, established, beyond cavil, I think, by Johansen and Payne, is rejected by Mr. Pottier, who still holds that the Macmillan lekythos and the Chigi vase are contemporary with the Amphiaros krater and belong to the first half of the sixth century. Pl. 15, 6: the animal is not an aigalektryon, since there is no cock in him. Pl. 18, 20, a bull's head, not a bucrane: the Morin aryballos is surely not Bocotian but Corinthian like the Louvre vase Pl. 19, 6: for kindred designs, cf. *CV.* Oxford, III H, pl. 3, 28.

III C c. Corinthian plastic vases. Should not the general bibliography have contained a

mention of Payne's treatment of these in *NC.*, which corrects older notions and adds very much? Pl. 1: surely all these are wearing their own hair and not a 'kluft'? Pl. 4: pl. 1, 1; pl. 1, 4; pl. 7, 8: very doubtful if these could be called satyrs. Pl. 4 wears a pantherskin, not a nebris. Pl. 5, 1: the bull's heads in Oxford and Würzburg are East Greek: and this? Pl. 7, 1: not a 'kluft' either, is it?

III H c. Attic bf. Pl. 73, 8-10: would it not have been kinder to the reader if the false foot had been cut off in the reproduction? Pl. 76, 2: *JHS.* 51, p. 282 no. 24, Heidelberg group. Pl. 77, 1: correct readings of the inscriptions are given in *JHS.* 52, p. 178. Pl. 77, 4 (F 64), and pl. 77, 7 (F 65) belong to the 'C group,' which I hope to produce in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*. Pl. 77, 8: the interesting inscriptions are largely repainted, and it would not be hard to remove the repaint. In *JHS.* 52, p. 178 I did not read what is here reported: I was careful to say that the inscription was *for* that—giving the painter's intention, and ignoring for the moment his mistakes. It is not remarkable that a painter using the Corinthian alphabet in an Attic workshop should have two forms of lambda—the Attic as well as the Corinthian. Inside the vase, Mr. Pottier reads, doubtfully, Αλεξ(ι)μα(χ)ος: I read Αλεξααρς (with Corinthian epsilon and sigma) and I think Payne has seen the truth: the inscription is for Αλεξαυδ ρος—and the man at top speed is Alexandros—Paris—declining, as often in archaic painting, the office of judge. Pl. 78, 3, the fowler cup: 'same technique,' we read (as all the preceding); but the technique differs in an important point:—reserved lines take the place of incised: I noted in *JHS.* 52, p. 169, note 13, that the cup was not Attic, but East Greek, Fikellura style in fact. Pl. 78, 7: the foot does not certainly belong. Pl. 78, 9: the inscription is given more accurately in *JHS.* 52, p. 175, where the 'club-sword' is also accounted for.

III I c, Attic rf., earlier. Pl. 58, 2: there is more restoration than is given in the text: for example, in the satyr pl. 59, 3, the toes, most of the arms and shoulders, and the horrible mouth, are modern. An 'ephebe playing the flute' is out of place in a thiasos: the figure (pl. 59, 2) is female.

III I d, Attic rf., later. Pl. 36, 1 (and pl. 42, 5 and pl. 46, 1): I have often pointed out (e.g. *JHS.* 50, p. 162) that the formula 'même attribution' is misused. Pl. 37, 1 was assigned not to 'the group of the Phiale painter,' but to the Phiale painter himself (cf. *JHS.* 50, pp. 161-2; and below, pl. 46, 1). Pl. 37, 4 (G 437): Shuvalov painter (*Att. V.* p. 438 no. 5). Pl. 37, 7: after

'Petrograd' add '702.' Pl. 38, 1, near the Boreas painter. Pl. 38, 6, the inscriptions, καλη, καλες, omitted. Pl. 40, 1: placed in the mannerist group in *Att. V.* p. 249 no. 16. Pl. 40, 8 is largely modern. Pl. 4, 1, cf. the Cambridge Sinis pelike, *CV.* pl. 33, 3 and pl. 34, 5. Pl. 41, 9: a list of the painter's works in *Campana Fragments*, pl. F, 5. Pl. 42, 1: *Vases in Poland* is subsequent to *Att. V.* Pl. 43, 1, 5, and 6 (not 1, 4, and 5): the pattern above A is largely modern. Pl. 43, 2: group of Polygnotos and the Hector painter. Pl. 43, 4 (not 6) and 7-11 is only loosely connectible with 'Meidias.' There is a sigma after the first inscription, so the name is hardly Dione. Pl. 44, 1: *Att. V.* p. 326, above, no. 3. Pl. 44, 5, Italiote. Pl. 44, 8, Attic. Pl. 44, 11, Italiote. Pl. 45, 1: the mouth of the vase is alien, and much later than the rest. Pl. 45, 10, youths, not girls. Pl. 46, 1 (*Panmaler*, pl. 23, 3) was not 'attached to the workshop of the Pan painter,' but assigned to his hand. Pl. 47, 10, Italiote. Page 35, the subjects of some Kerch vases may refer to the north, but no Attic style was specially created for northern customers. Page 36: 'Atticising Italiote' is not a recognisable category.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: United States of America, 2 = Providence, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design, 1. By S. B. LUCE. Pp. 50; 31 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933.

This is called 'fascicule 1,' but I think it must contain nearly all the vases at present in the collection. The vases are well classified and described; and good photographs are supplemented by a few good drawings, the work of Miss M. A. Banks.

East Greek. The Camiran oinochoe pl. 4, 1 came into the market along with that published in *CV.* Oxford, II d, pl. 2, 1-3, and I remember that both were said by the dealer to have been found in Rhodes. The animals are those that Kinch has shewn to be not 'gazelle' and 'ibex,' but fallow-hind and wild goat. The bibliography at the head of the page omits the best account of the fabric, in Miss Price's *East Greek Pottery*, a work that seems to elude the contributors to the *Corpus* (cf. *JHS.* 52, p. 142), although it is actually one of the *Corpus Classifications*.

Attic geometric. Pl. 8, 1 has an un-Attic look at first: cf., however, Athens 11456 (Nicole pl. 3, 774). Pl. 8, 2: certainly horses. The neck-picture is said to be a 'prothesis scene of six female figures,' which would seem to require

further explanation, as there is no sign of prothesis in the part of the picture reproduced.

Attic bf. Pl. 9, 1: already published by Jacobsthal, *Om.* pl. 19, a-b. On each side, a man courting a youth. A good vase, by the same painter as the Louvre hydria F 51 (*CV.*, III H e, pl. 67, 3-6): see *BSA.* vol. xxxii. Pl. 9, 2: the same graffito on two other Nikosthenes amphorae beside Louvre F 100:—London B 296 and Brussels R 389. Pl. 10, 2, the device is a bull's head, not a 'boukranion' (cf. *BSA.* 29, p. 204, note 6). Pl. 12, 4 is part of a kotyle, a replica of that in Thebes published by Ure, *Sixth- and Fifth-Century Pottery*, pl. 18, no. 102, 87, and the white thing is a cock held by the boy who is being courted.

Attic rf. Pl. 13: eye-cups of this type (eyes changing place with palmettes) are not very rare. On the form of the aryballos held by the boy in A, see *BSA.* 29, p. 196, where I mentioned this cup. The boy on B is carrying not a wine-skin, but the leg of a sacrificed beast—bull or cow: I made the same slip in *Att. V.*, but see *Campana Fragments*, p. 11 on pl. 5, 2. Pl. 14: my note gives remains of a maenad as well as a satyr on I, but I cannot check that now. This can hardly be an early Epiktetos. Pl. 15, 1 is certainly very like the work of the Nikon painter: as Mr. Luce observes. Pl. 15, 2: a three-figure scene split up between the two sides of the vase. For the way the victor wears his cloak, cf. the contemporary Nolan amphora by the Dionocles painter, *Coll. Lecuyer*, 2, plate, F 5. Pl. 15, 3 came from the collection of a Mr. Kvítka in Rome. H. R. W. Smith is doubtless right in connecting it with the school of the Berlin painter. Smith and Luce mention three Nolans of the same kind: others are in Vienna (two), Villa Giulia (Castellani), Birmingham, and there was one in the Hamilton collection (d'Hancarville, 2, pl. 45): cf. also the lekythoi Poulsen, *Etruskerstadt*, pl. 11 and p. 14, and oinochoai in Villa Giulia (Castellani) and Munich (2450, Lau pl. 22, 2). Pl. 17, 1 is from the Giudice collection. I figured pl. 17, 2, and spoke of subject and painter, in *JHS.* 47, p. 233. I think the lekythos came from Greece. It seems to have lain on a cloth, which has left red crisscross stains on it; the same stains show on a vase which came into the market at the same time, the alabastron pl. 22, 3; and on a white lekythos by the Aischines painter in Oxford, 1929, 3, which was found in Athens: may this point to the three vases having come from a single grave? Pl. 17, 3: the lost cup is in Berlin, inv. 3217, and is by the painter of the Bowdoin eye-cup. Pl. 18: the same graffito occurs on one other vase, the neck-amphora of the same shape and by the

same painter in the Vatican (no. 2 in my list *Att. V.* p. 132, bottom). Pl. 19, 2: this charming lekythos was in the Giudice collection: by the Pan painter, I think. Pl. 19, 3: the bird should be a partridge: see Payne, *NC.* p. 174. The inscription is meaningless. The style can hardly be called archaic. Pl. 19, 4: similar lekythoi in Bowdoin and Koenigsberg: group of the painter of the Bowdoin box. In pl. 20, 3 the gesture seems to be that of holding a wreath. Pl. 21 is mentioned, and placed, in *CV.* Oxford, p. 5. Pl. 22, 1: there is a photograph of this in the British Museum (Miscell. photos. 1, 46, 2). By the Christie painter: cf. his hydriai in London (E 188: *CV.* pl. 85, 2), Dresden, Mykonos, and Gotha (53). Pl. 22, 2: cf. the Athens vase of the same shape 1255 (C.C. 1237): they recall the manner of the Alkimachos painter. Pl. 22, 3: see pl. 17, 2. The mother recurs, but without the boy standing beside her, on the Euaichme painter's kotyle in Boston (*Jdl.* 17, pl. 2) and is there inscribed *Astyochē*, while the old man facing her is *Aktor*. Engelmann wanted her to be the *Astyochē*, daughter of *Aktor*, and mother of *Askalaphos* and *Ialmenos* by *Ares*, who is mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue (*Il.* 2, 513): but hesitated because on the kotyle she has only one child. Well, here she has two; although it must be admitted that they don't look like twins. I took the thing in the bigger boy's hand to be a hoop-stick, which would be more suitable to his age than 'a dagger.' The little boy, by the way, is sleeping, as in the Boston vase. For the mother's gesture, see also the Villa Giulia painter's hydria in Cambridge (*CV.* pl. 35, 1) and the Sykeus painter's fragment in Reggio (*NdS.* 1917, p. 147). Pl. 23, 1: a maenad is inscribed *Eudia*: 'Mr. Pottier suggests that this name should be *Ευ(ω)δία*, perfume.' But *Eudia* occurs on two other vases as a maenad-name (Charlotte Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen*, p. 63), and *Galene*, which is similar (cf. Soph. *El.* 899 with Eur. *Andr.* 1145), is used twice, perhaps thrice (Fränkel *l.c.*; and the Boston psycter *Jdl.* 7, pl. 5). Pl. 23, 2 seems earlier than the Meidias painter. Pl. 24, 1 is not yet 'Kerch' in the accepted sense. A calyx-krater belonging to Dr. Hirsch, with the same subject, is in the same style; cf. also Munich 2386.

Attic white. Are not mouth and neck of pl. 25, 2 modern? If the figure on pl. 25, 3 is naked, it must be Eros, not Iris. Pl. 25, 5 is by Buschor's Reed painter. Pl. 25, 6 and 7, are more than repainted, they are false.

Italiote. On 'Saticula' see *Vases in Poland*, pp. 75-6. Pl. 28, 1: see also *ibid.* p. 73. Pl. 28, 2: a good example of *ephedrismos*. The thing

in front of the woman is not 'the base of an incense-burner,' but the *dioros*: see Jacobsthal, *Aktaions Tod*, pp. 5-6.

'Faliscan.' I don't think pl. 29, 2 is Faliscan. Plates like this are very common, but this is the only one I know with a painted inscription—painted before firing: it gives the name of the Latin owner, P(o)lia Genuclia.

Italiote. The pyxis pl. 29, 4 has an interesting peculiarity—a pair of nicks on the lid, and a corresponding pair on the lip, to shew where the lid is to sit (though as it happens the lid fits better if you ignore them). A replica in the Louvre (ED 337) is also nicked: I have no note of nicks on the replica from Locri in Reggio (483), or that from Nola in Berlin (3015), but they may be there.

J. D. B.

Délos, XIV: les mosaïques de la Maison des Masques. By JOSEPH CHAMONARD.

Water-colour copies by VALENTINE DEVAMBEZ. Pp. 41; 9 plates and 12 text-figures. Paris: de Boccard, 1933.

Delos has been known for a generation as one of the most important sites for the early history of mosaics; the new finds, carefully published by M. Chamonard and Mlle. Devambez, confirm its importance and supplement the evidence of earlier discoveries in several interesting respects.

The four pavements described in this fascicule were found in a building which has been named the House of the Masks. This house, situated about 100 metres S.E. of the Theatre and near the House of the Dolphins and the Hostelry, is unusually large, but roughly constructed and carelessly decorated. M. Chamonard thinks that it may have served as a rehearsal-place for visiting theatrical companies and as a store for stage-properties. The mosaics are superior in style to the rest of the decorations in the house, and were perhaps given by a successful choregus, father of an athletic victor, whose statues were found in the ruins of the building. In estimating the date of the building, M. Chamonard observes that the walls were repainted at least twice, and that the house was thus erected hardly later than the middle of the second century B.C.; nor would it be earlier than the end of the third, when the theatre was finished.

1. Hall of the Centaurs. The pavement of this room contains an *emblema* in three parts, consisting of a rectangular panel flanked by lozenges. The rectangular panel, which alone is the *emblema*, strictly speaking, represents Dionysos (?) riding on a panther. The god

is of an unusual type, being bearded and effeminate (after the Hellenistic fashion), but elaborately accoutred (in the Oriental style). His costume appears to be influenced by the conventions of the theatre, judging by the descriptions of Pollux (*Onom.*, iv. 116 ff.: ed. Dindorf, i. p. 213); and this fact in itself, easily intelligible in a building connected with the drama, might well explain the unusual attributes. M. Chamonard, however, adds the supplementary hypothesis that the artist may have been a Syrian, like the Asklepiades of Arados who signed the mosaics in the neighbouring House of the Dolphins (*Délos* viii. 2, p. 400 and pl. liii); and may have represented the god in a mixed Syrian form, or even simply displayed his imperfect knowledge of orthodox iconography.

The central panel was brought ready-made from the workshop and set, rather askew, in the pavement, which was accommodated to it as well as could be managed. Except for the dark ground and the complicated polychromy, which are Hellenistic, the simplification of the drawing is more characteristic of Roman, and even late Roman, work. The figures are partly in *vermiculatum*, partly in fine *tessellatum*; in the background the tessellae are laid in horizontal rows, except round the outlines of the figures, where, incidentally, they are smaller. The technique of the lozenges containing the centaurs is much rougher, the background being done in what M. Chamonard calls *opus barbaricum*, or small natural pebbles. In the saw-toothed border the black teeth are separated from the white by thin strips of lead: a common practice at Delos, but not one which seems to have been adopted much elsewhere.

2. Hall of the Masks. In the centre is a repeating pattern of cubes seen in perspective, flanked by two borders of comic masks interspersed with tendrils. Three of the masks are female and seven are male, five being bearded and five not. M. Chamonard attempts to identify the characters of the masks according to the descriptions in Pollux, and the categories established by Robert and Navarre. The technique is *tessellatum*; there is no use of *vermiculatum* or of paste cubes.

3. Hall of Silenus. The *emblema* of Silenus with a flute-player is unusually schematic and coarse for a Hellenistic pavement, and might be used in support of Shear's contention that the mosaics in the villa at Corinth are of this early date.

4. Hall of the Amphora. The pavement has an elaborate border of imbrication, which is exceedingly rare as a border motive. The

inner frame of bead-and-reel is typically Hellenistic device; the infrequent examples dating from the Roman period are practically all found in Greece. The intricate sexfoil rosettes on either side of the amphora in the middle of the floor are of the early plastic type.

Mlle. Devambez's coloured drawings of the Dionysos emblema and the Silenus panel deserve special praise. They are large enough in scale to show the actual forms and individual colours of the tessellae; the minute variations of shape and tint seem to have been most carefully rendered, and the resulting version is of high technical value.

R. H.

A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks, from circ. 700 B.C. to A.D. 270, based on the work of Barclay V. Head. Pp. viii + 106; 50 plates. London: British Museum, 1932.

The reissue in a revised form of Head's *Coins of the Ancients*, now restricted to Greek coins, but including those of the Imperial period, is very welcome, and the changes in the selection of examples for illustration have brought it well up to date. It would have been an advantage for students generally if the notes had been less severely numismatic: but, so far as they go, they supply useful information. The only point to which serious exception need here be taken is the attribution of early electrum coins to mints in European Greece, which would give a wrong idea of the function of this coinage: and all known examples are definitely Asiatic in fabric and style. But the main purpose of the book is presumably to provide illustrations of the coins; and it may fairly be said that the plates are unrivalled in their excellence.

J. G. M.

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Volume II. The Lloyd Collection. Parts I, II. Etruria to Thurium. Sixteen plates with short explanatory text. London: published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, and Spink & Son, 1933. 15s.

This second volume of the 'Sylloge' presents to us what is probably the most representative collection of coins of ancient Italy at present in private hands. Historical and archaeological interest pervades the whole volume, from the strange one-sided coins of Etruria at the beginning to the noble didrachms of Thurium at the end. We see Greek art in its own characteristic excellence at such mints as Tarentum, with a grand series of 'horsemen' types, or Metapontum, with a glorious range of didrachms in exceptionally fine preservation, occasionally as

far north as Naples—an outpost in 'barbarian' land. But it is a fascinating study also to trace the changes which that art undergoes as it is adapted to the use of one after another Italian community. Many of these Italian issues are of exceptional rarity—the small bronze piece of *Pal* (Peligni?—no. 48) and the small silver of Samnium (no. 43), will serve as examples. It is most important to have all specimens of such coins made available for study. The notes, though short, contain the essential minimum, carefully recorded. The plates are probably as near perfection as is possible to-day. It may be added that the price is so low that the last excuse for neglecting this invaluable work is removed.

H. M.

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum: Vol. VI. Pp. 160. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1932.

The sixth volume of this useful work (useful if used with discretion) astonishes one with the diversity of opinion among the many distinguished contributors with regard to the reading of 842 inscriptions which are here quoted. Perusal leaves one under the impression that Asia Minor epigraphy offers a free field for ingenious speculation, unfettered by any regard for the possible accuracy of the original copyists or the agreement of several independent witnesses to the text. That the first copyist has sometimes erred is true; and he is generally the most ready to admit error, and to consider dispassionately any proposed improvement: he remembers many loci where he found the text obscure and hesitated whether to read C or O, I or T, and similar uncertainties.

Yet the first had the best chance. Stones deteriorate or are broken.¹ I may quote a case where Dessau asked me to verify my text, as he found it difficult to accept my reading on historical and geographical grounds: I travelled eighteen hours specially to verify it, and found on long careful study that I could not maintain my old text. Then suddenly the sun shone out and my text stood forth clear and certain, as strokes became visible that had been obscure. Truth depended on the light. The difficulty has long disappeared, and Dessau's recent *History of the Empire* records the inferences that he drew.

SEG. is a record of details, and any useful review must examine the details: it would re-

¹ Frost and rain and snow in the long bitter winter wear away stones. In *JRS.* 1924, p. 55, Professor Calder shows that 40 letters had been lost since I first copied the stone in 1901. My more careful copy in 1905 shews many more.

quire a volume to treat the work as it deserves with its innumerable suggestive remark and new readings, which reward careful study even if rejected. The work is also a marvel of compression. It facilitates our task to use the convention that every remark in Latin is adopted from *SEG.* (often my briefer statement of the intention of *SEG.*): while my criticism or praise or addition is expressed in English. I take examples intentionally at random. Most of them I have seen and studied. Some I had to hurry for varied reasons (*e.g.* 571). Criticism is more useful from one who has seen the stones; some suggestions in *SEG.* would not be made if the stone and surroundings had been seen: *e.g.* in 560 Cronert suggests [ἐγνων γὰρ τὸ] ῥέεθρον ἀνάντα Σοῖδος (*i.e.* Σοῖς) [μυκτῆ]ρων collis esset prope Ant. in speciem narium suillarum.

The ancient names are identified sometimes in puzzling fashion: 'olim Eumeniae' is attached to Karamanli, Tchivril, Baljik Hissar, Emirjik, Ishekli. Tchivril was a tiny village of no account till the railway went to it. Thereby hangs a tale.

1. ΟΥΓΚΡΙΟΣ: ΟΥ[ι]κριος. Non atrectaverim Cronert (rightly). Ουίκριος ed. (de Jerphanion) dub.=Vicerius. Ου(έ)κ(τ)ριος Zingerle. De Jerphanion is a trustworthy and careful copyist. The titulus is interesting: Fl. Ouikrios Aphrodeisios dedicates Κυρία Ἰσιδι: he evidently identified (or assimilated) Isis with Aphrodite.

3. Ὀλυμπία Ἀντωνείω and—

4. Ὀλυμπία Ἐλ. Why not leave 4 as the stone has it? 3 and 4 are dedicated to Elagabalus, doubtless at the same time (A.D. 217), and ΕΛ was taken as the name of his god.

14. —|ΝΕΣΡΙ—|οὔντος καὶ ἡγουμένου τῆς [ἐ]|παρχίας Τίτου Λικιννίου Μου[κ]σιανοῦ τοῦ σωτήρος ἐπὶ ἱερέω[ς] Τερτύλλου. This must be read ἀ|νέστη-σεν, ἀρχιερ|οὔντος. T. Licinius Mucianus leg. pr. pr. Galatiae prov., fortasse idem atque Mucianus Oenoandensis (*IGR.* III. 500, II. 39 aet. Madr. et Ant. Pii) vel eius pater: fortasse originem trahit a C. Licinio Muciano (aet. Vesp.) *PIR.* II. 280, n. 147. This note seems to mix three different officials named Mucianus. (1) In tit. 14 T. Licinius Mucianus legatus (praetorian) of Galatia,¹ 176. (2) C. Licinius Mucianus, the famous supporter of Vespasian in 69–70, honoured with an inscription while legatus pr. pr. Lyc. Pamph. (*BCH.* 1886, 218) at Oinoanda. (3) Mucianus

Oinoandensis (aet. Hadr. et Ant. Pii), a citizen of Oinoanda.

Here I can vindicate the accuracy of R. de Rustaffjael d'Orbeliani. These words occur at the end of a long inscription; yet they are described by M. d'Orbeliani (1924) as a separate fragment. In this he is correct. I copied both the fragment which d'Orbeliani copied, and also the entire inscription on an unbroken basis. The latter is published in part as *CIG.* 4042 and in *IGR.* III. 155; but as given there it breaks off in the middle, ending with the dedicator Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλω|νίου: the stone continues Ἀλεξ-ανδρεὺς τῆς μεγά|λης Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁ καὶ Ἀγκυ|ρανός, νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου leaf|Σαράπιδος ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδι[ων]||[ἀρχιεροῦντος κ.τ.λ. as in the fragment. This fixes the date of 14 as 176.

36. Βωι|μόν (*sic*): ι perhaps is a false stroke, as often; but my copy notes that the lapicida began to write M, then erased it, and put it in next line.

I(oulios)? Alexandros libertus of Maximin I or Philip married to Baga[da]nica, a slave, ὀστοθηκηνί as published by Jerphanion cannot be defended (by οὔτοσί κ.τ.λ.), but ι may be a false stroke, or more probably Cronert rightly Ἰ(ούλιος): the praenomen, once so honourable, ceased to be used soon after 212, when all free-men in the Empire had the right to use it.

38. τρώμιος καὶ ἀπελεύθερος. Α θρεπτός in Anatolian custom was of intermediate status between free and slave: he often married the daughter of the household. Roman law did not recognise this status, and a θρεπτός was often made ἀπελεύθερος in order to ensure his rank by dedication to a god.²

40. ἐπταετείς pro ἐπταετείσι (metri causa vel lapicidae errore). Zingerle rightly.

43. τεκούση corr. Wilhelm: rightly.

57. Very difficult: incised on a pila of very small diameter; copyist and lapicida cannot keep the lines apart. I copied it in 1927 and again in 1928. Some names which I thought quite certain are doubted by others and vice versa. I put in 8 ΔΙΟΛΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΕ (edd. ΤΟΥΕΤΟΥΕ) and ΕΝ for ΕΠΙ: in 13–14 ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΣ certain, τ inserted small. Names of XII Phylarchs are uncertain, and there are not 12. The first are ΚΑΚΙΛΟΥ (or ΦΑΙΛΟΥ)|ΑΚΥΛΟΥ (where perhaps the lapicida mixed ΑΙΛΙΟΥ and ΑΚΥΛΟΥ): ΒΩΚΕΡΙΓΟΣ; ΖΗΝΩΝ (for ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ), ΙΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΥ; ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ with a blank space after it at end of line, ΣΑΡΜ||ΝΟΣ (only one letter lost, Σαρ[πηδό]νος impossible). Nomina Phylarchorum XII certe distingui non possunt. This is true. Many corrections are

¹ Franz points out on *CIG.* 4042, that it dates about Dec. 176. In Nov. 176 Marcus and Commodus had a very dangerous voyage, which caused Apollonius to place in the Temple of Sarapis (images of) the Dioscuri.

² There are many cases, published and unpublished.

proposed. I found it often impossible to determine what the lapicida intended. Perhaps Σαρμωνος for Σαλαμωνος a Jew (as coins of Sala).

Ουίλλωνος is strange but clear. The use of OY (initial) in Phrygian and Lycaonian deserves study. At Nova Isaura there is OYPTAN (accus. Latin Horta?) at Limenia-Binda Ουσιδία (Latin Hosidia): at Sabinai [V?]iccnio (Εύγη-νίων); Ουλκάκιος = Volcaci: Ούγκριος in No. 1.

59. I have maintained that the stone originally had Πολ[ε]μωνος Λαοδικε[ι]ως: and after study of the stone in 1928, still think so. The words fit the space: there is abundant room: although no trace remains, the stone at this point has been much exposed to rubbing. The name of this great Laodicean family is to be expected. Moreover, the lapicidae at Ancyra were careless and coarse workmen, and syllabarum divisio is rarely regarded by Greek workmen and often violated even to the extent of dividing a diphthong between two lines.

60. The many editions have added little to the first edition in *AM.* 1896, 466. My copy (1928) adds something to the letters and much to the restoration. The deceased gladiator was killed at Ancyra; his name was P. Aelius [Amyntas]: his wife Aelia took it with him. Περγαμηνῶ ἐπιδόξωτο[ν] is clear. He died aged 37.¹ He held (honorary) citizenship of many cities. Θεσσαλ[ων] | Νεικομηδί[ας] | Λαρίσης | Φιλιπποπ[ό] | λεως | *Απ[ρ]ου | Βέρ[γης] | Θασί[ων] | Βουξ[η] | νῶ[ν] | *Αβδ[ηρας]. ΑΠΙΟΥ, on the stone, and Βουξ (not Κουξ). I do not know what city is meant by Βουξ. The epigram must be quoted in full (as my text differs much from others), except the first couplet.

- 3 [ὄν τοκέες κίκλη]σκον Ἀμύν[ταν τὸν πανά]ριστον
[Αἰλίον Ἀδριανὸς] αὐτὸς ἔδω[κ' ὄνομα]
5 [οὗτος γὰρ ὄχ' ἄ]ριστος ἔγεν[ετ' ἐνὶ μουνόμα]χοισι ν,
[μαρνάμενος σ]θεναρῶς ἄ]νδρας ἔπεφν' ἀγαθὸ]ύς
7 [ἄλλα ταχύς τε καλ]ός τε καὶ α[ὐτὸν πότμος ἐμ]άρψε
αἰδεσίμῳ
[ἐν Γαλάταις] πληγέν[ετ' οἰκτροτάτῳ] θανάτῳ.
9 [οὐνεκα καὶ σ]ὲ γυνή κατ[έβαπεν καλλι]επώδω.
[τύμβος ἔδεκτ' ἐπ' ἰ]σσης μνημό[συνον δακρύ]ων
11 [κόσμησεν δ' ἐπ]έεσσιν ἐτέ[ρον (i.e. ἐταῖρον) ἐμόν
ἐλθ]όντα
[εἰς Αἰδοῦ δόμα κ]αὶ Φερσεφό[νης ὁλόης].
[ξείνος δὴ προσίει ἀμ]φιχείοι τε κό[νιν]

The epigram might be improved, but 3-7 seem practically certain: also ἐν Γαλάταις, explaining place of death of a Pergamenian. There is not room for Θεσσαλ[ονίκης Ἀμυντιανός].

61. Read Ἰουνιανόν, γ' ἀρχιερέα: that is certain: not γ', ἀρχιερέα.

95. Zingerle (who has made many good suggestions, though sometimes too violent) changes Βεννεί Γερεανῶ to Γερεανῶ (lapis E E). If change is needed, I prefer Ἰσγερειανῶ, which is a known ethnic in that region. There is no village Γερεα. (Sgereia or Isgereia recalls Scheria of the *Odyssey*.?) Follow the stone.²

98 and 131. σῶρος, i.e. ἄφωρος, often used in Phrygia: cp. 100. Zingerle rightly [τέκνοις] αὐώροις θρῆν[ον] πενθοῦμεναι. My copy shews θρῆν[ον] clearly.

99. Μέρση, Egyptian slave. The text is mere guess-work.

100. Hexameters followed by family names; one is Κεκελός, for which Cronert suggests κε Ἰσκελός (K for Iε, a frequent error, corrected rightly often by Wilhelm); but the text is mere guess-work: Κεκελός ed. conf. Μίικαλος.

117. Ταρξίς, local spelling of the frequent name Τάρασις (i.e. Tar[k]asis from the god Tarku). Z for s is found in Old Phrygian materez, in ξείνς for ξείνος, and in *M.A.M.* I. 123, where Calder reads O . . . ΥΛΑΖ(ηνός), ethnic. A better restoration is Μανσοσας ὁ [καί] Ὑλαξ (i.e. Ὑλας), a name taken from legend and used also at Nova Isaura.

119. λούσαμεν Buckler c.s.: also Sterrett, 1883.

144. ἦλθον ἐπὶ τύμβον ἐρετμόν Buckler c. s. The last word (de quo dubitat SEG.) is obviously error of lapidarius for ἐρειμον, i.e. ἐρημον. We must not think of Homer's words (alluded to in *M.A.M.* I. 370).³ T and l are frequently mixed by lapidarii and copyists: e.g. *M.A.M.* No. 1a, where [ἱκον]ιεύς should be [Παρετ] τεύς:⁴ an Iconian could not own land or a grave at Laodicea, but Paretta, Baretta, was attributed to Laodicea. See Judeich in *Humann's Hierapolis*, No. 6. Eumēkis the mother had an Asianic name, often represented by Longus, Dolichos, Eumegethes, translations of the native name.

146. The name Sextilius often occurs in Asianic inscriptions (Sterrett, *WE.* 25): soldiers doubtless in many cases.

147. Μαθίας, cp. Μαθ(ε)ας *CB.* p. 562, Jewish Ματθαῖος?

167. The same eques is honoured in 174, found at Acmonia. Κούρτιος in *BCH.* 1895, afterwards corrected to Κούαρτος. Editores dant ἐπάνω εἰλης ἱππέων. In 174 it is ἐπιμελ[ητήν], i.e. curatorem.

¹ Editores *SEG.* omisisse credunt lapidarium syllabas [σρνμ], et [ων], et [ύπο] το ante τεταγμ. There is, however, abundant space free: the loss is due to breaking of the stone.

² I copied a stone at Nacolea, which has Γερεανός twice.

³ πῆξα τ' ἐπὶ τύμβον ἐρετμον.

⁴ Wilhelm suggests ΑΓΝΟΝ; it is Homer's ΔΕΕΛΟΝ.

[ο]ικῶνα should not be 'corrected' to [ξ]ενῶνα. In Phrygian Greek they formed a noun [ο]ικῶν on the analogy of ξειῶν, ἀιδρών: ἀιδρών and ξενῶν denoted what the Turks call Selamlık, where men meet, exchange greetings, have meals together—usually furnished by a rich man: the first shew of wealth for a Turkish villager is that he makes a Musafir-Oda. A traveller who is wise asks before entering a village who keeps the (best) Musafir-Oda, and goes straight to it, dismounts, and enters as owner of all in it for the time. This custom probably hardly survives the modernisation of Turkey. Many of the old native names are connected with the practice of this duty of hospitality, Εὐξενίωv, etc.

174. In 1901 with aid from M. Chapot I copied this hardly legible titulus on the acropolis of Acmonia. Ἀγ. Τ. | κατὰ ψήφισμα πᾶνδ[ι]μον leaf ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ[μος] | [μο]ς καὶ ἡ | γερούσια leaf καὶ | φ[υλ]ῇ Ἀρτε[μει]σίᾳ ἐτεί | μησαν Ἀκύκιον Ἐγν[άτι] | ο[ν] Λ. υἱ[ὸν] Τηρητέιν[α] Κούαρ[τον] | ἐπαρχον στείρης [β] Κλ. Γορ[διαν]ῆς, ἐπιμελητὴν εἰλης Σεβαστ[ῆς] διδύμου, χειλίσρχον λεγιῶνος Η Αὐγουστ[ῆς], ἐπαρχον εἰλης [Α] Ἀ[ν] [υ]γ[ο]ύ[στι]ς κτίστην καὶ ε[ὐ]ργέτην | τῆς πατρίδος. Cohors II Claudia takes a title from Gordian III, giving date to the titulus 238–244: Κλαυδιανῆς is false: the cohort II Claudia is known only from Nos. 167 and 174 (Coh. I Claudia served in Armenia-Cappad.). Leg. VIII Aug. served in Moesia and on the Rhine.¹ An Ala Augusta was in Egypt in 83 and perhaps Ala Aug. Syriaca was the same. An Ala Aug. was in Moesia at a station Augusta as late as c. 400.

177. There must have been ὁμόνοια between Eumeneia and Sebaste, and the citizens had rights in common, e.g. competition in games (cf. titulus at Eumeneia, Buckler c. s. *JRS.* 1926, p. 80), ownership of land (for burial, etc.). Strangers might not be buried at a strange city without permission.²

193. I have spelt as on the stone, Νηρεΐδι, Κυπρ[ο]γείῃ, γυνήκ[ῃ], etc.: quas novus editor iniuria correxisse videtur. Buckler cum suis rightly adopts the same practice. Those who alter the spelling of the stone are not regular in their 'correction.' The spelling in Asia Minor often differs from accepted Greek usage (sometimes due to ignorance of Greek, but often important). κειμέ[ν]η means perhaps 'laid in the

grave'?

In that case this altar with titulus was the first to be placed on the flat surface of the herōon.

221. τὰ ἡρώ[α] is unusual: the same construction serves as the home and temple of several heroes and heroines (i.e. deceased).

237. Fortasse non pertinet ad Stectorium, verum ad Hieropolim. It is impossible to be certain, the distance is short, and the stone might be carried from either. In v. 12 I had [M.] Aur. Edd. *SEG.* delent M. ante Αὐρ: This makes the date later: Zosimus was a freedman of the Septimian dynasty; Crescens libertus of the Antonines 175–180. Crescens had been known in the Pentapolis while Procurator of Phrygia: now when he was promoted to a higher position this honour was paid him by Senate and people through Zosimus, who was in charge of the Emperors' interests in the Pentapolis. It seems clear that the place which Crescens now held was higher than the procuratorship of Phrygia. Zosimus was not very accurate in knowledge or terminology of Roman office.

238. ἐποχον Kirsch in *Rom. Quartalschr.*, probably rightly. The best (earliest) edition of the prose legend attached to the Epitaph of Avircius Marcellus uses in the prose text ἐποχον, evidently caught from the epitaph. Orth suggests (badly) [ἀπαντα τὰ] γράμματα πιστά: Avircius had more to say than that: the old conjecture is preferable, though not convincing.

242, 243. I cannot accept the localisation of Tymion and Pepouza: the district is right, not the villages.

244. Seidi Sultan was close to Palaion Beudos, which has hitherto been sought by me and others on a wrong line of march. It blazed into glory, and struck coins, when Hadrian visited it on his march from Ancyra by Melissa to Metropolis or vice versa. Synnada did not pay so much attention to him.

333. It is often difficult to distinguish Π and ΤΙ: I thought ΤΙΩΛΟC was more probable; but both are possible.

364. Ἀρή(λιος) should be changed to Ἀρη; the titulus is a dedication to Ares, a Pisidian and Isaurian and Lycaonian god. This common form of dedication to a god and to a mortal merged in the god has been misunderstood here.

474. Ara cum delineatione: Ramsayi textum correxīt Calder: Ἰνδακος κ(ε) Ἀπι[ν]ησ[ος] | ις πρ(εσβύτεροι), οὗς γλ[υ]φ[ε]ύ[σ]ται? Τ - -. Calder is right as far as οὗς.

l. 2 ends with a curious monogram, ligature of ἱ(γ)υθι (which needs one line added to Calder's drawing). In a monogram Γ may be repeated

¹ A soldier of Leg. VIII was buried at Cyrrhus in Syria, pointing to a detachment serving in a Syrian war during Cent. III, perhaps under Gordian. See P. W. *Real-Enc.* s.v. *Ala*.

This subject needs investigation. Exceptions test and prove the rule.

in interpretation, giving the relative clause οὗ γγγυθι| [κ]ᾱτ|ἔχει χθών. AT in l. 3, though broken, were certain in 1904 in my copy.

550. l. 7. BE|NOC confirmat per epistolam Calder: BEKOC Zingerle, qui confert Hesych. βέκος· ἄρτος, φρύγες. I have been interested always in this Phrygian word since it was found in a Phrygian inscription (ÜJh. VIII. 1905, Bh. 96), and had it in mind when I copied No. 550. βέκος is confirmed by several others, since Callander discovered it in 1905. In front the stone has BE|NOC, as Callander read, but the titulus reads BEV|NOC: the latter N is added on the right side of the stone. Similarly in l. 8, A (fourth letter of καλ|α|καγαθίω)¹ is added on the right side. I should be glad to learn what BENNOC means; but certainly the money was not bequeathed to make bread for Zeus once every year.

555. λεγεώνος Αἰγυπτικο(ῦ) ed. D. M. Robinson: ἡ ἱ(α)ικῆς ὑπ[α]ρτικό(ν) corr. F. Schehl. The reading and the correction are false. The lection is clear, λεγ. (A) Ἀδιουτρίκος (Adiutrix). Idem Paulinus honoratur in tit. Lat. JRS. II. 1912, 102, No. 34 ait Robinson. This is also wrong: 555 gives the cursus honorum of senatorial rank; the other gives an equestrian cursus.

560, 561. Titulos editos a Sterrett et a Mordtmann denuo ed. Calder, *RevPhil.* XLVI, 1922, 132-4. These tituli must be taken in close conjunction with each other and with the locality. Calder separates the epigrams as of different times, because the form of letters and the treatment differ. Variety of lettering proves nothing as to age: at Dorylaion 7 tituli, praising a citizen who bore the expense of building the fortifications in the third century, are in most diverse forms of script. At Antioch the difference of treatment arises from the fact that two persons are praised: one the skilled engineer who made the water by his art flow uphill to the city (560); the other the governor of Pisidia.

Calder's restoration is on right lines but needs change. Read [καὶ τοῦτ' ἰμβρ?]αςος, 'this work also (in addition to the many with which his art (τέχνη) has enriched the city) [Imbr?]asos perfected (ἥνυσεν)'; his achievement was to add the high-pressure system by which the water was made to flow up to the city. Previously the water from a mountain spring was brought near the city.² Excavation has shown

that the age of improvement was late. Antioch grew rich under the Antonines by trade: temples, a theatre, etc., were created, but the great age of town improvement was under Valerius Diogenes, governor of Pisidia. His many tituli³ shew that he adorned the city with numerous works and ruled the province for many years: his earliest titulus (*CIL.* III. 13661 at Apamea), in honour of the hapless Empress Galeria Valeria, probably was erected in 305, when her husband became Augustus: the latest honoured Constantine sole Emperor. Probably he was the first governor of Pisidia, when it was created a province by Diocletian. He organised the new province, and shewed such skill there, adapting himself to the policy of each Emperor, that he was left undisturbed in that troubled time. He persecuted the Christians under Maximin (and Diocletian): he guided them under Constantine.⁴ This was the time when Imbrasos worked. I prefer in l. 1 τέχνη for σοφίη; σοφίη is reserved for the governor, who ordered the engineer. Valerius was civil and military governor of Pisidia; and therefore Crónert's στρατη[λάτης] for Calder's στρατη[γίας] is excellent. Wilhelm's εἰς σ[ε]φός υ-]ιος, concluding with the governor's name (which we know to be Οὐαλερίος), may be right.

Calder's ἤρξατο and ἀρχθέν beginning two lines are improbable. Crónert's suggestion has been quoted above. ACOIOE rests on Sterrett, Calder, and myself: our scrutiny was long and minute. There seems no opening to take -ασοιο as gen. of the engineer's name. Calder makes it the name of the stream, and I see no other possibility. Calder's [ἡδύ] θέρον pleases, for it points the contrast with the former poorer water stored in cisterns (which had become dirty in the centuries). This situation rejects Heberdey's ΑΠΑΝΤΑ for ANANTA. Former officials or engineers had brought that excellent water near the city by an underground channel, but [Imbr?]-asos completed the work by delivering it inside the city.

I take the epigrams as engraved on the same occasion: 561 was engraved at the north gate and water-tower, 560 at the lower end of the steep rise of about 25 metres to the top of the tower, where the water was distributed. My old friend G. Weber, the sole authority on this

cut through by the Anthios in a steep ravine. Antioch lies between the ravine and the northern end of the ridge.

³ I have several unpublished.

⁴ It seems now to me that he allowed the destruction of the Hieron of Men-over-against-Antiochea in 324 (*BSA.* 1912-3).

¹ Probably Κατακαγαθίω is due to the bad Greek of the composer, but it may be due to the engraver, who handled καλ|ο|καγαθίω badly.

² A ridge runs north and south about 4 miles, about 1500 feet above the modern Yallowadj: it is

subject,¹ estimated that, with the usual height of tower, the water would reach about half the city.

Calder takes [θ]εμοπόλων as governors (former as distinguished from the governor here concerned). I take it as indicating the subordinates (especially the engineer).

Thus we have the following text from many hands:

560. καὶ τοῦτ' ἱμβρ[?]ας ἐργον ἐῖι [τέχνηι πο]λυ-
 βούλωι
 ἀρχθὲν ὕ[?]πρὸ προτέρων ἤνυσε [θ]εμοπόλων.
 ὡν θέλει? ἡδὺ ῥέεθρον ἀναιτ' Ἀσσοῖς? [ἀ.αί]-
 ρων(?)
 ἐς χώρους ἀγαγεῖν [δι]ψαλέους πρότερον
 561. ὁρᾷς τόδ' ἐργον ἡλίκον πῶς δαψιλῇ
 Νυμφῶν χορηγεῖ τῇ πόλει τὰ ἰάματα
 σεφὸς δικάστης [Πι]σιδῶν στρατη[λάτης
 ἤγειρεν αὐτὸ εἰς [σεφὸς Οὐαλήρ]ιος.

Compare Μακηδῶν in metre: 560, 4. Cumont and Calder.

571. Robinson's facsimile gives ω at the beginning of l. 4: his text gives ΡΩ. The former admits Wilhelm's admirable restoration ἐμπει-
 [ρικ]ῶ, which may be taken as certain. Probably ρ]ω is only a slip or a misprint on Robinson's part. I began to copy this inscription in 1914: but was interrupted, intending to return later, but forgot. Parthenopaïos was a name given by a reader of Homer. My copy (which was never finished) gives at the end Ἰλαρος ξῶν φρονῶν [ἐαυτῷ] καὶ Παρθενοπαῖω, [ὁμ]αίως κὲ Ἀντιφίλω Ξενοῶν[ος], but I cannot trust it. A freedman here honours his patron, a physician charged with the care of coloni on the imperial estates Sabinai (which had evidently been regulated by Hadrian and given to his Empress, Vibia Sabina). These estates were very large and had been formerly the property of the god Men, as Strabo says in XII. 3, 31.

573. Robinson's Λ]κυκίεу Κουίντεу needs [M] instead of [Λ]. Κουιντίεу (Egger) is not on the stone: κληροδόμοι is on the stone.

575. Δαβ[η]νος SEG: Robinson Δαβ[ιη]νος. Μούκιος, Robinson qui confert Δαβηνεύς: Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, 332, 35; but that false reading (a conjecture) has been corrected in *JHS*, 1912, where Δαρηνός and Δάρρηνός occur. Δάρρηνός may be intended here, but the stone seems to have ΔΑΡΙ (possibly R error for Greek P).

579. Add that Robinson's restoration would imply that the priests who governed Antioch as an independent city worshipped Attalus III as a god, and appointed a priest of the cult, which is inconsistent with Anatolian history and religion. My restoration was professedly given to show that better restorations than Robinson's could easily be made: it is possible, but other restorations are possible also.

580. Optimus was bishop as late as 381 at Concil. Constantinop.

596. Editam a Sterrett: plenius et correctius dedit Robinson. I saw this stone often, last in 1924 with Robinson. I told him the native superstition, and said that l. 1 was probably Διομήδης: l. 2 can be read completely with difficulty. It is necessary to delete *et correctius*, and to put Διομήδης in brackets. He omits the poppy capsule (plain in his photo).²

601 is an example of violent alteration of a text: when such ingenious changes are allowed, anything can be made out of a copy. Sterrett alone has seen this text. The rule should be to interpret, not to alter. Sterrett's errors proceed from bad interpretation fifty years ago; alteration of his copy is almost always slight.

W. M. R.

The Tebtunis Papyri. Volume III, Part I. By A. S. HUNT and J. G. SMYLY. Pp. xix + 333; 7 plates. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. £2 5s.

Spätptolemäische Papyri aus amtlichen Büros des Herakleopolites. By W. SCHUBART and D. SCHÄFER. Pp. 181; 1 plate. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1933. 12 m.

Ostraca Osloënsia: Greek ostraca in Norwegian collections. By L. AMUNDSEN. Pp. vi + 88; 4 plates. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1933. 8 kr.

The latest addition to the volumes of papyri published by the Egypt Exploration Society contains the first half of the texts extracted from the cartonnage of mummies found at Tebtunis. The proportion of literary pieces is small—only 8 out of 136: the most important of these are fragments of the Inachus of Sophocles and of a treatise on Music. The great bulk of the collection is made up of official documents, dating from the latter half of the third and almost the whole of the second centuries B.C.: these supply a store of

¹ High-pressure water supply in Anatolian cities. Others who treat it use his measurements and descriptions in Anatolia. Weber published several articles in *AZ.*, about and after 1880. That on Antioch I have lost.

² Opium is extensively cultivated still in two places, Antioch and Afion Kara Hissar; this is the standard in the British Pharmacopœia. The coins of Prymnossos and this altar at Antioch shew it. The altar is the Hermes; the dedication is not 'to Hermes.'

information on the local administration of Egypt under the Ptolemies, a particularly valuable one being a long memorandum of instructions, probably from the dioecetes to the *oekonomi*, as to their duties in various departments of the royal service, ending up with some good advice as to behaviour (No. 703). For a wider historical outlook, the opening words of a decree of Antiochus IV (No. 698) are interesting, as supporting the old view, which has been questioned recently, that he actually exercised royal authority in Egypt: another reference to the Syrian invasion is in No. 781. But the student of almost any department of Greek learning may delve with profit in the volume, which fully maintains the reputation of the series to which it belongs.

The Berlin volume also deals with papyri from mummy-cartonnage, but more limited in period and character: the documents are all official, appear to belong to a single bureau in the Herakleopolite nome, and, with one exception, can be dated to the reign of Auletes or the first eight years of Cleopatra. The information they give is therefore what might be called more intensive than that of the Tebtunis papyri, and is specially concerned with the local administration of an Egyptian village: the lexicographer, as well as the historian, will find them interesting. Following the traditions of the Berlin Urkunden, the editors have restricted their exegetical notes severely: but there is a useful summary of the evidence furnished by the papyri in the introduction.

The balance between texts and notes in Dr. Amundsen's publication is very different: 28 ostraca, averaging about half-a-dozen lines in length, are the nucleus of 77 pages. The value of the book, in fact, consists less in the documents than in the dissertations upon them, which include summaries of the evidence relating to the salt tax in Egypt, the caravan service in the Eastern desert, the transport of corn, and the financial reforms of Diocletian, deserving special note: these summaries are very full and welcome.

J. G. M.

ἘΠΕΤΟΥΞΕΙΣ: **Requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au III^e siècle avant J.-C.** Par OCTAVE GUÉRAUD. (*Publications de la Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie.*) Pp. xcv + 296, 13 plates. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931.

This masterly volume illustrates well the results to be obtained from the patient and minute labour of successive scholars. Its nucleus consists of a group of papyri which have long been familiar to papyrologists.

Found at the beginning of this century in the shape of mummy cartonnage at Medinet-en-Nahas, the ancient Magdola, in the Fayûm by Jouguet and Lefebvre, they were edited by the discoverers in 1902 and 1903, were revised by various scholars, notably (in 1904) by Wilcken, and at last were admirably republished in the second volume of the Lille papyri by the late Jean Lesquier (1912). There remained, however, a quantity of cartonnage not at first dealt with, besides some which came from a different site, Ghorân. The present volume was originally intended to contain only these unpublished documents: but finding, in the course of his work, that the mass of fragments contained many which belonged to the published papyri, and that even after the labours of Lesquier it was possible to improve his texts by corrections and new readings, Mr. Guéraud resolved to re-edit them also. The volume under review contains, therefore, all the documents or portions of documents of the particular type represented which are worthy of publication.

The type in question is that of the *enteuxis*, a special form of petition, nominally addressed to the king, but in the vast majority of cases never seen by him, since the normal procedure was to present the petition to the local governor (*strategos*), who took whatever action seemed to him good. The *enteuxis* long continued in use, but the examples here collected all date from the reigns of the second, third or fourth Ptolemies; they are followed, in an appendix, by four papyri, three of them of the same provenance, which, though not *enteuxis*, are of a juridical character. The editor takes occasion to study afresh the many problems which, despite all the work which has been done on the subject, still attach to the procedure by *enteuxis*. He does not solve them all, but his introduction marks a very real advance in our knowledge. Alike in it and in the body of the work he exhibits editorial powers of a high quality. His readings of these often very difficult texts are masterly. In particular he is to be congratulated on the progress he has made with the subscriptions appended to the petitions by the *strategos*, which are not only often considerably damaged (not unnaturally, since they are found at the foot of the text), but are usually written very cursorily and with many abbreviations. By dint of the most self-sacrificing efforts and the patient comparison, one with another, of the various examples of particular ligatures and groups of characters (how perplexing these may be, can be seen on plate xiii) he has established the true reading of many subscriptions hitherto undeciphered

or wrongly read; and since they shew the action taken by the *strategos*, a correct reading is juristically of the greatest importance. Not less remarkable than his skill and patience is the critical caution which he displays throughout: indeed some readers, while they applaud, may feel on occasion that they might themselves fail to imitate, his reserve, as when, in 86, 1, he relegates the very attractive reading ἐπ[ί] τοῦ κοῖνο]δ[ι]κίου to a footnote.

The historical importance of documents like these, as indeed of the majority of papyri, is limited in range. The military and diplomatic conflicts of the time, the thunder of the captains and the shouting, find but faint echoes in them. Their value lies in the vividness with which they reveal the daily life of the ordinary man, that vast, little-changing stream of every-day events for ever flowing on beneath the surface turmoil which to almost all ancient and many modern historians passes for history. This the *enteuxeis* do with a peculiar piquancy. No doubt their evidence requires discounting a little. They are concerned mostly with disputes and with real or fancied injustices; and differences with neighbours do not make up the whole life of even so quarrelsome an animal as *homo sapiens*. They are *ex parte* statements; and, moreover, many phrases in them are clearly conventional. For example, in a difference which ended in fisticuffs, the assailant always dealt his blows εἰς τὸ τῦχοι μέρος τοῦ σώματος, a phrase so recurrent that it can hardly be taken as good evidence for what actually occurred.

Nevertheless, these documents present a vivid and (if we make the necessary allowances) a reasonably accurate picture of daily life in the third century B.C., as indeed in later centuries. For legal matters they are, of course, most valuable, and they illustrate not infrequently that weakness of all Oriental and many other bureaucratic states, the corruption of the officials; see, for example, the editor's remarks in his introduction to 87. Sidelights on popular and official religion are found in several texts. No. 6 is a request for permission to reconstruct an Isieion: in 13 we hear of a shrine of Syria Theos and Aphrodite Berenice, in 19 of a thesmophorion of Demeter, in 26 of a temple of Arsinoe Aktia, in 47 of one of Athena, while in 78 Wilcken and Zucker have both recognised a reference to a shrine of Atargatis which escaped the editor, and elsewhere we read of a Jewish synagogue. Jews indeed appear on several occasions, perhaps too a Samaritan (Adamas son of Libanus in 62), though Zucker has pointed out that this may be an inhabitant of the village of Samaria in the Fayûm. In

80 is told a picturesque story of an attack on an Isieion. Such affrays seem to have been not uncommon, though we must be careful not to over-emphasise the evidence of petitions. Social manners and institutions are illustrated, for example, by 20 and 21, which relate to clubs, respectively of men and of women, and the arrangements for the funerals of club members; by 9, in which we find a man wishing to sell a house in order to defray the funeral expenses of his father; by 8, with its references to the foundation and repair of a village gymnasium; and by 25 and 26, in which parents complain of the filial ingratitude of their children. In the former a son not only does not support his aged father, but abuses him when they meet and actually steals his furniture, καταφρονῶν μου ὅτι πρεσβύτερός εἰμι καὶ ἀσθενῶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς; in the latter, a daughter, who is a *fille de joie* (ἐργαζομένη αὐτῇ τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι), refuses to contribute to her father's maintenance. No. 49, which is a complaint against a lady of the same profession, might well serve as the basis for a play of the New Comedy. In 82 and 83 we are introduced to the life of the public baths. In the former a woman complains that when she came out of the water to soap herself the attendant whose duty it was to pour water over her scalded her because he used water which was too hot; in the latter a quarrel in the baths led to blows, theft and wrongful imprisonment. A particularly amusing petition, 79, shows that the habit of emptying the bedroom slops out of the window which visitors to old Edinburgh used to find so disconcerting was also practised in ancient Egypt; the victim does not indeed complain of the practice itself, but of the fact that when he protested the woman who had drenched him assaulted him and tore his clothes. He finds her offence the more glaring because she was a native ([μὴ περιδεῖν με οὐ]τως ἀλόγως ὑπὸ Αἰγυ[πτίας ὑβρισμέ]νον, "Ἑλλην[αὶ] ὄντα). The contempt of Greek for Egyptian comes out indeed more than once in these documents; particularly illuminating in this respect is 86, in which an Egyptian woman, engaged in a lawsuit with a Greek, sees her witnesses intimidated and silenced, and adds "and because those who were to figure as my witnesses were Egyptians (παρὰ τὸ δὲ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντάς μοι μαρτυρ[ε]ῖν Αἰγ[υπτίους]) they were intimidated and withdrew without giving evidence." When we remember that only some sixty years later the Macedonian Ptolemy son of Glaucias, a recluse in the Serapeum, was to complain of being assaulted παρὰ τὸ Ἑλληνικά με εἶναι (U.P.Z. 7), it will be seen how the position of the victorious settlers in Egypt had changed under the growing weakness of the dynasty.

Enough has been said to shew how full of interest to the historian these texts may be when studied in detail. It remains only to add that the present volume is an honour to French scholarship.

H. I. B.

The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. By A. W. GOMME. (*Glasgow University Publications*, XXVIII.) Pp. vii + 87; 1 map. Oxford: Blackwell, 1933. 5s.

Mr. Gomme is well qualified to discuss the evidence for the population of Athens, a task never systematically attempted since Beloch's epoch-making *Bevölkerung* appeared in 1885. Many contributions to the subject have seen the light in the interval, but the conclusions reached, and the methods employed, have added little to an exacter knowledge of the subject. The present essay shows that the author has re-examined all the sources, both literary and epigraphical, has mastered all the recent contributions to the subject, and has consulted, to good purpose, census-statistics produced by modern methods. And above all, he is commendably cautious. It is inevitable that his subject, with its tantalisingly incomplete, and all too often untrustworthy, evidence should not make for easy reading, and the tedium of controversy is lightened, to our relief, by Mr. Gomme's lively style, which does not refrain from barbing, but carefully avoids poisoning, the shafts of his criticism. ('Zimmern indeed shakes his head sadly at the thought that Cimon, Pericles and Socrates are known to have had sons but not daughters: and begs us to sympathise and understand. He would have done better to examine his evidence'; or 'Jardé is one of those who find other persons' calculations arbitrary, but can themselves make the rashest assumptions'.)

It must not, however, be inferred that Mr. Gomme is merely a critic. On the contrary, his positive suggestions rest on sound reasoning, and appeal by their very moderation. Thus he retains the MS. reading for the Athenian army-strength in Thuc. ii. 13, which he has defended recently (*ClQu.* 1927, 142 ff.); for the total of 14,240 citizens qualified to partake in the corn-distribution in 445/4 he suggests that this comprises those who got a share, if the poorest only applied; and he naturally distrusts the total of 400,000 slaves as given by the census of 313 B.C. under Demetrius of Phaleron (Athenaeus, vi. 272 C.). The figures at which he arrives for the totals of citizens, metics and slaves at various dates are shewn in tabular form (p. 26)—e.g. in 431, citizens 172,000, metics 28,500, slaves

115,000: in 425 B.C., 116,000, 21,000 and 81,000 respectively; and in 323 B.C., 112,000, 42,000 and 104,000 respectively. That the citizen-population never again rose to the level of the year 431 seems, in the light of the arguments set before us, a conclusion as valid as it is important.

We are also given a survey of the evidence from lists of Bouleutai, on which some acute comments will be found (pp. 51 f.); of Epheboi, where it is argued that the recently found list (Έφημε 1918, 73 ff.) must contain the list for one year only and not two years as the editor and subsequent commentators maintain, and of Diaitetai. From them Mr. Gomme justifiably concludes that these documents cannot supply trustworthy evidence about the size of the individual demes, unless many fresh discoveries are made, and that 'we cannot even guess, if we are sensible men, at relative changes in the size of demes.' In fact, one of the great merits of this essay is to remind us that the names collected in the *Prosopographia Attica*, and subsequent additions to them, are preserved largely by accident, not by deliberate selection, and must therefore be used for statistical purposes with the utmost caution.

In considering the scanty data for the mid-fifth century, the author may have good reasons, which he does not state, for not taking into account the traditional numbers given by Plutarch for the Periclean Cleruchies, but we miss an allusion to the composition of the Brea settlement (*IG.* i². 45, *ad fin.*); and perhaps more might have been made of the casualties reported or implied by Thucydides, especially at Syracuse, in calculating the decline in Hoplite-strength. Besides a few misprints, mostly trifling (pp. 7¹, 14¹, 25 (4), 28, l. 5, 37, l. 11, 49², 82²) we note also Nillson for Nilsson (p. 34) and Komon for Konon (p. 41); and the writer of the article on the Arginusae casualty-list (in *Phil. Woch.* 1932, *Poland-Festschrift*) is Koerte, not Kolbe.

To sum up, Mr. Gomme has rendered a valuable service to serious students of Athenian history, who will welcome his unbiassed presentation of the evidence, even if they may not accept his interpretation in all its details.

A. M. W.

Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind. By W. W. TARN. (*The Raleigh Lecture on History*, British Academy, 1933.) Pp. 46. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Tarn's plea for regarding Alexander as the real author of the theory of the brotherhood of man is learned and eloquent; and, so far as the Greek world is concerned, it is fairly clear that

Alexander was not only the first practical exponent of this theory in its full sense, but also the first who grasped its implications. At the same time it is perhaps possible to find in earlier times more foreshadowings of the doctrine than Mr. Tarn seems to allow. Certainly Alexander had not learned it, in anything like the form in which he announced it, from his tutor Aristotle, whose encyclopaedic knowledge smells of a lamp made in the Cerameicus and fed with pure Attic oil: but other Greeks had travelled more widely and gathered first-hand knowledge of foreign countries. For instance, there is a good deal of evidence that Herodotus had formed a more generous estimate of 'outsiders' than that which was prevalent in Athens in his day, and was cherished by philosophers who looked on Athens as their spiritual, if not their material, home. It was not till Alexander had come into personal contact with Orientals that he showed any realisation that they could be placed on the same moral and intellectual plane as Greeks: then he worked out the application of the theory of brotherhood on a wider basis than had ever before been stated; and this, as Mr. Tarn suggests, may be accounted the greatest thing about him. J. G. M.

A History of Delos. By W. A. Laidlaw. Pp. 308: 8 photos. Oxford: Blackwell, 1933. 18s.

This book offers to the English-speaking public a résumé of the French excavations at Delos, and of many learned and often inaccessible treatises on the history of the island. In his anxiety to state historical problems fairly and not to prejudge them hastily, the author is at times too self-effacing, and uninitiated readers may wish that he had given them a stronger lead, *e.g.* on Delian pre-history and on the rival Aegean thalassocracies of the third century. On the other hand, his account of the period of Roman ascendancy is clear as well as judicious, and his description of the architectural remains, though brief, will lure on the intending visitor to Delos. Discussion of particular contentious points is continued in the appendices and the notes at the end of each chapter. These will be welcomed by the more strenuous reader: but the absence of corresponding reference numbers to the notes in the text detracts from their utility.

Criticism of details is not called for here. But it may be noted that the author sets an unnecessary obstacle in his path by assuming that Apollo of Delphi was a peculiarly Dorian god. No doubt he was a Nordic rather than an Oriental: but he was a common property of the Indo-European immigrants into Greece. In that case the connexion between the Pythian and

the pan-Ionian Apollo, which Mr. Laidlaw rightly emphasises, ceases to be a mystery.

König Hieron der Zweite von Syrakus. By A. SHENK, GRAF VON STAUFFENBERG. Pp. 99. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933. 6 m.

A sane and readable account of a man who was undoubtedly bigger than his somewhat shadowy reputation. The author discusses with sound judgment the part played by Hiero in the First Punic War. In regard to Hiero's constitutional practice and financial administration, he rightly emphasises that this was not a cheap imitation of Hellenistic statecraft, but a development from the régime of the earlier tyrants of Syracuse. Incidentally, it seems unlikely that Hiero should have possessed a navy comparable with that of Dionysius (p. 55). Previous to his accession, the Syracusan fleet had been almost destroyed by the Carthaginians; it did not figure prominently in the initial stages of the First Punic War; and after that contest a Greek thalassocracy in the West was not worth contending for.

A History of Greek Public Finance. By A. M. ANDRÉADÈS. Vol. I, revised edition, translated by C. N. BROWN. Pp. xx + 412. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: H. Milford, 1933. 86s.

The revised and enlarged edition of Professor Andréadès' monumental work was the subject of a review in this *Journal* on its appearance in the original Greek form (1928, p. 276; for the first edition see 1919, p. 235). Since then translations into German and into English have been called for, so general has been the appreciation of its utility. The English version has been competently and carefully executed and is assured of a welcome on both sides of the Atlantic.

Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations. By ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON. (*Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America*, No. 5). Pp. viii + 117. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1932.

The Alexander Legend was once spread over half the world. Prof. Anderson's investigation into the vicissitudes of one detail thereof gives us a rare view into the growth of such a story. This began in a welter of misunderstandings with Ezekiel XXVIII and Alexander as its two different elements, and emerged as an edifying and circumstantial apocalypse of the Lost Tribes of Israel (alias Gog and Magog), bursting their magic fastness to lay waste the world under the leadership of the Antichrist.

A bewildering list can be compiled of invading paynim who were recognised as Gog and Magog each in their turn, since interpreters of prophecies are always ready with new meanings on the failure of the preceding. The Gate by which they were thought confined was placed first at the Dariel pass in the Caucasus: then at Derbend east of the Caspian; it receded ever elsewhere before the spread of more accurate geography. In remoteness of localisation, however, all other efforts were outdone by a Dutch scholar who confused it with the Jade Gate in the Great Wall of China (Prof. Anderson by a slip calls it Jasper).

The five chapters of the book treat Gog and Magog: the story's original form and localisation; the confusion with the Ten Tribes; the Gate and its paraphernalia *déménagée* to Northern Europe; and its alternative movement eastward, primarily in Oriental literature. Anderson quotes largely and dislikes much discussion. In passing he discounts, rightly, the common equation of Gog = Gyges. A painstaking and interesting study, rounded with an exhaustive bibliography, but unindexed.

wright's use. He also raises the interesting question how far the prosperity of the Empire was due to the free trade and free circulation made possible by the Roman Peace; and there is an illuminating digression on the limitations placed on the ancients' navigation by their ignorance of fore-and-aft rigging.

The first part of Dr. Burr's treatise, on the names of the individual seas, is an unexciting compilation; his explanation why the Ionian sea got its name is unconvincing. In the second, he would be disposed to agree with Prof. Rose in his estimate of Roman imperialism. 'Die Seeherrschaft ist ein integrierendes, kein essentielles Bestandteil der Machtpolitik Roms.' The sea was never normally a provincia like the land. Hence care in explaining that *nostrum mare* = the Mediterranean really = ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσα (or the like) of Greek writers, particularly in contrast to the Atlantic: it is not 'the belongings of Rome,' as some modern propagandists make out. Dr. Burr is useful in disentangling the confusion of ancient views about Oceanus.

R. D. B.

The Mediterranean in the Ancient World. By J. HOLLAND ROSE. Pp. 184 + 1; Frontispiece. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 8s. 6d.

Nostrum Mare: Ursprung und Geschichte der Namen des Mittelmeeres und seiner Teilmeere im Altertum. By VIKTOR BURR. (*Wurzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. 4.) Pp. 141. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932. 6m.

Professor Rose brings to an admirable study of ancient nautical history a specialised knowledge, a practical outlook, and an agreeable style. He passes from the causes for the movements of primitive peoples in the Mediterranean to the clash between Phoenician and Greek interests, and thence to the grander theme of the maritime expansion of Rome, which, carefully analysed, profits by being considered anew. He shews that the Roman plebs, in grasping before the First Punic War the strategic importance of Sicily in the Mediterranean, took the first step in a conscious maritime policy. Events themselves, questions of trade and food supplies brought by water, compelled a continual expansion in the same search for definitive frontiers as that by land. Rome possessed the necessary advantages for the maintenance of what was, in fact, largely a marine empire, a central position safe from possible attacks from the hinterland, a tough stock of loyal sailors and abundance of metal and timber for the ship-

L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolémée. By ANDRÉ BERTHELOT. Pp. 427; 24 maps. Paris: Payot, 1930. 60 fr.

This book is an able and scholarly addition to our knowledge of ancient geography as revealed in an important part of the geographical work of Ptolemy. It is divided into four 'books.' Of these, the first consists of lengthy but not irrelevant prolegomena which survey ancient knowledge of the middle and far East to the beginning of the Roman Empire. The reader will find an account of the original home and migrations of the Indo-Europeans: Herodotus' descriptions of the various tribes which in his day extended apparently from the Black Sea across the Kalmuck and Kirghuz Steppes, across Uralsk and the Plateau of Ust Urt, and across the deserts of Kizil Kum and Kara Kum, to the Hindu Kush: the Persian Empire, with translations of the inscriptions of Behistun, Persepolis and Naksch-i-Rustam, and Herodotus' lists of Persian satrapies and peoples and the geographical situation of each; the conquests of Alexander and the fate of his Asiatic empire, and the geography of Strabo. The second book brings us to Ptolemy and consists of general observations on the text of his geography, on Ptolemy's sources, the divisions and arrangement of his work, his system of latitudes and longitudes, his general method of constructing maps and its defects, and possible ways of correcting or

improving his figures. A separate chapter is devoted to Ptolemy's introductory book and a review of Marinus, to whom Ptolemy confesses his obligations.

The main thing to bear in mind in using Ptolemy is this: his work is done in the spirit of an astronomer rather than of a geographer, and, taking γεωγραφία in its strictest sense, he made the reconstruction of the map of the known world his sole object; he recognised that map-making must be based on the known latitude and longitude of the chief points of the world's surface: but, points determined by astronomical observations being very few, he was compelled to fall back on rougher methods, such as comparing itineraries, 'periploi' and the like which gave estimated distances in stadia. Yet he treats his results as though they were all obtained by scientific observations of latitudes and longitudes; and so every place appears in its table furnished with latitude and longitude in degrees and fractions of a degree, and finds its position on his map accordingly. In a word, his scientific result has no more claim to scientific accuracy than the rough-and-ready statements of his source or sources; and this does not take into account the difficulties experienced by the ancients in determining latitudes and longitudes.

In books three and four M. Berthelot gives a thorough and valuable treatment of Ptolemy's description of Central Asia from Hyrcania to China as approached by the land-routes (Book III), and of South-Eastern Asia, that is, of India, Ceylon, the lands beyond the Ganges, and of China as reached by sea. But it would be worth while noting that in dealing with eastern waters only, outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire (Ptol. III, 4, 6 providing an isolated exception), Ptolemy uses the word 'emporium' of a number of places. Comparison of these with the same places in the anonymous *Periplus* shews that by 'emporium' Ptolemy means a legal or authorised mart in eastern waters where trading was allowed by Asiatics to foreigners and dues were levied from them. This rule does not apply to coasts west of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Likewise it is only in dealing with Indian seas that he relies on certain special information of merchants and voyagers, some of whom he names, and adds certain details—for instance, of some commercial product. He does these things in a manner which shews that he is recording fresh discoveries made shortly before the time of compiling his geography. Here again there is only one exception (Ptol. I, 11, 8—length of Iceland).

Throughout the whole work Mr. Berthelot's language is clear and concise and the cartographic measurements painstakingly and accurately given. A particularly interesting and useful feature is the inclusion, at every relevant point, of two maps of a district, one map being Ptolemy's, the other the true map as drawn in modern cartography. This is exactly the sort of thing we want. We can thus see at a glance the degrees of knowledge and ignorance, of accuracy and distortion, which Ptolemy's work reveals on analysis. Particularly good instances are the maps of the Caspian and lands to the east facing p. 184 (cp. p. 163): the maps of the delta of the Ganges on pp. 304 and 305; and the maps of north-western India facing p. 312. One regrets deeply the absence of an index, which would have added enormously to the value of the book.

M. Berthelot is under no delusion as to the debatable character of many of the identifications which have been made in regard to all kinds of geographic and ethnographic features in Ptolemy, but here and there the author has adopted as certain a conclusion which is doubtful or even more than doubtful, and in some instances states as a matter of positive fact a thing which is hotly disputed. Again, he fights shy of adorning his pages with citations from ancient and modern sources: yet the reader would have liked a greater liberality in such matters than the author has shewn. These are the only criticisms of a general nature which I would make. When it comes to matters of detail, scholars of ancient geography will find themselves in disagreement with the author's decisions in many instances, particularly in the identification of geographical features, above all, of names of localities. It would be out of place here to review all or even a small part of such cases in most of which one opinion is no better than another. I simply present the following in which the author, in my judgment, has not given us the most probable conclusions.

Pp. 16 ff. The early history of the horse has been the subject of keen controversy, and M. Berthelot's observations on the origin of the domestic horse and its use by Indo-Europeans are reasonable enough. Yet, despite the fact that Professor Ridgeway's conclusions (in *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*) have been much disputed, the possibility that the best equine blood originated in an African species or sub-species, *Equus caballus libycus*, should not be entirely ignored.

34 ff. Herodotus' account of the peoples

dwelling on the Steppes round the Caspian Sea is treated in detail, and the identifications may be accepted. But, though Herodotus (IV, 24) allows that his information comes from the Scythians and Greeks who travelled and traded with the Caspian tribes, yet it is probable that the Greeks at any rate had not reached the Volga, a river which Herodotus apparently ignores, since the identification of his Oarus with Ptolemy's Rha, which is certainly the Volga, is without confirmation. Some travelled across the southern part of the Caspian and became aware of the Plateau of Ust Urt and the desert of Kara Kum. This would leave, from the Volga to the Sea of Aral, and including both, a big stretch which was unexplored by them and known only by inaccurate hearsay.

81-2. One could give the date of the missionary-embassies sent by the great Mauryan king Asoka of North India to Antiochus II of Syria, Ptolemy II of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander II of Epirus. Antiochus II, the latest of these kings to rule, began his reign in 261 or 260 B.C.: Alexander II, the first of them to die, did so about 260. This points to 261 as the date of the embassies.

99. *Il (Strabon) ignore totalement la mer d'Aral, ainsi que tous les écrivains anciens; elle n'existait pas encore. . . . 164. On sait que durant les siècles de l'antiquité classique et jusqu'à l'époque Arabe, l'Oxus se déversa dans la Caspienne.* In spite of all the investigations and discussions that have taken place on these doubtful points, the decision in either case must remain uncertain and the present reviewer, relying on geological evidence too detailed to be given here, is convinced that, though in prehistoric times the Aral and the Caspian were in truth one inland lake, and the Oxus had a southern branch (presumably the Uzboi channel) leading into the South-eastern part of the Caspian at Balkan Bay, neither of these facts has held good any longer during historic epochs (W. W. Tarn in *JHS.* xxi, 10 ff.). The Greeks never knew much of the lands north-east of the Caspian, and their belief that the Oxus and the Iaxartes in their era flowed into the Caspian instead of the Aral is perhaps best explained as a conclusion to which they jumped from evidence obtained from peoples on the upper reaches of these rivers—peoples who said that they flowed into a large salt lake or sea.

156. *Col Clupier (passage d'Hannibal).* (Cp. J. Knollach, in *Klio*, xxv.) But Polybius and Livy between them leave us quite uncertain whether Hannibal crossed by way of the Col du Clapier or the Col de la Traversette or the Col d'Argen-

tière or the Mont Genève. Every blast or counterblast of any investigator convinces you until you have read the next.

157 ff. In dealing with Ptolemy's details of the middle and the far East, M. Berthelot is admirably cautious, and it is here that his comparative pairs of maps are so instructive. The author is well aware that whereas many modern identifications of ancient regions and places are known and certain, many are debatable or positively unknown. He rightly disapproves of those who give positive verdicts in cases where the evidence is not sufficient, and one must for the most part agree with his strictures upon Vincent Smith in the matter of the identification of places in India and upon Geini in the matter of regions beyond India. But there are cases where he is unconvincing. Thus, just as the ancient Calliena is the modern Kalyana in the harbour of Bombay, so Suppara is not Surate (pp. 324-5), but Sopara, and what we know of the geography and the politics of the old Tamil kingdoms, combined with the words of the anonymous *Periplus* (in Chapter 54, where there is a small omission in the manuscript but no sign whatever of alteration or interpolation), makes it almost certain that the ancient Tyndis was near Ponnani, that Muziris, 500 stadia by river and sea from Tyndis, was near Cranganore, and that Nelecynda, about 500 stadia by river and sea from Muziris, was near Kottayam (pp. 326 ff.). Again, Menuthias island of Ptolemy as of the *Periplus* is not Madagascar but Zanzibar, if not Pemba or a confusion of both with characteristics of the mainland (p. 372, cp. 139). Note also that Ptolemy's Ὀρνέων ἄκρα (IV, 4) may well have been the 'Pointe de Galle'; but let none think there is any connection with birds in 'Galle' (p. 364). Again, the anonymous *Periplus* and Ptolemy probably did write Διμυρική (pp. 324 ff.); but we should note the form Dymnice in segment XII of the *Peutinger Table* (Scythia Dymirice—K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 838), which appears as Dimirica in the Geographer of Ravenna (II, 13) and as Dimrica in Guido (120) and possibly as Dimuri in Pliny (VI, 77). This points to a confusion of Δ with Λ.

The book is not free from misprints, specially in Greek words, which should be corrected in any future edition.

E. H. W.

Old Age among the ancient Greeks. By B. E. RICHARDSON. Pp. xv + 376; 27 figs. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. 14s. A laborious and detailed study which leads to

no conclusions of startling novelty but which will have its uses as a collection of material. The literary evidence is first investigated, then the various types of old people in vase-paintings, sculpture, etc., are collected. On the basis of epigraphic material an attempt is made to compile a table of mortality. At the end are long lists of sepulchral inscriptions in which the age is mentioned.

Indo-European Folk-Tales and Greek Legend. By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. i + 158. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. 7s. 6d.

This book is Principal Halliday's Gray Lectures for 1932, enlarged and revised for printing. Like everything he writes, it represents strong common sense reinforced with expert knowledge which is here applied to a difficult subject. Twin errors beset the path of a mythologist, not least of one who makes Greek tradition his specialty. One is, that he will confine himself too narrowly to his own field, and therefore evolve theories of the genesis and significance of the myths and sagas which a glance at material from elsewhere would shew to be impossible or highly unlikely. What havoc that wrought in the early days of the science is well known to those who have consulted authors from Natalis Comes onward to the early nineteenth century. The other is, to be over-easily content with parallels from the folklore of any and every nation, and thus explain, it may be, something peculiarly Greek on the basis of a Polynesian's or a German's imagination. The latter is the more prevalent danger to-day. Principal Halliday, after a sketch of 'Myth, Fairy Tale and Legend' (pp. 1-12), proceeds, in three short but valuable chapters (pp. 13-84), to discuss successively 'Indo-European Folk-Tales and the Problem of their Diffusion,' 'Some early Correspondences between Greek and Indian Stories' and 'Greek Legend,' laying down excellent canons for testing a tradition to find whether it has been imported or not, and also for recognising the existence of an historical kernel, if it has one. He then applies his methods to three Greek tales, Prokne and Philomela, Perseus and the fable of the Goat and the Vine, concluding that the first, due as we now have it to Sophokles, is essentially one of the numerous and wide-spread group of tales based on the cries of birds: the second contains, along with a great deal of sheer *märchen*, a few slight quasi-historical reminiscences; while the third, Oriental in origin, originally made its goat nibble, not a grape-vine, but some plant whose root was used for tanning.

H. J. R.

Die archaische Mythenerzählung. By F. DORNSEIFF. Pp. 103. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1933. 4.50 m.

This is a most entertaining monograph, provocative to the point, sometimes, of irritation, highly ingenious, learned and often shewing fine literary taste and insight. The reviewer, who finds himself in almost continual disagreement with the author's conclusions, has to thank him for new light on more than one difficult subject.

Dornseiff starts from the Homeric Hymn (he insists on the singular and justifies himself at some length) to Apollo, concerning which he has the following suggestions to offer. It was composed, from beginning to end, by someone not long after 582, for a Sicilian audience which already knew the work of Stesichoros. This someone was most likely Kynaihtos, who introduced the Homeric poems to Sicily, and especially to Syracuse, as we are told by Hippostratos in the scholiast on Pindar, N. ii. 1: the information is quite credible and the whole passage sound, except for the impossible date, Ol. 69, which is simply a scribal error; the real date was some eighty years sooner. Stesichoros himself, to whom the poem owes much, was by no means the deadly serious writer he is generally supposed to have been, but, like his contemporaries the painters of black-figured vases, fond of a joke and of burlesque. For example, the whole story of his blinding by Helen and of his palinode was nothing but his own jesting. The tone of his references to her was no more serious than this: 'There now, Helen has made me as blind as Homer for abusing her: εὖκ' ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος; now she is appeased again.' In like manner, the author of the Hymn, though he was indeed a Chian, was not blind at all, and calls himself so merely as a half-serious compliment to the memory of Homer, the tale of whose blindness was already current. Various other passages in his poem are really touches of humour, and one or two of them were taken up again and further burlesqued by Kallimachos in his Hymn to Delos. Moreover, there is strong lyric influence on the structure of the hymn; some of the apparent quotations of the Delian section in the Pythian are of the nature of strophic responsions. In general, early poets were rather clumsy in making transitions: such an imperfection in their technique cannot be used, for example, as an argument for interpolation or multiple authorship in the Homeric epics.

This is the main subject of the monograph; to go into all the lesser points raised would take many pages. In the reviewer's opinion the arguments adduced are perilously frail to bear such a weight of superstructure. If the two

hymns are really one, it is certainly odd that the good poet of the Delian part should write much below the level at which he started when he deals with the equally interesting legends of Delphoi. The argument for a date subsequent to 782 for the Pythian hymn (*i.e.*, on Dörnsieff's contention, for the whole work) is a very strained interpretation of line 262 (84) *sqq.*, which is to be taken as alluding to the presence, not the absence, of chariot-races at Apollo's own shrine. The ascription to Stesichoros of a burlesque or comic strain rests on next to nothing, considering how very little we have of his works, and unless and until we learn much more of the early history of choral lyric, to speculate on its relations to the later rhapsodic poetry may lead to ingenious suggestions, as indeed it has done in this case, but hardly to solid results. Nevertheless, so clever a critic, a true disciple of Wilamowitz, to whose memory he pays pious homage, remains suggestive and illuminating even when there are good reasons to suppose him wrong. H. J. R.

The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law at Athens. By SVEND RANULF. Pp. 161. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard; London: Williams and Norgate, 1933.

This is the first volume of a two-volume treatise which Dr. Ranulf describes as a contribution to the sociology of moral indignation. The problem is stated thus: 'In the *Iliad* gods as well as men are indifferent to wrongs inflicted on others than themselves. In fifth-century Athens a system of law is established which presupposes the readiness of the citizens to interfere when wrongs have been inflicted upon others. Simultaneously, in the literature, we find a similar disinterested activity as guardians of justice attributed to the gods.' An examination of the literature of the fifth century, Herodotus, Aeschylus and Sophocles (Thucydides, Euripides and Aristophanes are reserved for the second volume), shows the intermingling of three types of divine action—I. punishment of sins, II. caprice, III. jealousy. The third is of the greatest importance and suggests that the jealousy of men is in great part responsible for the establishment of the system of law; ostracism is used as a parallel, and the whole theory clinched by reference to the poverty of Athens before the Periclean prosperity.

The book is admirably documented by full quotation of passages and the method is excellent. There are, however, criticisms to be made. Homer, Solon, and Pindar, alone of earlier and non-Attic authors, are used, although the problem does not begin neatly with Solon to be continued by Aeschylus. Pindar is said

to have no instance of type I. But Ixion, whom Dr. Ranulf quotes as an instance of II and III, seems to be a clear case. Homer, *Iliad* xvi, 386, is put out of the way as a Hesiodic interpolation: the trial in *Iliad* xviii is disregarded. Practically nothing is said of Hesiod, who is an author of the greatest importance for a subject of this kind, and nothing of the lyric poets. This cannot be excused on the ground that they were non-Athenian: Greek thought is too closely interconnected for that. There are points of detail which may be questioned. Agamemnon is said to be guilty only by compulsion, when he sacrifices Iphigeneia. Yet Aeschylus represents him as choosing between two evils and choosing wrong; in the same way Clytemnestra is not allowed to shift her responsibility on to the ancestral curse. The chorus (O.T. 863 f.) is wrongly said to occur after the fall of Oedipus. 'The sadistic treatment attributed to the gods in Sophocles and Herodotus cannot but startle the modern mind.' This is over-statement: it is perfectly true that there are convincing instances of the malice and jealousy of the gods in Herodotus: but in Sophocles such statements are always due to a lack of *sophrosyne* in the character who makes them, *e.g.* Philoctetes, and Oedipus' fate is not due to the jealousy of the gods but to his self-confidence; the gods merely announce what will, in fact, happen. Similarly Agamemnon's fear of the gods' jealousy is one of the weaknesses in his character, for Aeschylus definitely rejects the idea of the jealousy of the gods in a chorus (750) which cannot be interpreted away. In the eyes of the man who is *sophron* there is no jealousy of the gods; but a just punishment for an arrogance which usually carries with it *hybris* and crime. Dr. Ranulf recognises this distinction between the points of view of different characters in an excellent discussion of Creon in the *Antigone* and Ajax: but often he speaks of ideas of Sophocles and Aeschylus, where he would be more correct if he said ideas *in* Sophocles and Aeschylus. With these limitations, this is a valuable piece of work and the appearance of the second volume in English will be eagerly awaited.

T. B. L. W.

The Socratic Problem. By A. K. ROGERS. Pp. iv + 195. New Haven: Yale University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. 12s.

This well-written book embodies a careful study of the Platonic Socrates and a fresh attempt to solve the puzzle of his identity. The author modestly disclaims any absolute value for his con-

clusions. He has at any rate dealt reasonably and shrewdly with his material, and has made a good case. The line of his solution lies in the distinction between the personalities of Socrates as the sage, moralist and mystic, and Plato as the logician, scientist, and professional philosopher. Taking the dialogues in more or less the accepted order, he separates from the first two strands in the fabric, corresponding to these two dispositions and interests. The logical preoccupations apparent in quite early dialogues are attributed to Plato: so is the scientific and epistemological element in the theory of Ideas. The mystical, aesthetic and psychological applications of the doctrine are held to belong to the historic Socrates, for whose quality of 'emotional insight' his speech in the *Phaedrus* and that of Alcibiades in the *Symposium* are regarded as trustworthy evidence. The very difficult case of the *Phaedo* is specially considered with a view to apportioning to their sources the different parts of the argument. The passage recording the search for a principle of causation, and the whole topic of the αἰὼν, are definitely ascribed to Plato.

Dealing with the evidence from Aristophanes and Xenophon, Mr. Rogers proves a judicious critic. He does not believe that Socrates was a Pythagorean, and finds a sufficient basis for the comic caricature in his Orphic interests and his concern for 'the soul.' Xenophon's Socrates is a mere lay figure, therefore naturally 'a good deal of a bore': the *Memorabilia* are no more than 'illustrative conversations' on a few familiar lines. In three short appendices the author adds suggestions on *Epistle II* (as perhaps the work of Dionysius), on the *Hippias* dialogues (as both spurious) and on the *Phaedrus* myth (identifying the 'nobler' horse with true opinion).

The Socratic problem must probably remain unsolved: but by the theory here worked out, offering as it does a suggestive compromise between Burnet-Taylor and the traditional view, Mr. Rogers has shewn convincingly that the question still lends itself to a fresh approach. Arguing always on moderate and persuasive lines, he has made a real contribution to the literature of this perplexing subject.

D. T.

What Plato Said. By PAUL SHOREY. Pp. vii + 636. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. 27s. 6d.

The main part of this massive book contains, in the author's words 'a résumé of the entire body of the Platonic writings.' Somewhat inconsistently with his title, he includes not only some debatable dialogues but also those which he classes 'following the usual views' as 'doubtful'

or as 'spurious': on the other hand, he altogether omits the *Epistles*, as forgeries. The book is intended to supplement Professor Shorey's earlier work, *The Unity of Plato's Thought*. He rejects all the evolutionary theories, and is also doubtful about stylistic methods: but the arrangement which he adopts, as 'what seemed the most convenient sequence,' is, in fact, on the generally agreed lines. His theory is that the Platonic doctrine forms one whole, and that its exposition centres in the *Republic*: one set of dialogues leads up to this, another set supplements it. Socrates is regarded throughout as the spokesman of Plato, and the theory of Ideas is found implicit from the beginning. The assurance of unity and consistency is achieved largely by concentrating attention on the ethical and psychological aspects of this theory; the Ideas apparently *are*, in fact, 'ideas,' and metaphysic is throughout kept in the background. Thus in the *Phaedo*, while Plato's confusion of logic with metaphysic is properly pointed out, the actual details of the final proof of immortality are dismissed in one sentence. The later dialogues are kept within the scheme by interpreting them as exercises in logic and psychology. The first part of the *Parmenides* is explained as Plato's answer to unintelligent critics: the *Timaeus*, as the grandest of Plato's 'literary digressions.' Similarly on the side of political theory differences between *Republic*, *Politics* and *Laws* are minimised, and the last-named is described as 'almost a complete compendium of the Platonic philosophy.'

Professor Shorey's analyses of particular dialogues are necessarily coloured by this general view, and are indeed interspersed not only with many cross-references but with much polemic, besides comment and modern analogy which are frequently valuable. Further exegesis and references are found in the notes, which form about one-third of the volume; there also a useful short bibliography is given for each dialogue. The method of summarising varies between quite full paraphrase and brief abstract. The *Gorgias*, perhaps a specially congenial subject, is excellently done: the difficulties of condensing the *Euthydemus* are, again, overcome very skilfully and without loss of its humour. The analysis of the *Republic* emphasises its political import; here, as in some other places, a certain disproportion is felt, when at the conclusion of a much-condensed summary we are presented with a verbatim translation of the myth of Er. The *Phaedo* suffers most, perhaps, from the reporter's method; the rare quality and atmosphere of the dialogue are lost, and in particular the abstract (faithful enough to detail) of the last three pages is a sad substitute for the text itself. Here, as elsewhere,

the thought inevitably arises that between generalising criticism and literal translation the *via media* is hard to find and to follow, and that even for the modern and non-classical reader the best way, after all, to find out what Plato said is to go straight to Plato.

D. T.

Philon von Alexandria als sozialer Denker.

By FRANZ GEIGER. '*Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 14.*' Pp. xi + 118. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932. 8m.

Any serious attempt to evolve a consistent body of thought from the writings of Philo must be attended by misgivings, and in his sociological views conflicting allegiances are even more than usually apparent. Platonic, Stoic and Jewish elements jostle with each other, and the most emphatic generalisations are qualified or contradicted in another context. It is to Dr. Geiger's credit that he is not oversanguine (p. 35 *et al.*): he is content in the main to let Philo speak for himself, and shews admirable judgment in quotation and comment. He is convinced indeed of Philo's intellectual honesty, and insists that the excesses of the diatribe must not blind us to his sincerity as a social thinker (pp. 113-114).

The book is divided into four sections entitled respectively *Sozialphilosophie*, *Sozialethik*, *Der Weise* and *Philon und das Judentum*.

The first section (pp. 1-27) shews how the Stoic doctrine of the λογική συγγένεια of the cosmos is combined with the Jewish conception of the all-pervading love of Jehovah. The Stoic 'life in agreement with nature' becomes (with the sanction of the *Theaetetus*) the way that leads to God the Father. God's relation to men is the prototype of social justice, and imitation of God comports benevolence. The laws of the empirical state are applications of the cosmic law, which is 'proportional equality,' or ἀπονέμειν κατ' ἄξιν. The state is analogous to the human soul (tripartite as in the *Phaedrus*); and justice comes from a psychic harmony. The enemy of society is the ἀλάζων, who would overstep the bounds of human nature.

The main section of the book (pp. 28-84) deals with the application of the principle of 'proportional equality' to the organisation of society. Democracy is the best form of government, but must not be confused with ochlocracy, which, securing a quantitative equality at the expense of moral worth, is utterly at variance with the natural law—Philo's vigour in denouncing mob-rule was doubtless, as M. Bréhier has suggested, actuated by his experiences of the Alexandrian mob. On the question of slavery, to which the Stoics

and Cynics brought enlightened views, Philo is voluble and vacillating: he makes much of the Stoic distinction between mental and bodily slavery, enjoins on masters humane treatment of their slaves, but, taking a Greek rather than Jewish view of the status of handicrafts, concludes that slaves are necessary to a well-organised community. A child of his age, Philo looks to τύχη to redress social and political injustice: it is no blind fortune, but manifests the principle of ἰσότης and will some day bring the whole world into a single πόλις which will be ruled by democratic (Jewish) laws. Philo's views on women, marriage, family life, child-exposure, money-lending and other topics are also expounded in this section.

The third section (pp. 85-94) illustrates Philo's identification of the Stoic sage with the Jewish prophet; he is the intermediary between God and men, and the redeemer of his race.

In conclusion (pp. 94-118). Dr. Geiger emphasises the apologetic motive underlying much of Philo's social thought, and particularly his anxiety to vindicate the Jewish people from the charge of exclusiveness and *Menschenfeindschaft*.

The book is a valuable addition to Philonic literature, and is excellently printed. A lapse occurs on p. 23, where the references in notes 102 and 103 should apparently be transposed.

B. S. P.

New Chapters in the history of Greek

Literature: Third Series. By J. U. POWELL. Pp. 268; 13 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 15s.

The general purpose of this series is well known, and the present volume will appeal above all to the lovers of poetry and romance. Mr. Rattenbury's chapter on the latter theme stands apart. It is a definite essay on the Greek Novel with new and important conclusions. The romance of Ninus forms the keystone of his theory. The only MS. belongs to the first century B.C., a significant date. Both in time and in theme the tale stands between the Alexander romance (romantic treatment of history) and the later type of sentimental love-story, sharing, in fact, the characteristics of both. The other four chapters are perforce of a more discursive nature. Mr. Bowra selects, introduces, translates, and annotates the plums from the lyric poets, Sappho, Alcaeus, Corinna, Pindar, etc. down to Erinna. One is surprised at the wealth of new material and particularly grateful for translations, although here perhaps the reader may occasionally take a line of his own. In Sappho's poem on Doricha, for example, πόθεννον εἰς ἔρον ἦλθε carries a nautical

nuance, 'has reached the haven of her desire' rather than 'has fallen into lovely desire.' So too in the majestic Pindaric dithyramb, Ἄρτεμις οἰοπόλος suggests rather 'Artemis haunter of solitudes' than 'Artemis the lonely,' just as in the fourth *Pythian* δαίμων οἰοπόλος might be turned by 'the spirit of the wilds.' Mr. Bowra refuses, with Wilamowitz and Lobel, the lovely Bridal of Hector and Andromache to Sappho. Until some courageous scholar edits the fragments of Euripides, the lengthy and detailed chapter on Tragedy by Mr. Pickard-Cambridge will be indispensable. Not only are the new fragments commented, but often the whole plots of the plays are discussed. Sophocles and a few minor dramatists are also included, but not, of course, the recently discovered fragments of the *Niobe* and *Dikttyoulkoi* of Aeschylus. In the exquisite moaning song from the *Phaethon* should not the second line run, e.g. Ἄως ἐλαύνει κατὰ γῆν, keeping the scansion of the antistrophe? The chapter on Comedy by Mr. Platnauer is briefer, as nothing sensational has recently turned up. Mr. Powell himself writes on Later Elegy, Epigram, and Lyric Poetry, and includes material from inscriptions as well as from papyri. Philicus with his long undulating lines proves the most attractive catch in his net. The epigram on the destruction of Sparta by Philopoemen perhaps ends Ἑλλάς . . . ἀκρόπολιν = 'Greece mourns her bulwark,' a conscious echo of the description of Sparta in the epigram on Lysander (Tod, *GHI*, p. 230).

H. J. M. M.

Sophokles. By H. WEINSTOCK. Pp. 297. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931. 14 m.

There are some books which lack the normal paraphernalia of the scholar, bibliographies, erudite footnotes, etc., which are in fact written primarily for the general reader, but which nevertheless no scholar can afford to ignore. Among these is Weinstock's *Sophokles*. His purpose is to explain the poet by his work and from his work. The book is divided into two main parts—Die Werke and Das Werk. In the former each play is examined individually and in detail: the author finds each illustrative of a different lesson, and he shews with what dramatic and artistic sense the poet brings them home. In the second and much shorter part the common characteristics of Sophokles' work and thought are ably discussed. Seven plays out of over a hundred, W. himself admits it, cannot furnish a complete picture; but a fresh examination of the seven can help us to appreciate Sophokles, so far as he survives, even if we can never know his full glory. Naturally much of what W. has to

say has been said before; but he is always stimulating, and his straightforward and unencumbered chapters should not only help students to appreciate what they read, but should also achieve his other object, win fresh readers and admirers for the poet.

R. M. R.

Zwei Attische Epitaphien. By KLAUS OPPENHEIMER. Pp. 97. Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1933. 2.70 m.

The author of this Doctoral dissertation, a pupil of Werner Jaeger, discusses two Attic *Epitaphioi*, the Funeral Speech in Thuc. ii. and that in Plato's *Menexenos*. In the 18 pages devoted to the former his main point is that Thucydides, in substituting for the normal recital of the achievements of the deceased a picture of the Athens of Pericles, and its political and cultural aims, is here giving his readers in reality an Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, one of the political pamphlets becoming popular in the last quarter of the fifth century. Attention is also drawn alike to its symmetrical structure, to its pre-vaillingly antithetical style, and to the variety of ways in which antithesis is employed in detail. We are shewn, however, that behind these mannerisms lies the real devotion of the author to his city, and that the *Epitaphios* is for Thucydides at the same time a hymn of praise. (No suggestion is made, or implied, that Pericles was the author of any single word of it.) The *Menexenos* receives fuller and more considered treatment: the speech put into the mouth of the deceased is made the subject of some acute analysis and of some suggestive literary comparisons. This is followed by a discussion (pp. 56 ff.) of the Ἐπαινος contained in this speech, interrupted by a rather misplaced digression on the history of Ἐπιτάφιοι (p. 60), which leads on to a study of Plato's attitude towards Ἐπαινοί in general (*Lysis*, 204 D, ff.; *Theaet.* 174 D). In two Appendices the author discusses 'Genealogische Protreptik' and 'Zwei Formen Griechischen Protreptik' (ὁτρύνειν—Pr. and νείκειν—Pr.). The 'Protreptik' of Socrates, of which his 'Elenktik' forms an essential part, is assigned to the latter type. Altogether a thoughtful piece of work, revealing a considerable knowledge of, and acute insight into, questions of the structure of Greek thought and language.

A. M. W.

Emploi des signes critiques; Disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins; Conseils et recommandations. Pp. 46. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1932.

This pamphlet, which appears without any author's name, is published under the auspices

of the *Union Académique Internationale* and is mainly the work of a committee appointed by that body and consisting of J. Bidez, A. B. Drachmann and K. Hude. Its purpose is to produce greater uniformity in the editing of classical texts, and the rules laid down or rather the advice given appear well calculated to achieve this result. Chap. I deals with *Les Signes Critiques*, carefully distinguishing between texts proper, inscriptions and papyri, and pleads for greater uniformity in the editing of the two last. Chap. II is concerned with *L'Apparat Critique* and contains very sound advice for intending editors, though it is admitted that 'les conseils qu'on peut donner avec quelque utilité seront pour la plupart d'un caractère négatif.' A list of the abbreviations usually employed in an apparatus criticus and a *Table Alphabétique* complete the pamphlet, which deserves to be studied carefully by every scholar who undertakes the edition of a classical text.

Byzantine Civilisation. By STEVEN RUNCIMAN. Pp. 320. London: Arnold, 1933. 16s.

Mr. Runciman in this book has provided for the general reader an interesting and useful introduction to the study of Byzantine civilisation. The scope of the work can be adequately indicated by quoting the titles of the chapters: i, The foundation of Constantinople; ii, Historical outline; iii, The imperial Constitution and the Reign of Law; iv, The administration; v, Religion and the Church; vi, The army, the navy, the diplomatic service; vii, Commerce; viii, Town and country life; ix, Education and learning; x, Byzantine literature; xi, Byzantine art; xii, Byzantium and the neighbouring world. Mr. Runciman's book, it will be observed, covers a wide field, and it is based upon extensive reading. But a reviewer in the *JHS.* is bound to judge the work from the standpoint of the serious student of the subject, and, when it is thus regarded, there is not a little ground for disappointment. In the first place the method of bibliographical reference adopted by Mr. Runciman is peculiarly exasperating: the name of the author is given (without initials), the title of the work, and nothing more. In the Bibliographical Note on p. 306 reference is made to the *Cambridge Medieval History*, to the article 'Byzance' in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, to Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* and especially for 'modern works' to Vasiliev's *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*; Mr. Runciman adds, 'The dates and places of publication of the various books that I cite can be found in the biblio-

graphics given above.' But in the absence of any date of publication how shall the reader know which are 'modern works' or which may possibly be found in, say, the *Cambridge Medieval History*? To take but two examples: on p. 156 and on p. 282 Mr. Runciman cites 'Uspenski, *Russia and Byzantium*'; the reader knows, perhaps that a speech by Th. Uspensky was published in pamphlet form in Odessa in 1888, but this bore the title 'Rus and Byzantium in the Tenth Century.' Has Mr. Runciman merely quoted the title inaccurately or did Uspensky write another work on a similar subject? It is impossible to determine. On p. 207 there is a reference to 'Sokolov, Law of Property in the Greco-Roman Empire'; I know of no such work, but how shall one set about to discover it?¹ This whole system of bibliographical reference is, in fact, indefensible.²

In the second place, the references to the sources given in the notes are so inaccurate that it is difficult to believe that the author read the proofs of the book before publication. Should a second edition of the work be called for, it must be carefully revised throughout.³ Towards that revision I would contribute the following notes:

- p. 62 n.¹ Bréhier, . . . *BZ.* vol. 15, 151 sqq., esp. 71-2—read 161 sqq., esp. 171-2.
p. 63 n.¹ Nicholas Mysticus, *Epistolae*, *MPG.*, vol. III, 200—read cxi, 210.
p. 63 n.¹ Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. Renauld, 101 sqq.—read I, 101 sqq.

¹ It is not mentioned in I. I. Sokolov's *Materiali po zemel'no-khoziaistvennomu butu Vizanti* in the *Izvestiya of the Leningrad Academy of Sciences*, Series vii, 1931, No. 6 (*Classe des sciences sociales*), 683-712.

² On p. 71 n.¹ a reference is given to *I.F.* vol. i; on p. 196 n.¹ to *I.F.* vol. 17; can a reader be expected to know, without explanation, that the letters refer to the *Vizantiskii Vremennik*?

³ The proof-reading is otherwise poor. e.g. Read for νοθητικός (p. 81, and often) νοδοκτητικός; for Steuergemeinder (p. 96) Steuergemeinde; for epiboli (p. 97) epibole; for Dolger (p. 98) Dolger; for Theologii (p. 114 and often) Theologi; for Dioscurus (p. 116 twice and in Index) Dioscorus; for Ostrogorski (p. 116) Ostrogorsky; for Müller (p. 133) Muller; for 'In the last' (p. 138) 'In the East'; for Izvestiza (p. 161) Izvestiva; for Zapistii (p. 216) Zapiski; Pacomius and Pachomius both appear on p. 226; for Oeconomos Didaskalos (p. 226) read Oecumenicos Didaskalos; for Holospyrism (p. 235) Holosphyrism (if such a word exists at all); for Timorion (p. 247) Timarion; and are not Pachymeres and Blemmydes better forms than Pachymer (p. 126 and often) and Blemmydas (p. 229)?

On p. 306 Mr. Runciman writes, 'the figures given after the sources cited in the footnotes refer to the relevant page'; on p. 65 n.⁴ he cites Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *op. cit.*, I, 38, but the reference is to ch. 38, pp. 191 sqq.

(Add to this note: cf. J. B. Bury, *Collected Essays*, ed. Tempelley, Cambridge, 1930, p. 123, note ¹¹).

p. 67 n.³ Basil I, *Paraenesis ad Leonem*, *MPG*, vol. 107, 25, 32—read *MPG*, vol. 107, xxxii.

p. 67 n.⁴ Nicephorus, *Brevia*, 7—read *Breviarium* or *Historia syntomos*.

p. 68 n.⁴ Theophanes Continuatus, 107–8—wrong reference.

p. 69 n.³ Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, II, 55—read III, 55, and add a reference to J. B. Bury, *Collected Essays* (ut *suprà*), p. 124, n.¹⁶

p. 82 n.¹ Cecaumenos . . . *Strategicon*, 78—read 74.

p. 82 n.³ Theophanes, 398—read 498.

p. 83 n.⁶ Theophanes Continuatus, 398—read 397.

p. 84 n.⁴ Theophanes Continuatus 397—read rather 357, 394.

p. 93 n.³ Zonaras III, 660—wrong reference.

p. 106 n.² Nicetas Choniates, 32—read 63.

p. 112 n.¹ Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De Ceremoniis*, 243—read *De administrando imperio*, 243.

p. 113 n.⁶ Theophanes Continuatus 354 is quoted for the statement that Basil I was cynical enough to plan to raise his young son to the patriarchal throne. There is no such statement in the text. Is this an inference from the fact that Basil I made his son syncellus?

p. 116 n.¹ Ostrogorsky is cited as the writer of a *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Bilderstreites* (sic); Ostrogorsky has long projected such a work, but it has not yet appeared. Probably his *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, Breslau, 1929 is intended.

p. 121 n.¹ Theophanes 408—read 409.

ibid. The Patriarch Paul resigned . . . conscience-stricken at being 'severed from the other chairs of Christendom and subject to a ban.' For this Theophanes 457 is cited, but the Greek text reads: τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ τυραννομένης καὶ ἐσχισμένης οὗσης ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν καθολικῶν θρόνων κ.τ.λ., and that is a different matter.

p. 126 n.⁵ Cantacuzenus II, 599—read III, 60.

p. 127. 'The pride of the Latins and the obstinacy of the Greeks will never agree.' This is cited in inverted commas, but it is not a quotation from Phrantzes 178, which is the authority quoted.

p. 131 n.⁴ 'The Emperor Manuel Comnenus even attempted to induce the Church to remove the anathema on the God of Islam, but that was considered heresy.' Professor Dawkins pointed out to me that Manuel did in fact secure the removal of the anathema, which is hardly suggested by Mr. Runciman's text. The reference for this theological activity of the Emperor Manuel is given on p. 131 as Nicetas, 178, on p. 235 as Nicetas Choniates, 275; both references are inaccurate—read 278–284.

p. 145 nn.² and ⁴. Both references appear to be wrong.

p. 147 n.³ Psellus, *Chronographia*, 10—read I, 10.

p. 147 n.⁵ *Jus Graeco-Romanum* III, 873—read III, 373.

p. 186 n.³ *Codex VIII* x. 12—read C. J. viii, 10, 12.

p. 187 n.² Zosimus, 24—read 246. But it was surely the senate-house and not the palace of Lausus which was burned down during the Chrysostom riots.

p. 190 n.¹ Pachymer, 161—read Pachymeres, I, 161.

p. 192 n.² Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De Ceremoniis* I, 92 (cf. note on p. 65 n.⁴ *suprà*)—read chap. 92.

p. 198 n.⁴ Cecaumenos, *Strategicon*, 41–2—read 42–3.

p. 203 n.² The reference should rather be to Glycas, 533.

p. 204 n.³ Gregoras, 43—read I, 43.

p. 204 n.⁵ Theophanes Continuatus 357—The reference is to the eunuch Mousikos, not to Samonas.

p. 218 n.³ Gregoras, 619—read II, 619.

p. 219. Constantine VIII's passion for blinding offenders 'was ironically called clemency of the emperor.' For this Zonaras III, 570 is cited: but Zon. states simply that the emperor κουφοτέρων τῶν ἄλλων ταύτην τὴν κόλασιν ἔκρινε. The Byzantine theory of punishment favoured mutilation in preference to the infliction of the death penalty.

p. 220 n.¹ Glycas 284—apparently read 527.

p. 224 n.¹ 'Psellus knew the whole *Iliad* by heart at the age of fourteen.' The reference to Psellus, *Chronographia*, I, 55, is irrelevant. I know of no authority for the statement which is perhaps derived from G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena*, p. 181. The statement of Psellus—οὕτω δεκάτης ἦν ἡ ἰσως ἐπιβεβήκειν τοῦ ἔτους Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, V, p. 14—probably only refers to the vision there related and can hardly be taken as evidence for the age at which

τά τε μοι τῆς ὀρθογραφίας ἡκρίβωτο καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἀπηγγέλτο Ἰλιάς, οὐ τὴν ἐποιοῖεν ἀπλῶς εἰδότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχῆμα καὶ τρόπον καὶ λεξιν καὶ μεταφορὰν εὐκαιρον καὶ ἁρμονίαν συνθήκης (*ibid.*).

- p. 225 n.¹ Suidas, *Lexicon*, article *Malchos*—the reference does not support the text.
- p. 226 n.¹ Pachomius in *MPG*. vol. 98, 1533—read 1533.
- p. 226 n.¹ *MPG*. vol. 107, 61 sqq.—wrong reference.
- p. 226 n.⁶ Is 'philology and mathematics' the true translation of λογικά καὶ θεωρητικά in Cecaumenos, *Strategicon*, 46?
- p. 232 n.² Psellus, *Chronographia*, 32—read I, 32.
- p. 232 n.³ *BGM*. vol. 5, 143—here irrelevant. Psellus refers not to himself, but to John of Euchaita.
- p. 233 n.⁴ Cosmas in *MPG*. vol. 94, 441—read *Vita S. Joannis Damasceni* etc.
- p. 234 n.³ Psellus, *Chronographia*, I, 147—wrong reference.
- p. 237 n.² Psellus, *Chronographia*, 50—read I, 50.

There are in the book many statements which demand reconsideration: a few examples must suffice. On p. 25 we read 'Maxentius, like Maximin in the East, adopted a strong anti-Christian policy.' This is contrary to the evidence, at least for the close of his reign (cf. Pincherle, *La politica ecclesiastica di Massenzio. Studi di filologia classica*, 7 (1929), 131-143; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, I (1930), 101; H. Grégoire, *La 'conversion' de Constantin. Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 36 (1930-31), 241 sqq.; A. Piganiol, *L'empereur Constantin*, Paris, 1932, pp. 59-60). 'Constantine crushed Maxentius as a Christian champion.' Duchesne long ago pointed out that Constantine's invasion of Italy was *not* a crusade against a persecutor of the Christians [cf. L. Duchesne, *Constantin et Maxence*, *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. crist.* 19 (1913), 29-35]. Constantine, says Mr. Runciman on p. 108, adopted Christianity as the State religion: that is surely precisely what Constantine could not do. He might for himself choose Christianity and might shew to the Christians imperial favour, but however much he might desire it, he could not make the Christian faith the religion of the Empire: that was left for Theodosius the Great. Julian, we are told (p. 31), 'attempted to invade Persia, but was heavily defeated and died on a ghastly retreat.' This is a curious description of Julian's victorious penetration of Persian territory: where was he heavily defeated? Mr. Runciman over-estimates the intellectual freedom allowed to philosophers by the Church of East Rome (cf. p. 134):

the study of Greek philosophy,' he writes, 'was encouraged'—Psellus when he was dabbling deeply in thaumaturgy and astrology found it advisable to assure the ecclesiastical authorities that he was doing nothing contrary to Christian doctrine, but his word was enough.' It would seem that it was not so: in A. M. Bandinius, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae* (Florence), vol. 2 (1768), coll. 547-8, there is recorded a MS. of Psellus' ἐκθεσις πίστεως ἐκδοθεῖσα τῷ βασιλεῖ κυρίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Μονομάχῳ πρὸς ἐλεγχόν τῶν διαβαλλόντων αὐτόν: Incipit, πιστεύω εἰς πατέρα κτλ. Mr. Runciman writing of the senate of Constantinople asserts that 'the dyarchy was only formally cancelled . . . by Leo VI at the end of the ninth century' (p. 61); 'the powers of the senate fell into desuetude, till at last they were abolished by Leo VI' (p. 73). It must be admitted that Leo's forty-seventh novel (which must be read together with Novel 46) is not an easy document to interpret, but both novels refer not only to the senate of Constantinople, but to the municipal curiae in general, the forty-seventh novel transfers from the senate to the emperor the choice of the three praetors created by Justinian to deal with matters of enfranchisement, wardship, etc. (see the discussion of these novels in H. Monnier, *Les Nouvelles de Léon le Sage* Paris, 1923, pp. 9-10, 103). To talk of cancelling a 'dyarchy' in the reign of Leo VI can only create misunderstanding. On the same page (p. 73) Mr. Runciman, discussing the influence of the senate, states that the Emperor Heraclius, when he went to the Persian war, left his son as regent under the tutelage of the Patriarch and a senator *who were told to act in co-operation with the senate* (Theophanes, 303. The italics are mine: I can find no support for this clause in Theophanes, and the reader might have been informed that the 'senator' was Bonus, who held at the time the office of *magister officiorum*. Mr. Runciman proceeds, 'while in 614 an Imperial embassy to Persia was sent in the senate's name in the belief that that carried more weight than the Emperor's.' This is, however, to miss an interesting constitutional point: Heraclius had overthrown the tyrant Phocas, but owing to the war with Persia there had been no opportunity to announce the emperor's accession at the Persian court: καὶ διὰ τὴν κρατοῦσαν ἐν ταῖς δύο πολιτείαις ταραχήν . . . οὐκ ἔσχε καιρόν ὅπερ ἔχρηνπραχθῆναι, τοῦ διὰ πρεσβείας τὴν ὀφειλομένην τιμὴν τῷ ὑπερόγκῳ κράτει τῆς ὑμετέρας γαλήνης προσαγαγεῖν. ἐβουλεύσμεθα οὖν παριδεῖν τὸ ἔθος . . . καὶ βραχεῖς ὄντες ἀνθρωποι are sending envoys to implore you to treat our emperor as a γνήσιον τέκνον. *Chron. Pasch.* 708-9. As there was

no emperor recognised by Persia on the throne, the senate takes action. One more point may be noticed which is of considerable interest: Mr. Runciman writes, 'Romanus III spoke Latin; Psellus claimed to speak it' (p. 232). But of Romanus Psellus says only καὶ παιδεύει μετεσχηκῶς ὁση τοῖς Ἱταλῶν λόγοις ἐξήρτυτο, *Chronographia*, ed. Renaud I. 32. How much does this imply? Of himself Psellus writes as οἱ μηδὲν τῆς Ἱταλῶν σοφίας ἀπολειπόμενοι, Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Media Aevi*, vol. 5, 491-2, but this occurs in a highly rhetorical passage in which he further describes himself as τὰ γένη τῶν φιλοσοφῶν μόνοι τῶν πάντων . . . ἀκριβώσαντες τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰ τῶν Χαλδαίων, τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων κ.τ.λ. Did Psellus speak all these languages? Have we indeed any evidence for Latin as a *spoken* language in Constantinople of the eleventh century?

There is, I desire to state explicitly, much good material in this book, but some of it needs to be more fully thought through. 'The Emperor,' for example, says Mr. Runciman, 'was High Priest of the Empire.' But in what sense? Here definition and concrete illustration are alike necessary, if a clear conception of the emperor's position is to be gained. The Byzantine emperor, the reader might be reminded, could never offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist. The Byzantines were a theologically-minded folk and there is too little theology in Mr. Runciman's book. He has made no use of Ostrogorsky's recent work on the theology of the Iconoclasts. What Mr. Runciman can do is well shewn in his chapter on life in the town and the country: the excellence of that chapter gives ground for the hope that the work may later appear in a revised edition.

N. H. B.

La Peinture Byzantine. By CHARLES DIEHL.

Pp. 109; 96 plates. Paris: Van Oest, 1933.

The chief merit of this book lies in the importance which M. Diehl attaches to the later phases of Byzantine painting. He openly expresses his preference for the period which starts at the beginning of the fourteenth century, with the mosaics of the Kariye Cami and the frescoes of Mistra and Ngoričino, and continues to the end of the sixteenth, closing with the Athosite paintings of Dionysiou and the richly decorated churches of the Bukovina. In this he has the sympathy of many younger Byzantinists who were shewing signs of fatigue at the endless and seemingly academic disputes about the conflict between the Hellenistic and Oriental traditions in early Byzantine art and the contrast between the monastic and the court style.

M. Diehl has to cope somehow with origins and

the early phases, but he does it rather sketchily and takes much for granted that is in fact highly disputable. He writes, for example, of antique influence as if it were homogeneous and uniformly accessible, whereas it was both manifold in origin and intermittent in availability. He glibly adopts question-begging phrases like 'des paysages purement alexandrins,' in spite of the fact that no first-hand examples of Alexandrian landscape-painting have survived, nor has anybody more than a faint inkling of what they may have looked like. It is time that a close season was ordained for the name of Alexandria. Nor does M. Diehl consider such important, if obscure, subjects as the direct influence of the liturgical drama and its accessories not only on the iconography but also on the formal development of Byzantine painting (cf. Bréhier in *Mon. Piot*, xxiv [1920], pp. 101 ff.; Stefanescu in *Ann. Inst. Philol. & Hist. Or.*, i [1932-3], pp. 21 ff.). He subscribes, moreover, to the doubtful doctrine of Hellenistic 'renascences' in the tenth and fourteenth centuries, without referring to Muratov's interesting theory that these periodic classicising phases may be due, not to the direct imitation of earlier models, but rather to the temporary intensification of the influence of secular painting, the scanty remains of which shew a far more decided Hellenistic tinge than religious works of the same period. Muratov has pointed out that these so-called 'Hellenistic renaissances' do not actually correspond at all closely with the waves of humanism which are supposed to have conditioned them.

M. Diehl's analysis of the northward penetration of Byzantine painting in the late Middle Ages results in the conclusion that whereas in the confines of the empire proper it is hard to detect any Italian elements due to the influence of Rome, Florence and Siena, in Serbia and Roumania, not to mention the remoter Novgorod, distinct traces of such an influence are noticeable. But he does not specify precisely what these traces are, nor does he suggest how they were communicated; and the study of his plates does not confirm this suggestion. At least before the middle of the sixteenth century the artistic influence of Italy seems hardly to have stretched beyond Hungary and Bohemia at the farthest, and certainly not to have made any appreciable impression on orthodox lands. Even Ivan III's Bolognese architect, Aristotele Fioravanti, succeeded scarcely at all in modifying the prevailing native style of building; and the icon-painters were not more susceptible.

The chapter on miniature-painting adds little to M. Ebersolt's account, even in the matter of illustration, for of the 35 pieces reproduced by

M. Diehl, 17 had already appeared in almost identical format in *La miniature byzantine*: surely a superfluous duplication, considering the immense wealth of suitable and accessible material. The section on mosaics seems to ignore the recently-published work of Diez and Demus.

There are no notes, bibliography, index or references to the text on the plates: nor is there any indication of the source of some of the more interesting illustrations.

R. H.

Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts. By KURT WEITZMANN. (*Istanbuler Forschungen*, Bd. 4.) Pp. 25; 14 plates and 12 text-figures. Bamberg: J. M. Reindl, 1933. 11m.

This unpretentious essay on Armenian book-painting contains a shock for students of early medieval art. Ever since Strzygowski first called attention to the manuscript more than forty years ago, it has been taken for granted that his dating of the miniatures in the Etchmiadzin Gospels was unquestionably valid. The manuscript itself is dated 989; but Strzygowski maintained that the ornamentation of the canon-tables and the introductory miniatures were earlier work inserted into the tenth-century book, and were, in fact, Syrian productions of the sixth century. This assertion has been generally accepted, and the miniatures in question have been cited as prototypes for much later works, such as the Carolingian gospel-books of Godescalc and St. Medard de Soissons. But Weitzmann now maintains that these introductory miniatures are contemporary with the manuscript, and cannot therefore be used to account for the style of works nearly two centuries earlier in date. Following a suggestion of Macler, which does not seem to have received its fair share of attention, Weitzmann shews that the introductory miniatures are by the same hand as the ornamental arcading of the canon-tables; as it is most improbable that this arcading would have remained empty for four centuries, he concludes that both miniatures and arcading date, like the text, from 989. He allows, however, that the marginal illustrations are later additions: and agrees with Strzygowski that four miniatures representing the Annunciations to Zacharias and to the Virgin, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Baptism of Christ, are also supposititious, though, unlike Strzygowski, he is unable to date them before the tenth century.

The iconographical peculiarities of the Etchmiadzin Gospels, upon which Strzygowski mainly based his early dating, are shewn by

Weitzmann to be possible in the tenth century: e.g. the steps and the so-called Iranian type of fire-altar in the Sacrifice of Isaac, which occur also in an eleventh-century MS. in the Mechitaristen-Kloster in Vienna (cod. 697). On the whole, however, the iconography is derived, as Strzygowski argued, from Syro-Mesopotamian sources, though not without a considerable mixture of directly Byzantine elements. It is the analysis of these elements alleged to come from the West that involves Weitzmann in his most interesting, and most contentious, conclusions.

Now that the introductory miniatures and the canon-table ornaments of the Etchmiadzin Gospels are shewn to date from the late tenth century, the history of Armenian miniature-painting begins effectively with the Gospels of Queen Mlke, dated 902, in the Convent of San Lazzaro in Venice. Weitzmann compares the style of this manuscript with those produced under the influence of the contemporary Byzantine classicising movement, such as the famous Paris Psalter 139. He remarks that while the Byzantine renaissance took its motives from western Asia Minor, the Armenians drew theirs from Egypt, by way of Syria; and instances the Nilotic landscape-elements in the canon-table arcading of the Mlke MS. This argument in itself seems rather precarious, considering how widespread and enduring Nilotic motives proved to be (they occur, for instance, at the bottom of Torriti's apse-mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore). The iconographic differences between the Mlke MS. and a sixth-century Syrian MS. like the Rabula Gospels in the Laurenziana are especially noticeable in the miniature of the Ascension and in the portraits of the Evangelists. These latter are not placed on a neutral ground, as in the Rabula MS., but against draperies and degraded Antiochene architecture (especially SS. Luke and John). The style of the figures is more linear, less plastic, than that of the Rabula MS., although they are painted in heavier pigments.

The style of the canon-table arcading is much more classicising than that of the Rabula MS. The Etchmiadzin Gospels, on the other hand, though heavier and richer, and though of approximately the same type, have certain ornamental features more akin to the free arabesque style of the Rabula MS. The rainbow-shaded arcading of the first canon-table in the Etchmiadzin MS. is referred back by Weitzmann to the Rabula MS.; but it also occurs in a purely Byzantine MS. like the Vienna Dioscorides and in plenty of late Roman mosaics. The *tempietto*, which used to be adduced

as the prototype of those in Carolingian MSS. of the Ada group, is shewn by Weitzmann to appear also in contemporary Byzantine MSS. such as Marciana gr. 1. 8. Weitzmann does not mention the *tempietti* in the early eighth-century mosaics in the Mosque of the Umayyads at Damascus, which certainly have some bearing on the descent of this decorative architectural form from antiquity to the Middle Ages.

The close connexion between Armenian and Byzantine book-painting in the second half of the tenth century is shewn by a Greek MS., Vatican Pal. gr. 220. The canon-tables resemble those of the Mlke and Etchmiadzin MSS. The evangelist-portraits, however, are quite different, and belong to the class best known from Stavronikita 43 (Friend in *Art Studies* 1927, pl. viii), a MS. with naturalistic Antiochene architectural backgrounds of the tenth-century Byzantine renaissance type. The ornament of the Vatican MS., on the other hand, is nearer to Armenian examples than to the Stavronikita MS. Weitzmann infers that both the Greek and Armenian MSS. emanate from one centre in eastern Asia Minor, one having been written in a Greek and the other in an Armenian monastery. But is this necessary? From the time of Theophilus and Basil I, Armenian taste, especially in decoration, had been very influential in Constantinople; and Armenian ornament is likely enough in a manuscript which had been no nearer to Armenia than the Bosphorus. We have, in fact, a proof of this in the Gospels of S. Lazzaro cod. 887, a manuscript written at Adrianople in 1007. The donor of this book was a *protospatharios* called Hovhannes, and the writer a priest, Kirakos. The pairs of standing frontal figures of evangelists, identifiable by their names written in Greek characters, are purely Byzantine in type, though not in technique, since the colour is applied in thin washes, not in the burnished enamel-like pigment of Byzantine miniatures. On the other hand, the canon-table arcades are purely Asiatic in style, and may be compared with carved Armenian gravestones. Weitzmann concludes that the artist was either a Greek from eastern Asia Minor, or an Armenian familiar with Byzantine models. The latter alternative seems preferable, for there is nothing exclusively Byzantine about the actual handling of either the ornament or the figure-subjects, and neither of the names associated with the book is Greek, although the donor was a high official at the Byzantine court.

The same uncertainty lies behind the authorship of another gospel-book at S. Lazzaro, cod. 1400. It was acquired at Trebizond,

and is datable to the eleventh-century. Weitzmann compares the diaper-filling of the canon-table arcades with that in the Vatican gr. 364. Four different hands seem to be discernible in the illustrations: (a) the painter of St. John, who is also akin to the painter of Vat. gr. 364, and was probably a Greek; (b) the painter of St. Matthew, the combined picture of all four Evangelists, and the Christological scenes, which have architectural accessories related to tenth-century Byzantine types; (c) the painter of the St. Luke, who could not spell the evangelist's name correctly in Greek (ΛΟΚΑC); and (d) the painter of the St. Mark and the enthroned Christ in a roundel. The combined picture of the four Evangelists is copied from a prototype like that in Stavronikita 43. The Transfiguration has affinities with that in Leninopolitanus 21 (Morey in *Art Bulletin* 1929, fig. 103), a MS. also acquired in Trebizond. The *standing* Mary in the Annunciation appears also in the Paris MS. of the Homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and at Toqale in Cappadocia. With the exception of (a) the painters were probably Armenians (though Weitzmann supposes that they must have been trained in a Greek school), especially on account of the alleged non-Byzantine character of the ornament.

But what is Byzantine ornament? Or rather, what is the origin of these richly decorated arcades and chapter-headings which occur in both Byzantine and Armenian MSS. from the tenth century onwards? The Ω -shaped chapter-heading filled with scrolls and various other decorative elements does indeed appear in Byzantine MSS., but it is not a Greek form of decoration, like the acanthus and the palmette. Large areas filled with interlacings and convoluted scroll-work appear in the eighth century at Mshatta, and indeed earlier, on that dubious silver dish in the Hermitage which Strzygowski thought might be Parthian (*Alt-Iran*, fig. 94; cf. Sarre, *Kunst des alten Persien*, pl. 119); but they are not typical of early Byzantine ornament, except where this was directly affiliated to Oriental schemes. It is clear that Armenian book-painting owed a good deal to Byzantium in the handling of its figure-subjects, but its ornamental motives, when not indigenous, seem to come from the neighbouring lands to the east. The apparent contribution of Byzantium to Armenian decoration after 1000, which Weitzmann ascribes to the eastward expansion of Byzantine power under Constantine IX, may, after all, be only the repayment, with interest, of all that the Greeks had learned from the East since the days of the Isaurian dynasty.

R. H.

Το Γαλλικὸν Δουκάτον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.—Μετά τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.
By K. KAIROPHYLAS. Athens: Paul Drandakes, 1933.

Mr. Kairophylas has republished in separate form his two contributions to the 'National Encyclopædia,' on *The French Duchy of Athens* and the events *After the Capture of Constantinople*. In 60 pages, provided with numerous illustrations, he has narrated the romantic history of Athens under the French Dukes, emphasising such incidents as the first female parliament, and combining accuracy with picturesqueness. With racial impartiality he considers the French administration to have been better than that of the Byzantine governors, and compares the French transference of the capital from Athens to Thebes with Kemal's removal of the Turkish capital from Constantinople to Angora, because both the previous residences were exposed to attacks from the sea. Following the heraldic expert, Typaldos, he doubts whether the tomb at Daphni is that of Guy II, and he explains the name 'Neopatras' as a corruption of 'Hypate.' Within similar space he describes the futile attempts of the Popes and the Powers to organise a crusade against the Turks during the period between the capture of Constantinople and the battle of Lepanto. He considers the former event to have been less fatal to Hellenism than the submission of the Eastern Church to Rome, and defends Besarion, 'the ambassador of Hellenism in Europe,' who, like Pius II, was actuated by love of Greece, not by political aims, which made Florence oppose the crusade from jealousy of Venice. Just as the Turks might have been turned out of Europe after the late war, if it had not been for the rivalries of the Powers, so, in his view, they might have been driven back into Asia after the abortive siege of Belgrade, 'the key of Europe,' in 1456. There are interesting descriptions of the capture of Chalkis and of Maroula, the heroine of Lemnos. Throughout this monograph is based upon first-hand authorities, tabled in the bibliography, and illuminated by the author's long residence in Rome and familiarity with the Italian language and psychology. One or two slips, such as 'Cyprus' for 'Serbia' (p. 48) and '1572' as the date of Lepanto (p. 61), have escaped his notice. This publication forms a valuable supplement to his previous monograph, *Le Vatican contre la Turquie*.

W. M.

Monumenti Veneti dell' Isola di Creta:
Vol. IV. By GIUSEPPE GEROLA. Pp. 626.
Venice: R. Istituto Veneto, 1932-3.

This enormous volume, embellished by numerous illustrations, concludes the monumental work on Venetian Crete, of which the first instalment was published twenty-eight years ago. It consists of two parts: that describing the hydraulic works (waterworks, baths, bridges, mills, ports, arsenals and salt-pans), which was printed before the war; and that containing the Appendices (the heraldic monuments, and the Latin, Italian, French, Greek and Hebrew inscriptions), printed in 1931. It is consequently not up to date, as some of the monuments mentioned have disappeared, but supplementary notes and additions, chiefly to the first two volumes, contain new discoveries and publications, such as those of Professors Andriádès ('on the Jews'), Marshall and Theotokos, whose great collection of Venetian documents will shortly be published by the Academy. The heraldic monuments consist of Venetian lions and coats-of-arms, including those of the famous Greek families of Calergi, Mousouros and Blastos. Of the inscriptions, most are in Latin or Greek, few in Venetian, one in French belonging to the siege of Candia and consisting of one word, *souffrance*, and two in Hebrew, of which one bears the arms and name of the Spanish Jew, Hen. The Greek, published in collaboration with Xanthoudides, who issued a collection of Cretan Christian inscriptions in 1903, include those of the Byzantine period. One proves Crete to have been a *theme*, several mention Cretan painters, like Pagomenos, some are dated by the reigns of the Byzantine Emperors even under Venice, one by the judgeship of a Calergi, and one alone, dated 1327-8, mentions the Venetian domination.

W. M.

Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Νομίσματα. By the MINISTRY OF FINANCE. Pp. 404. Athens: National Press, 1932.

This official account of the modern Greek coinage from 1828 to 1932 gives the history of all the coins and notes issued, with plates of the coins, and an appendix, occupying three-quarters of the volume and containing the laws and decrees, which regulated the various issues. The history of the Greek currency comprises four periods: 1828-32, 1833-67, 1867-1928, and 1928-32. The first coins, issued under Capo d'Istria in 1828, were the silver φοῖνιξ and the bronze 1, 5 and 10 λεπτά pieces, made by the old machines of the Knights

Z

of Malta, and, in the case of the bronze pieces, out of Turkish cannon, and minted in Aigina with the inscription: Ἑλληνική Πολιτεία. The reign of Otho, in 1833, inaugurated the new coinage with the δραχμή as its basis and with gold pieces of 20 and 40 δρ. and bronze λεπτά, minted in Munich till the foundation of the Mint at Athens in 1836, which was, however, abolished in 1858. This coinage was extended to the Ionian islands in 1865. The third series of coins, issued in 1867 with the head of George I, was minted in Paris, as were the autonomous Cretan coins with that of Prince George in 1900. The nickel pieces of 1912 were perforated. There are no coins of Constantine, Alexander or George II, and the first coins of the present

Republic were not minted in Vienna till 1926, while the last issue, comprising the silver 10 δρ. and 20 δρ. and the nickel 5 δρ., was minted in London in 1930 from designs of Messrs. G. F. Hill of the British Museum and G. Kruger Gray. The first issue of paper money was in 1829; from 1841 it was the exclusive privilege of the National Bank, which was extended to the Ionian and Epeiro-Thessalian banks in 1868 and 1885. Subsequently again limited to the National Bank, it was transferred in 1927 to the Bank of Greece. The cutting of half the notes by Protopapadakes in 1922 and of one-quarter by Pangalos in 1926 was a curious experiment.

W. M.



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BOYS PLAYING WITH HOOPS BOYS PLAYING BALL



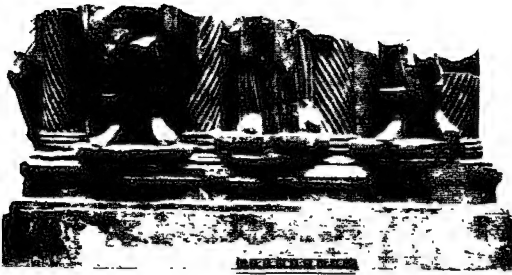
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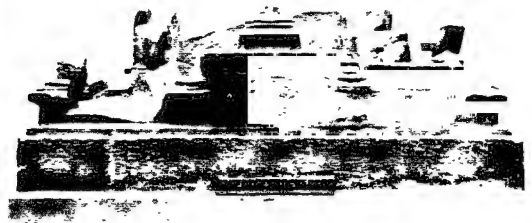
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BATTLE SCENES GRYPHONS



A



B

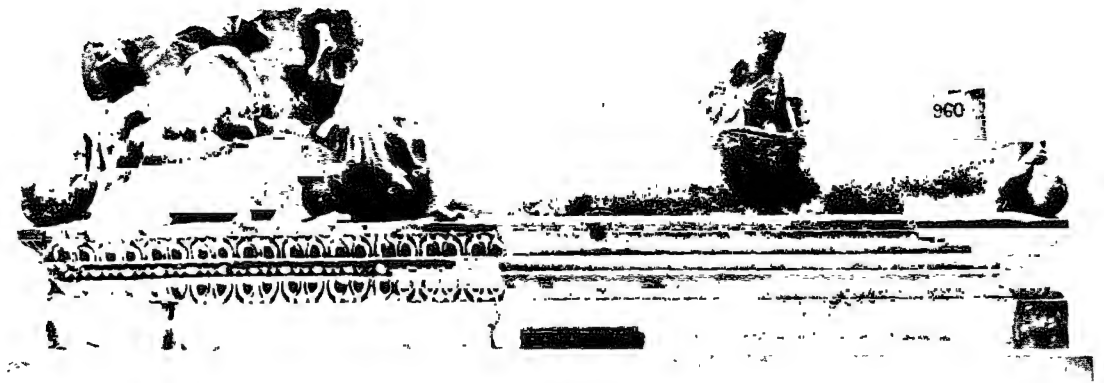


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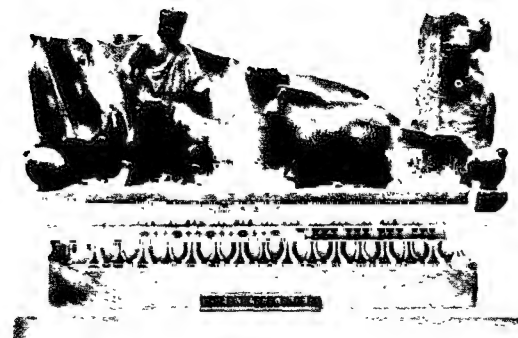


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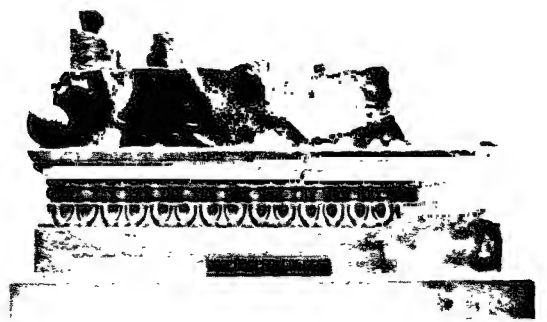
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A



B

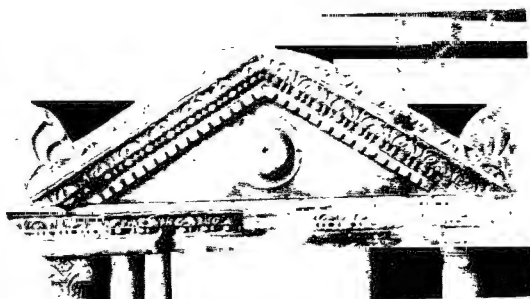
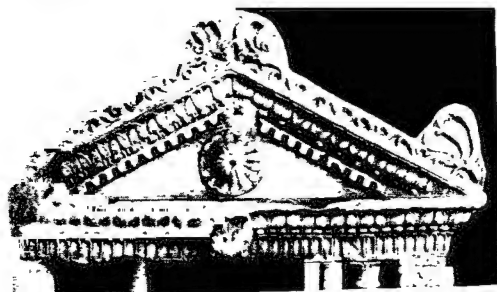
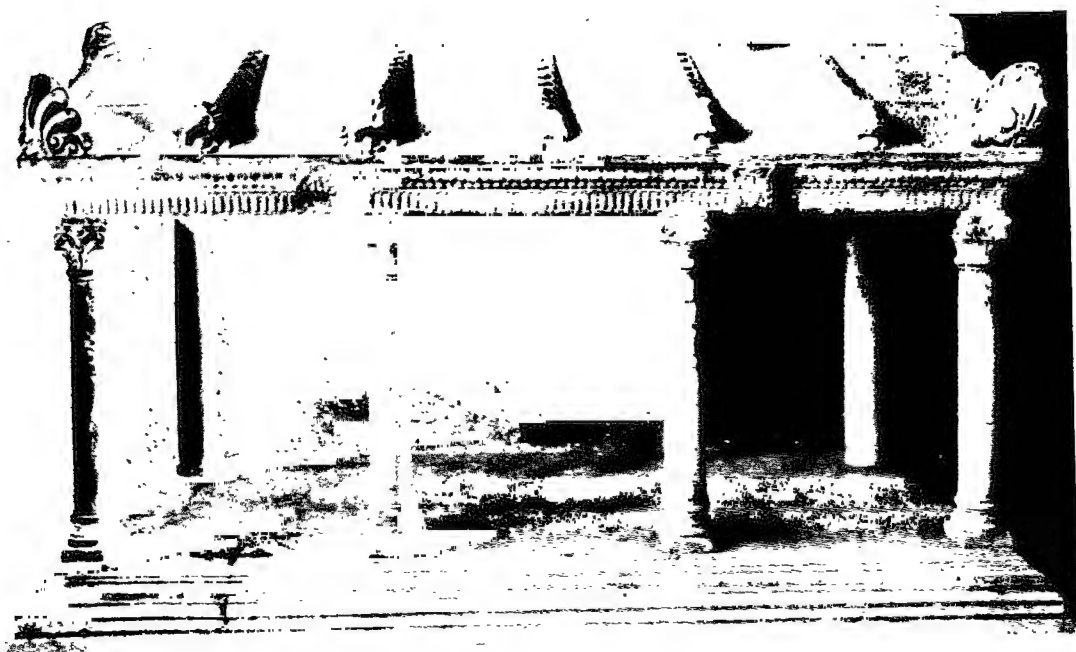


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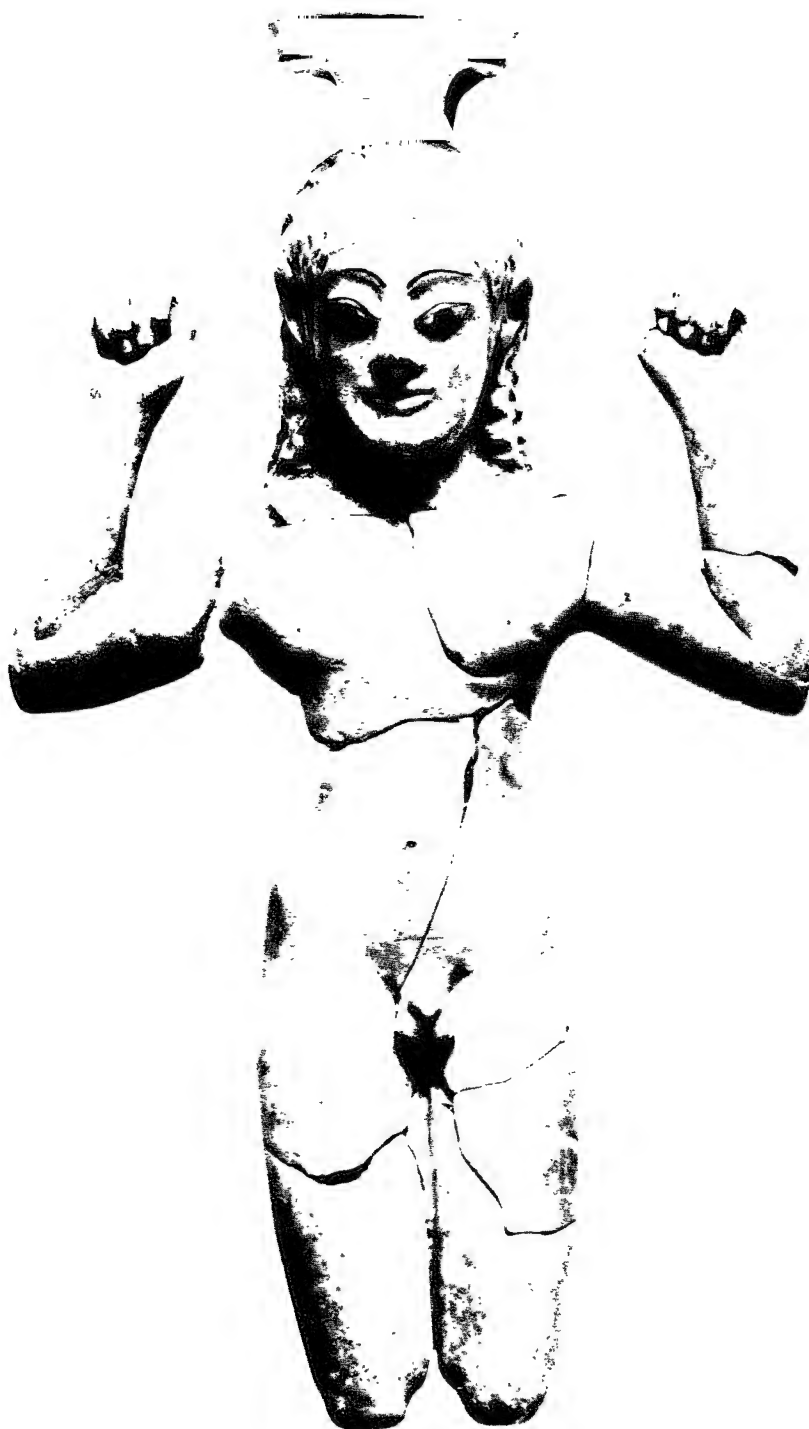


D

BRITISH MUSEUM SARCOPHAGUS WITH HUNTING SCENES FROM XANTHOS



LIDS OF SARCOPHAGI IN ROME



ATHENS PLASTIC VASE FROM THE AGORA

INDEX TO VOLUME LIII

I.—GENERAL

A

ACROTHERIA, 99
 Adalia, sarcophagus, 195
 Aeschines and epigrams, 74, 82, 88, 93
 Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 112; *Prometheus Vinctus*, 40, 300
 Africa, epigraphy, 263
 Amathus, silver bowl, 25
 Amazon-sarcophagi, 204
 Amnisos (Crete), frescoes, 294
 Antissa (Mytilene), excavations, 285
 Apollodoros, vase-painter, 69
 Arkades (Crete), cremations, 167
 Arsinoe I, pedigree, 58
 Artemisium, battle, 20
 Asia Minor, epigraphy, 250; sarcophagi, 192
 Assarlik, cremations, 166
 Athens: Academy, excavations, 272; Acropolis, cremations, 170; excavations, 268; Agora, excavations, 266; Ceramicus, burials, 162; excavations, 269; Herm Stoa, 87; Stoa of Zeus, 87
 National Museum, Apollos of the Dipylon and Sunium, 51; sarcophagi 1181 and 1183, 185; 1179 (from Petalidi), 192; from Megiste, 202
Atheni Modern Greek Lexicon, 1
 Attic epigraphy, 218; sarcophagi, in Athens, 185, 192; in Leningrad, 192; from Petalidi, 192; from Xanthos, 184

B

BALTIMORE, Walters Coll., sarcophagus, 198, 202
 Battle sarcophagi in Leningrad, 190; from Petalidi, 192; from Xanthos, 189
 Berlin, bronze jug, 208
 Beyrut, sarcophagus, 203
 Boeotia, burials, 171; epigraphy, 233
 Bowls, engraved, from Amathus, 25; from Caere (Regulini-Galassi Tomb), 31; from Delphi, 34
 Bronzes, Geometric reliefs from Knossos, 290; Oriental, from Knossos, 292; Laconian, from Samos, 286

C

CALLICRATES, nauarch, 61
 Carian humped ox, 195
 Castellorizo, sarcophagus, 204
 Castle Ashby, vase fragment signed *-odoros*, 69
 Cesnola, and Amathus bowl, 25
 Charioteer of Delphi, inscription, 101
 Chios, massacre, 111
 Chronology of *Iliad*, 114
 Claudia Tatiana, tomb, *see* Ephesus

Columnar sarcophagus from Xanthos, 192
 Corinth, epigraphy, 229; excavations, 275
 Cremation and inhumation, 161
 Crete, epigraphy, 246; excavations, 288. *See also* Arkades, Mouliana, Vrokastro
 Crowder, Col. T. M., 8
 Cyprus, bronze bowl, 25; epigram, 86; excavations, 294. *See* Galata
 Cyrene, epigraphy, 263

D

DELOS, epigraphy, 242
 Delphi, bronze bowl, 34; charioteer, 101; epigraphy, 234; Gauls at, 114
 Demetrius and Sarapias, epitaph, 54
 Dendra, burial rites, 176
 Dodona, excavations, 282

E

Eion, epigram, 82
 Eleusis, inscriptions, 225
 Ephesus, temple of Artemis, 112; tomb of Claudia Tatiana, 181
 Epidaurus, inscription, 112
 Epigrams and epitaphs, 71
 Epigraphy, progress of, 1931-1932, 214
 Eros sarcophagus in Athens, 185; from Xanthos, 184
 Etruscan urn, with Gauls, 114
 Euphantus and Ptolemy I, 57
 Eurymedon, epigrams, 79, 83

F

FIORINCE, sarcophagus, 203
 Frescoes, *see* Amnisos, Galata

G

GALATA, Cyprus, frescoes, 105
 Garland sarcophagi, 198, 202, 212
 Gauls at Delphi, 114
 Gryphons on sarcophagus, 189

H

HALOS, cremations, 169
 Heracles sarcophagi, 204, 206
 Herm, stoa at Athens, 87
 Hermai, of Athens, 92
 Homer, burial rites, 161, 175, 177; chronological plan of *Iliad*, 115
 Hoops, game, 184
 Hunting, on Attic sarcophagus, 186; hunting-sarcophagi from Adalia and Xanthos, 195; on other monuments, 207

I

- IALYSUS, cremations, 162, 168
Iliad, see Homer
 Inhumation in Greece, 161
 Inscriptions. *IG*. I². 295-324, 137: 927, 76: 943, 80: 945, 79: 946, 79: IV², fasc. 1, *stemma* of Eunomios, 112: on Delphic Charioteer, 101: from Samos, on the Eurymedon, 97: from Megara, 95: Church dedication at Galata, Cyprus, 106: unpublished in Oxford, see Demetrius. *See also* Epigram, Epigraphy, London
 Istanbul, sarcophagus fragments, 202
 Isthmia, excavations, 276
 Italy, epigraphy, 248
 Ithaca, excavations, 282
 Iznik, sarcophagus fragment, 205

K

- KALIKLEAS, vase signature, 283
 Kibyra, sculptured frieze, 207
 Knife, from Seleucia, 210
 Knossos, Geometric tombs, 288
 Kouros, archaic, in New York, 51

L

- LACONIA, epigraphy, 231
 Leningrad, Attic sarcophagus, 190
 Letter-writing in verse, 111
 Lexicon, the Athens modern Greek, 1
 London, British Museum, Etruscan urn, 114: faience head of Ptolemy III, 300: inscription xxxvii, 77: sarcophagi, from Xanthos, *Cat.* 957, 189: 958, 184: 959, 192: 960, 195: other sarcophagi, *Cat.* 2301 (Herakles), 204: 2329, 190: 2330 (Lydae), 205: vase E 299, 100
 Lydae, sarcophagus fragment, 205

M

- MACEDONIA, epigraphy, 239; excavations, 284
 Mahdia, inscriptions, 225
 Megara, inscriptions, 95
 Megiste, Lycia, sarcophagus, 202
 Miletus, sarcophagus fragments, 202
 Melfi, sarcophagus, 204
 Mouliana, cremations, 165
 Mycenae, burials, 161
 Mytilene, excavations, 285

N

- NAUARCHATE, Ptolemaic, 61
 Naval strategy, Greek, 16
 New York, Metropolitan Museum, archaic statue, 51
 Nike, on vase paintings, 101

O

- OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum, relief of Demetrius and Sarapias, 54

P

- PAINTINGS, *see* Frescoes
 Palestine, epigraphy, 257

- Pamphylian sarcophagi, 202
 Papyri, *see* Zeno
 Paris, Louvre, bronze plaque, 208: rf. cup G, 139-140, 69: sarcophagus from Castellonizo, 204
 Pellene, excavations, 281
 Peloponnese, epigraphy, 229
 Perachora, excavations, 277
 Perge, sarcophagi, 197, 202, 206
 Petalidi, sarcophagus, 192
 Poteidaia, epitaph, 77
Prometheus Vinculus, The, 40, 300
 Providence, sarcophagus, 200
 Ptolemy I, lineage, 77
 Ptolemy III, portrait, 300

R

- RAVENNA, sarcophagi, 203
 Regulini-Galassi tomb, silver bowls, 31
 Rhitsona, burials, 171
 Rhodes, burials, *see* Ialysos: epigraphy, 243
 Rome, Borghese Palace, sarcophagus of Torre Nova, 202: Herakles sarcophagus, 204: Fiano Palace, sarcophagus, 204: Greek Epigraphy, 240: S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, sarcophagus lids, 201: Torlonia sarcophagus, 206: Vatican, rf. cup, 69: sarcophagi, 198, 202, 204, 206: and *see* Regulini-Galassi; Villa Giulia, rf. fragments, 69

S

- SALAMIS, battle, 22: burials, 161
 Samos, burials, 170: excavations, 286: inscription, 97
 Sarapias, epitaph, 54
 Sarcophagi, Amazon, 204: Asia Minor columnar, 192: Attic Battle, 189: Attic Erotes, 184: Hunting, 195: Pamphylian, 202: Torlonia Herakles group, 206: Torre Nova group, 202
 Sardis, sarcophagus lid, 201
 Sculpture, archaic kouros, *see* New York: finds, from Attica, 266, 272. *See* Sarcophagi
 Seleucia, knife hilt, 210
 Sicyon, excavations, 280
 Sidamara, sarcophagus, 194, 205
 Siege scene, on Amathus bowl, 34
 Silver bowls, from Amathus, 25: from Regulini-Galassi tomb, 31
 Simonides, bibliography, 71
 Smyrna, sarcophagus lid, 201
 Sparta, epigraphy, 231
 Sphinx from the Ceramicus, Athens, 271
 Strategy, Greek naval, 16
 Syracuse, burials, 170
 Syria, epigraphy, 257

T

- TANAGRA, burials, 171: epigrams, 78
 Terracotta heads from Samos, 287, 289: sphinx from Ceramicus, 271
 Thebes, cremations, 163
 Thera, cremations, 169
 Thesmon, excavations, 281
 Thermopylae, battle, 20
 Thessaly, excavations, 283
 Thrace, epigraphy, 240

Torre Nova, sarcophagus, 202
 Triremes, 17
 Troy, excavations, 296

V

VASES: rf. signed Apollodoros, 69; rf. with
aphlasta, 100; from excavations, in Attic
 Cerameikos, 271; in Cyprus, 297; in Ithaca,
 signed Kalikleas, 283; in tombs near Knossos,
 293, 295; in Mytilene, 287

Volterra urn in British Museum, 114
 Vrokastro, cremation, 164, 168

X

XANTHOS, sarcophagi, 131

Z

Zeno papyri, Cairo 59006, 62; Michigan 100, 62
 Zeus, in *Prometheus Unctus*, 40: Stoa of, *see*
 Athens

II.—GREEK INDEX

ἀβγατίξω, 4
ἀκροτήρια, 100
ἀπτάιστος, 55
ἐφλαστον, 100

ἐλατήρ, 184
ἐπιστράφητι, 56

Aeschines. III. 184, 74, 82: III. 190, 73
Aeschylus. *Agam.* 560, 112: *P.V.* 370, 300
Anth. Pal. vii. 255, 75: vii. 256, 76: vii. 258, 79:
vii. 443, 81: xiii. 26, 76

Diodorus, xi. 62, 82

Euphantus fr. 2, 56

ἡπειρος, 64

καμάτων, εἶεν, 179

περίτας, 56

ποτέ, in epigrams. 71

φυσίξοος, 175

Herodotus, vii. 228, 72, 73

Plutarch, *Them.* viii. 5, 73

Simonides fr. 96, 95

Stephanus Byz. Θέσπεια, 76

III.—BOOKS NOTICED

- AMUNDSEN (L.), *Ostraca Osloensia*, 318
 Anderson (A. R.), *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog*, 322
 Andréades (A. M.), *A history of Greek public finance*, 118. C. N. Brown, 322
 Ashmole (B.), see Beazley (J. D.)
 Baur (P. V. C.), Rostovtzeff (M. I.), and Bellinger (A. R.), *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, IV, 305
 Beazley (J. D.), *Campana Fragments in Florence*, 308
 — *Der Kleophradesmalex*, 308
 — and Ashmole (B.), *Greek sculpture and painting*, 128
 Bellinger (A. R.), see Baur (P. V. C.)
 Berthelot (A.), *La vie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolémée*, 323
 Breccia (E.), *Le musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie*, 124
 British Museum, *Guide to the principal coins of the Greeks*, 313
 Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmale gr. u. röm. Skulptur*, nos. 501-750, 127
 Buckler (W. H.), and Robinson (D. M.), *Sardis III*, 1, 137
 Bulle (H.), *Untersuchungen an gr. Theatern*, 303
 Burr (V.), *Nostrium mare*, 323
 Cambridge Ancient History IX, 146
 Casson (S.), *The technique of early Greek sculpture*, 306
 Chamonard (J.), *Délos XIV: les mosaïques de la Maison des Masques*, 312
 Cornford (F. M.), *Before and after Socrates*, 148
 Corolla archaeologica, 131
 Cross (G. N.), *Epinus*, 142
 Delatte (A.), *La catoptronomie gr.*, 152
 Demangel (R.), *La frise ionique*, 306
 Deubner (L.), *Attische Feste*, 146
 Diehl (C.), *La peinture byzantine*, 334
 Diepolder (H.), *Die attischen Gabeltiefen*, 127
 Dinsmoor (W. B.), *The Archons of Athens*, 145
 Dornseiff (F.), *Die archaische Mythenzeichnung*, 326
 Dierup (E.), *Die Schulaussprache des Griechischen*, 159
 Ducati (P.), *Pontische Vasen*, 128
 During (I.), *Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios*, 154
 Emploi des signes critiques, 330
 Ferguson (W. S.), *The Treasurers of Athena*, 134
 — *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, 144
 Fiechter (E.), *Das Theater in Megalopolis*, 126
 Fowler (H. N.), and Stillwell (R.), *Corinth I*, 123
 Geiger (F.), *Philon von Alexandria als sozialer Denker*, 329
 Gerland (E.), *Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatum Eccl. Or. Gr. I*, 155
 Gerola (G.), *Monumenti teneti di Creta*, 337
 Gerstinger (H.), Oellacher (H.), and Vogel (K.), *Gn. lit. Papyri in Wien*, 140
 Glover (I. R.), *Greek Byzants*, 132
 Gomme (A. W.), *The population of Athens*, 321
 Guéraud (O.), *Ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἴς*, 319
 Halliday (W. R.), *Indo-European Folk-tales and Greek Legends*, 326
 Hansen (H. D.), *Early Civilisation in Thessaly*, 120
 Hardy (E. R.), *The large estates of Byzantine Egypt*, 157
 Heath (T. L.), *Greek Astronomy*, 149
 Hirschberger (J.), *Die Phronesis in der Philosophie Platons*, 149
 Hormann (H.), *Die inneren Propylaen von Eleusis*, 126
 Hunt (A. S.), and Smyly (J. G.), *The Tebtunis Papyri*, 318
 Kairophylas (K.), *Τὸ Γαλλικὸν Δουκάτον τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, 337
 —, *Μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, 337
 Kalén (F.), *Berliner Leihgabe 2. Papyri I*, 141
 Kenyon (F. G.), *Books and readers in ancient Greece and Rome*, 140
 Keyes (C. W.), see Westermann (W. L.)
 Keyssner (K.), *Gottesdienst und Lebensauffassung im gr. Hymnos*, 148
 Kitto (H. D. F.), *In the mountains of Greece*, 305
 Klein (A. E.), *Child life in Greek art*, 133
 Kraiker (W.), *Heidelberg Catalogue: I. of attischen Vasen*, 309
 Kunze (E.), *Kretische Bronzetiefen*, 121
 Laidlaw (W. A.), *A history of Delos*, 322
 Ljungvik (H.), *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgr. Volkssprache*, 158
 Luce (S. B.), *C.U.I. U.S.I 2 - Providence 1*, 310
 Matz (F.), see Mau (A.)
 Mau (A.), *Katalog der Bibliothek des deutsch. arch. Instituts in Rom* (2nd ed. by F. Matz), 118
 Mélanges Gustave Glotz, 131
 Meritt (B. D.), *Athenian financial documents of the 5th century*, 134
 Miller (W.), *Daedalus and Theseus II*, 134
 Mylonas (G. E.), *Προϊστορικὴ Ἑλευσίς*, 302
 Oellacher (H.), see Gerstinger (H.)
 Oppenheimer (K.), *Zwei attische Epitaphien*, 330
 Pallis (A.), *Notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew*, 155
 Pendlebury (J. D. S.), *Handbook to the Palace of Minos*, 121
 Perilla (F.), *A travers la Macédoine*, 160
 Philippson (A.), *Beiträge zur Morphologie Griechenlands*, 120
 Pipineles (T. N.), *Ἡ μοιραρχία ἐν Ἑλλάδι, 1833-1843*, 159

- Pottier (E.), *CIA France* 12 = *Lowre* 8, 309
 Powell (J. U.), *New Chapters in Greek Literature III*, 329
 Preisendanz (K.), *Die gr. Zauberpapyri II*, 141
 Puaux (R.), *Grèce Terre aimée des Dieux*, 160
 Quennell (M. and C. H. B.), *Everyday things in classical Greece*, 133
 Radet (G.), *Alexandre le Grand*, 143
 Ranulf (S.), *The jealousy of the Gods*, 327
 Richardson (B. E.), *Old Age among the ancient Greeks*, 325
 Robinson (D. M.), *see* Buckler (W. H.)
 Roes (A.), *Greek Geometric Art*, 302
 Rogers (A. K.), *The Socratic problem*, 327
 Rose (J. H.), *The Mediterranean in the ancient world*, 323
 Rostovtzeff (M. I.), *Caravan Cities*, 125
 — *see* Baur (P. V. C.)
 Runciman (S.), *Byzantine Civilisation*, 331
 Schazmann (P.), *Kös I*, 124
 Schubart (W.) and Schafer (D.), *Spatptolemaische Papyri aus aml. Buros des Herakleopolites*, 318
 Seltsmann (C.), *Greek Coins*, 128
 Shenk (A., Graf von Stauffenberg), *König Hieron II von Syrakus*, 322
 Sheppard (J. T.), *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, 153
 Shorey (P.), *What Plato said*, 328
 Smyly (J. G.), *see* Hunt (A. S.)
 Stillwell (R.), *see* Fowler (H. N.)
Supplementum epigraphicum graecum VI, 313
Sylloge nummorum graecorum II, 313
 Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ νομίσματα, 337
 Tarn (W. W.), *Alexander the Great and the unity of mankind*, 321
 Taylor (A. E.), *Socrates*, 149
 Thomson (G.), *Aeschylus: the Prometheus Bound*, 152
 Tod (M. N.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 134
 Ullman (B. L.), *Ancient Writing*, 140
 Vitali (L.), *Fonti per la storia della religione cyrenaica*, 146
 Vogel (K.), *see* Gerstinger (H.)
 Wace (A. J. B.), *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, 301
 Waterman (L.), *Tell Umar: Reports 1 and 2*, 305
 Weinstock (H.), *Sophokles*, 330
 Weitzmann (K.), *Die armenische Buchmalerei*, 335
 Weizsacker (A.), *Untersuchungen über Plutarchs biographische Technik*, 154
 Westermann (W. L.) and Keyes (C. W.), *Tax Lists from Theadelphia*, 140
 Wiegand (T.), *Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pergamon, 1928-1932*, 125
 Wilcken (U.), *Alexander the Great*, 143
 Wilhelm (A.), *Gr. Grabinschriften aus Kleinasien*, 138
 — *Neue Beiträge zur gr. Inschriftenkunde*, 140
 Zakythinos (D. A.), *Le despotat grec de Morée*, 157
 Zuretti (C. O.), *Catalogue des MSS. alchimiques grecs*, 142

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